THE ARAB
OF THE DESERT

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Kuwait and Her Neighbours



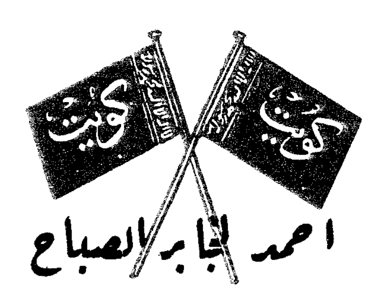
H.H. SHAIKH SIR AHMAD AL JABIR AL SABAH, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
RULER OF KUWAIT

THE ARAB OF THE DESERT

A GLIMPSE INTO
BADAWIN LIFE IN KUWAIT
AND SAU'DI ARABIA

by

H. R. P. DICKSON



LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
40 MUSEUM STREET

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1949
SECOND EDITION 1951
THIRD IMPRESSION 1959
FOURTH IMPRESSION 1967

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
in 12-Point Fournier Type

REPRINTED BY LITHOGRAPHY IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY JARROLD AND SONS LTD, NORWICH

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated with affection and respect to my friend His Highness Shaikh Sir Ahmad al Jabir al Sabah, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., distinguished Ruler of Kuwait and staunch supporter of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf and Arabia.

Were it not for Shaikh Ahmad's help and steady encouragement through seven and a half very difficult years, I much doubt whether I should ever have had the courage to complete this book, a task I set myself as far back as the spring of 1929.

FOREWORD

A brief autobiographical note will explain how I came to write this book. I was born in Beyrout, Syria, in 1881, and as a small child was taken to Damascus, where my mother's milk failed early. It so happened that Shaikh Mijwal of the Mazrab section of the Sba'a, the well-known sub-tribe of the great 'Anizah group, was in Damascus at the time, and gallantly stepping into the breach, he volunteered to secure for me a wet nurse or foster mother from among his tribeswomen. A Badawiyah girl was duly produced and according to my mother's testimony I drank her milk for several weeks. This in the eyes of the Badawin entitles me to a certain "blood affinity" with the 'Anizah; for to drink a woman's milk in the desert is to become a child of the foster mother. This fact has been of assistance to me in my dealings with the Badawin of the high desert and around Kuwait.

Shaikh Mijwal al Mazrab, as my readers will doubtless remember, was the desert Chieftain who married Lady Digby (at one time also Lady Ellenborough) in the late sixties, and provided her with a suitable residence in Damascus where she always spent the summer months. After the death of Lady Digby in 1881, this house was rented by my father, and I spent my childhood days rambling about the lovely garden that had once been the pride and happiness of Lady Digby. At an early age I was given my first camel ride, by Shaikh Mijwal's grown-up son Shaikh Ja'afat, or Ya'afat as he was called, who still clearly remembers the incident.

My father was at this time H.B.M.'s Consul at Damascus.

KUWAIT
September 26, 1936

PREFACE

I started collecting material for this book in 1929 when I first came to Kuwait, and have continued to do so up to midsummer of 1936, when my notes were finally typed out.

I am conscious that place and personal names have in some cases been spelt not in accordance with official practice, and I fear in this respect I am laying myself open to criticism. My excuse is that I was anxious to spell strange-sounding names as they were locally pronounced, and not according to any hard and fast rule.

I make no apologies for style. Throughout my career I have felt my shortcomings as a writer. I recall that my late Chief in Iraq, Sir Arnold Wilson, once remarked to me, "You are a very good Political Officer, but you cannot write a d——!" so my readers now know the worst. I have simply done my best to pass on to those interested in Arabia certain knowledge which I have acquired by long residence among the Badawin, and in the peculiarly Arab town of Kuwait. Some of this knowledge will I think be found to be new, and it would to my mind be a pity to leave no record of it, especially of the charming and unspoiled Badawin of Eastern Arabia. I shall feel amply rewarded if those whose work hereafter leads them to Arabia, whether as Government servants or in commercial undertakings, find some solace or pleasure in my book. I shall be doubly rewarded if I succeed in inspiring an interest in one of the proudest and most lovable of all peoples, the Desert Arab.

In conclusion may I plead that such eminent authorities on Arabia as H. St. J. Philby, Bertram Thomas, Paul Harrison and others who may read these lines be gentle in their criticism.

H. R. P. D.

KUWAIT
September 26, 1936

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The map at the end of this book is adapted from the international million sheets H.38 Basra, H.39 Bushire, G.38 Riyadh and G.38 Hufuf, for permission to use which I am indebted to the War Office.

I have also to thank the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office for very kindly allowing them to be reproduced in their present form.

I owe a yet deeper debt of gratitude to my wife and small daughter Zahra—who have collaborated with me from the beginning, and have assisted me with valuable help and advice, not only in matters connected with Arab women and children and the domestic side of Badawin tent life, but also in obtaining wild flower specimens and collecting insects, lizards, snakes and other animal life of the desert.

I wish particularly to record my deep appreciation of my wife's valuable work on the wild flowers of Kuwait and its hinterland, and my daughter's excellent collection of Arabian grasshoppers which the late Mr. A. R. Horwood, of Kew Gardens, and Professor Uvārov, of the South Kensington Museum of Natural History, were kind enough to take an interest in.

For the rest, my wife did many of the sketches shown in the book, and typed fully two-thirds of the MS., this often in the face of great difficulty and discomfort amid the sandstorms and heat always common to the Persian Gulf summers.

I must not omit to express my gratitude to Lieut.-Colonel J. C. More, C.I.E., my predecessor, an exceptionally gifted Arabic scholar, for certain valuable data which he left behind.

I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere and grateful thanks to E. O. Lorimer (Mrs. D. L. R. Lorimer) for her wonderful work in editing this book under most difficult circumstances.

From 1941 onwards the sterling work of Mrs. Lorimer enabled the publishers and the printers to make progress with the production,

despite constant war-time disturbances in England. Had it not been for her, the publication of the book would have been delayed for some years.

I express my appreciation of the excellent interpretation of my manuscript by the printers, Messrs. Unwin Brothers, and Walter Beard, the Production Manager of my Publishers.

H. R. P. D.

KUWAIT
January 1, 1947

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NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF ARABIC WORDS

In representing Arabic as spoken by the Badawin I have striven to write what I heard, however far removed from literary forms. To simplify typesetting I have not attempted to distinguish the Arabic sounds of *'ain* and *hamzah* but represent both by an apostrophe. Similarly I have not sought to differentiate the Arabic varieties of *s*, *t*, *h*, etc., nor systematically to insert the final silent *h*. I lay no claim to a profound knowledge of classical or literary Arabic, and I therefore crave the indulgence of those learned in these matters.

"I can hardly tell why it should be, but there is a longing for the East very commonly felt by proud people when goaded by sorrow."

KINGLAKE

Part One

CHAPTER I

My Life in the Desert

Badawin life has been so often and so well described by such giants in Arabian knowledge as Doughty, Musil, Philby, Bertram Thomas and others, that I feel timid in recording my own experiences. I am constrained to do so, however, by the thought that even I may be able to add a little to the knowledge that has been accumulated about a people, who are perhaps more lovable than any other race on earth, for I have had the good fortune, during my seven years' life among the Muntafiq and Khazail Arabs of the Euphrates, my two years' duty in Bahrain and Hasa, and last but not least during my subsequent seven years' sojourn in Kuwait as H.M.'s Political Agent, to have lived, moved about and camped among the nomad Badawin* in their own tents and as one of themselves. During these years, and in particular during my service in Kuwait, I learned to like and respect the Badawin and gained an insight into his life which I shall never regret.† I was blessed with a wonderful partner, who loved the Arab woman, her charming ways, her wonderful courage, simplicity and pride of race even more perhaps than I did her menfolk. This enabled me to acquire through her a knowledge of the thoughts, manners and occupations of these daughters of Arabia and descendants of Hagar, which few others have had a like chance to gain. Two factors in particular have helped me to win the confidence of the Arab and have assisted not a little in furthering my investigations. First, the fact that I was wet-nursed by an 'Anizah woman of the Misrab section of the Ruwala, and so can claim milk-brotherhood with them. Secondly, the fact that I have spoken Arabic from childhood.

* In Arabic *al bádia* means the nomad-inhabited desert; *al badu* or *al baduwi* (feminine: *al badawiyah*) the desert-dwelling nomad, whom in English we call the "Badawin". The nomad naturally does not refer to himself as a Badawin, but rightly styles himself an Arab. I use the word Badawin as both a singular and plural noun and as an adjective.

† Since quitting official life I have continued to reside in Kuwait as a member of the Kuwait Oil Company.

The Badawin themselves were quick to realise that I was interested in them and liked them ("Al galb sháhid" as they say: "the heart bears witness") and appreciated the fact that I preferred to live in a black tent as they did, and always kept one ready in the desert, year in and year out, in charge of a respected Badawin family who wandered about with other nomads. These things made my position in the Kuwait Badawin world secure.

When I first came to Kuwait in May 1929, I bought the necessary "black" Badawin tents, and handed them over to one Salim al Muzaiyin, a Mutair (Sana) tribesman of Kuwait, whom with his Shammari wife I met in the Shamiyah camping ground of Kuwait when out riding one afternoon, instructing him to pitch my tents wherever he and his family and herdsmen happened to wander. I thus got early into desert ways and always had a camp ready for me. For seven* winters in succession I have made a practice of taking out my wife, son and daughter,† and living with our Badawin friends as opportunity offered and work at headquarters permitted. I would often take my wife and little girl to camp 40 or 50 miles away, leave them there alone for ten days or a fortnight. My own sojourns were as a rule of shorter duration, but speaking generally, we were able to spend quite a third of the Autumn, Winter and Spring months of each year wandering round with our Arab friends. Our favourite part of Kuwait, because of the abundance of grazing and flowers in spring, was Araifjan, a district some 40 miles south of Kuwait, but our wanderings took us at different times to practically every corner of the state, as well as to the Kuwait Neutral Zone.‡ Our own camp always consisted of three tents. With our Badawin family's three tents this gave us six tents all told, which were invariably pitched in a line.

Sometimes of course our party camped alone, at other times among large numbers of 'Ajman, 'Awazim, Mutair or 'Arabdar Badawin as the mood of our man took him, or migrations from the south occurred.

We never told Salim to go to any particular place or to join up with any particular tribe—we left him to decide where the grazing was

* Now eighteen winters.

† My son was sent to school in England in 1933, my daughter in 1935.

‡ Not included in the above, a journey to Khabari Wadha in Sa'udi Arabia in 1930, and another journey to Riyadh in 1937.

best for his own camels and sheep, and for our sheep, camels and horses, which we left entirely in his charge. All we asked of him was that as he moved about and pitched his own camp, he would also pitch our black tents, ready for us to join him if opportunity offered.

There was no need for him to tell us where he intended to move to next or when. We in Kuwait always knew where the various Badawin ('Arabdar as well as foreign Badawin) were encamped. It was part of my job as Political Agent to know this—and any tribesman could at any given moment say where Abu Sa'ud's or Daksan's camp was.*

Our desert life was good; I count 1929 to 1936 as some of the happiest years that my wife and I have ever spent together. In these camps my wife and daughter largely amused themselves with collecting wild flowers for Kew Gardens in London and insects for the South Kensington Natural History Museum. I for my part did political work, got in touch with neighbouring shaikhs from Sa'udi Arabia or Iraq and generally kept myself abreast of the Badawin news about the Arabian world. When not at work, the wife and I hawked the lesser bustard (*hubára*), shot sand grouse or went for rides on our riding camels. Such rides almost always ended in calls on our neighbours, some 'Ajman shaikh, or some relative of the Shaikh of Kuwait. Periodically, if distances were great, we would take out cars and visit shaikhs of the Mutair, Shammar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, many of whom migrated almost every year, with their vast herds of camels, into Kuwait territory or into the Neutral Zone to the south of it. Many happy days were thus spent, and we were able to get on to terms of real intimacy with the shaikhs of those great tribes as well as with their charming womenfolk. My descriptions of such things as the daily round of a Badawin family, and how they water their camels, horses, sheep, etc., are therefore based on actual experience. I would watch their doings for days at a time, and supplement my observations by perpetually asking questions. I used to find that a good opportunity for questioning was round our camp fire at night. On these occasions while coffee went the round, men, women and children of the camp would foregather in our tent, retail news of raids, expectations, rain, grazing,

* "Daksan" was the Badawin version of my name, but I was more often known as the "father of Sa'ud"—Abu Sa'ud.

sickness amongst camels, sheep and so forth, and answer questions on a hundred subjects. Were strangers to drop in, the women and children would discreetly disappear, but the real valuable and pleasant evenings were those when we were *en famille*, so to speak, and outsiders were neither present nor expected.

The following made up our family at Abu Sa'ud's camp, as it was called, in the *barr* (desert):

Salim al Muzaiyin—the head of our Badawin family (Mutairi).
Maziad—a Dhafír tribesman (assistant to Salim), and a fine example of a desert fighting man.
Dhuwaihi—'Azmi* (Muta'awah), a blind old man and leader of the family prayers.
Hamud—a lad of sixteen, Salim's nephew.
Faláh—'Azmi camel herdsman and brother of Dhuwaihi.
Nasir—'Azmi shepherd.
Swailim—'Azmi camel-herd.
Amsha—wife of Salim, our hostess (a Shammariyah).
Maneira—Salim's sister.
Hussa—Salim's daughter (fifteen years old).
Wadha—Dhuwaihi's daughter (fourteen years old).
Dghaima—Maziad's daughter (mother was dead).
Adhaiya—Dhuwaihi's daughter.
Marzúk—negro slave boy (died 1933).
Mabrúk—negro slave boy (aged three in 1934).
Hawaiya—Dhuwaihi's wife (seldom seen).
Dhuwaihi's three infants, Faláh, Kharmit and Bibi.

Of the above the following deserve more detailed mention:

Salim al Muzaiyin.—A fine, thick-set, good type of Badawin—of the Muzaina family, a semi-nomad Mutairi. Head of the clan is his brother Ibrahim al Muzaiyin, at one time intimate companion, friend and standard-bearer of the great Shaikh Mubárak of Kuwait and hero of a dozen tribal battles and a hundred raids. Ibrahim left the service of the present shaikh three years ago, as times were bad in Kuwait, and removed to Riyadh, where he now enjoys a comfortable stipend from Bin Sa'ud. Salim, who is now the head of the house in Kuwait, is widely respected for his honesty, stability and knowledge of country from Kuwait to Riyadh and Hufuf. He visits Bin Sa'ud's capital regularly twice a year, to see his elder brother, and generally is *persona grata* with the King as with Ibn

* Singular of 'Awazim.

Subah. A most useful man to have, and a good man in a tight place. He is a relative of Ibrahim ibn Juma'a, Bin Sa'ud's major domo in charge of the entertainment of Badawin guests in Riyadh. Being a Mutairi tribesman, Salim is a particularly useful man to have for work in the desert, where Mutair tribesmen commonly roam.

Maziad.—A Dhafír Badawin of Juwasim origin. Very useful, hardy and honest; a widower till 1934, when he married a Mutairi woman. He bought her for two she-camels and 100 rials, and is still paying off his debt. He is exceptionally valuable when Dhafír tribesmen are met with, as he insures the camp against raids and robbery by his fellow-tribesmen.

Dhuwaihi, the blind Muta'awah or priest, has much influence with his tribe and, like Maziad, insures that the 'Awazim tribe is friendly disposed. He leads the prayers, and marries those desiring matrimony. A rather dear old man.

Swailim.—A fine upstanding 'Azmi warrior, full of camel lore, and as hard as nails, assists Maziad with the camels: a remarkable youth where tracking, finding of lost camels, birds' nests and *fagah* (truffles) for the camp are concerned.

Amongst the women, pride of place must go to Amsha (or Atsha, to give her her Shammari name), the gentle-eyed, sweet-natured and contralto-voiced Shammari wife of Salim. Always tidy, clean and attractive, and a mine of information in matters of desert folklore, names of herbs, flowers and the manners and customs of her people, the Tumán section of the Sinjára Shammar. She was brought up in Hail or its vicinity, and came to Kuwait as a girl of fifteen in 1921 (*sanat al Jahrah*). She is a splendid cook and a real companion to her husband. She has had seven children, all of whom died in infancy except Hussa, her daughter. The latter is now fifteen years old and of marriageable age. A strong, thick-set and particularly attractive Badawin lass, Hussa does most of the tent work for her mother, weaves tent strips and *qátas* (dividing curtains for the tent) in her spare time, and daily goes out to cut firewood with her inseparable friend and companion, little Wadha, the particularly pretty daughter of old Dhuwaihi. Neither girl ever seems to tire, though occupied all day with some job or other. The whole charm of the family and my camp would disappear were Amsha, Hussa and Wadha to come to any harm.

At 'Id and in the strictest privacy of the closed tent, little Wadha

and Hussa, decked out in their best frocks, have many times given my wife and myself rare pleasure, by loosing their hair and dancing before us with graceful movement of head, hair and body.

One can only think of Maneira, as the maker of the *leben*, with the early morning (3 a.m.) *rug-rug-rug* sound of her goatskin, hanging on the tripod, as she swung it backward and forward to the tune of her *leben*-making songs. She was also the camp's expert fortune-teller. A description of her methods and skill will be given elsewhere (see Chapter XLI).



THE GREAT SHAIKH MUBÁRAK AL SABAH
OF KUWAIT (died 1914)
Pre-eminent among Arabia's Rulers



H.M. KING 'ABDUL 'AZIZ AL 'ABDUL RAHMAN AL FAISAL AL SA'UD

Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia

(One of the most remarkable personalities living to-day)

Enlarged from a snapshot taken at Ojair camp, 1923

CHAPTER II

Autumn Stirrings

It is early November, the 2nd to be accurate, and I have ordered Salim al Muzaiyin to move his camp out into the *barr*, preparatory to my joining him. We have had a week's steady south wind, clouds are banking up in the West, and we have had distant thunder and lightning. Most of the tribes have left water and are scattering over the hinterland in search of suitable grazing grounds, for the promise of rain is near. All the tent families go off on their own and camp in twos and threes, well apart from their neighbours (a mile or so perhaps), yet within sound of rifle-shot in case of an alarm, when all must come to the help of the person attacked.

The Badawin camped round Kuwait on the Shamiyah and Dasma wells have already moved off, some to the Kabd region, some to 'Adan, some to the Huzaim and some to the Grain district. The Fidawiyah, under their Amir, Haif bin Hajraf, of the Sulaiman section of the 'Ajman, accompanied by Nahar and 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim,* stout old warriors both, have gone to the Humatiyat region beyond Manaqish and the Shaqq, 60 miles from Kuwait. They have cunningly chosen their region because the *hubara* have arrived in the Dibdibba, and hunting with hawks is a favourite sport. The Amir, and every self-respecting young brave, possesses his hawk, a *hurr* or *shåhin* (*sakar*, *lagger* or *shåhin* falcon), and all go out as they get opportunity, and bring back game for their wives' cooking-pot. Some, especially the 'Awazim, like also to hunt hare and gazelle with *salúqis*, and great is the excitement when venison is brought home. The young hunters go far from their tents, and if they find that the gazelle meat will not keep, they spread the carcase out in the shape of a mat, having removed the ribs and larger bones, and

* Was one of the forty who helped Bin Sa'ud to capture Riyadh, though not among the actual twenty-three who rushed Qasr 'Ajlan in the heart of the city.

prepare the venison with salt into what they call *yellah*, a sort of biltong, slashing it into long slices to allow the salt to penetrate and to enable ribbon-like strips to be easily removed at home for food.

This is a season for rejoicing, the rains are close at hand, there is a nip in the air of a morning and fires are in demand at night. Once again the desert comes to life after the long, weary, soul-killing heat of summer, the scorching suffocating duststorms, the need to stay close-camped near water, and the ever-present dread that your enemy knows where you are and by a sudden dash may carry off your camels, nay, all you possess, in one swift raid.

For water, the various tent dwellers send in camels to the nearest wells, often as far as 30 miles away, once in five, six or seven days. Neither camel, sheep nor man is very thirsty these days, so water is no longer the immediate necessity of life. As the first rains fall and grass begins to come up, water is less and less required by the live-stock, till finally in the full *rabi'* (spring) when grass is well up and succulent, only man requires it.

This is the season also when the Shaikhs of Kuwait, as well as all other rulers in Arabia, start going deep into the high desert in search of *hubara*. The practice of hunting on camel-back has gone. The motor car serves the purpose better. Great hunters, like His Highness Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah and Shaikh Salim al Hamud, are out two or three times a week. They nearly always spend at least one night bivouacking in the blue (*khalla*) without tent or covering beyond their '*abbas*. It is unmanly and soft to take even a small shelter. The huntsman and falcon bearers (*khaddám*) are all of the Rashaida tribe, born Esaus all, with eyes like their own hawks, and with the uncanniest knowledge of the habits of the *hubara*. The courtly and religious Nazzal, famous over North and Central Arabia for his knowledge and eye for country, is there, so are Sa'ud bin Nimran, the lion-hearted and jovial; Addas, the hawk-eyed; Gharaiyib, the smeller of *hubara* from afar, and great raider of war days; Sa'ad, the tracker; Mirshid al Shammari, of the renowned Ibn Twala clan, and old Saif bin Ta'ami, companion of the great Mubarak in many a past raid.

Of hawks we have the famous "Dhiáb", "Kabrit", "Sultán" and

lord of all the tireless killer "Petrol"—the Shaikh's own hawk, who has been known alone to kill as many as twelve birds in one day. (See Chapter XXVIII.)

Salim, my man, has taken three days to get to Araifjan wells, with his wife Amsha, his charming daughter Hussa, his sister Maneira, and other members of his household. He has already sent for his sheep from the Suda region in Hasa, where they have summered under the care of Faráj and Faláh, both of the 'Awazim tribe. Great is the rejoicing, for thirty-six lambs have been born, with more to follow by the end of October. The flock has been nearly doubled since the previous Spring. Better still, fifteen of the lambs are males, which will be killed on suitably festive occasions. Maziad, the Dhafiri, in charge of the camels (fourteen of them) reports the animals' condition to be perfect, in spite of the long summer in the Huzaim and Suda regions. He himself has just come in from Riyadh with Salim. They went to see how the head of the family, Ibrahim al Muzaiyin (late standard bearer to the great Mubarak of Kuwait, and now with Bin Sa'ud) is faring. Salim now writes in to say that the "Gunsul's" camp is pitched and all is ready for him to come out—"Gunsul" (Consul) is the name given locally to the Political Agent.

On the 11th November I pack up what remaining goods and chattels have to be taken, such as *dushaks*, *masnads*, *shadád* and *qalíms* (mattresses for guests, cushions to lean on, camel saddle with full sheepskin cover and bright-coloured Persian rugs), and I order the worthy Sáleh, my Najdi driver, to convey me to my camp. Already my wife's she-camel Farha, of the famous 'Umaniyah breed, has gone ahead, also Naidi, Farhan and the sweet-tempered Jarua—my two horses and mare respectively. The last is a present from 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, the Great King, and she has been named after the famous grey mare of the late Faisal al Duwish—slain by the order of his wife Amsha when that great chieftain surrendered to the English in 1930 at Jahrah. My wife and I were with her when the deeply touching deed was done.

As I am going the next day down to the Hazaim district and Wafra in the Neutral Zone, I take Sa'ud bin Nimran with me and his hawk, also Jawad, my personal servant. News has arrived that the Birzani, ibn Shaja'an, one of Bin Sa'ud's patrol leaders, with twenty men is

at Wafra, so I am going to enquire his reasons for being there. Ibn Shaja'an has the unsavoury reputation of being cruel and overbearing to the Badawin, and like so many of his type—though a Mutairi by origin—he has been bred in Hufuf, and has imbibed many of the harsh characteristics of his master, 'Abdullah bin Jiluwi.* It is a curious fact that cruelty, conceit and a generally objectionable manner often spoil the character of a tribesman who for any length of time lives in a town.

We leave Kuwait at 12.30 p.m., and after a car run of 2½ hours we reach Araifjan. There is a cool *shamál* blowing, but in spite of moving with it, I need a sweater and *furwah* (sheepskin-lined, long Badawin cloth cloak with sleeves, fashionable among the 'Anizah and Northern Badawin). At 3 p.m. I catch the first glimpse of my camp. It is on the right of the rough track, and half a mile south of one of my previous camps of the year before. The tents are pitched among the thick *'arfaj* bushes which are a feature of Araifjan. Everything, however, is dry, and except for a few *gaghraf* bushes (*hamdh*) which are in full bloom, there is nothing green to be seen at all. No, I am wrong, for in the salty patches there are splashes of emerald green *harm* (also one of the *hamdh* family) which show up strangely in the dry countryside.

My camp of black hair tents is pitched in a long line, each tent facing south-east:

"A" is my tent; "B" that of my servant and huntsman; "C" is Salim's tent; "D" is Dhuwaihi's, the blind Azmi who resides with his two sons, Faláh and Násir (they are the shepherds); "E" is the tent of our *qasír* or neighbour, Sáleh, the Mutairi, who has asked permission to camp with Salim for a few days; "F" is my privy tent.

Very peaceful and quiet it all is—and I am not expected.

Suddenly we are seen, and there is much running to and fro, and carrying of *dushaks* and camel saddles from the women's quarters of Salim's tent to mine. Carpets and *qalíms* are quickly unrolled, the tent partitions (*qáta*) are fixed in place, and by the time the car draws up

* Bin Jiluwi died on 31st October, 1935. He was according to Arab standards an undoubtedly great man, and a man of extraordinary courage. He was one of the twenty-three paladins who helped to seize Riyadh with Bin Sa'ud when the latter won his kingdom, but he was unfortunately a man without a spark of softness or mercy in his make-up.

in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome. Salim stands alone in front of the tent, and answers my *salám 'alaikum*, for it would not do for his womenfolk to appear in the presence of my hired driver and the shaikh's *fidáwi*, Sa'ud. They can, however, be seen discreetly peeping from their tent.

My goods and chattels are next unpacked, and I proceed to get things shipshape. Whilst Jawad is putting together my camp bed, and opening up my bedding, coffee is brought and served.

As soon as the coast is clear, and the menfolk are safely ensconced in their tent, in creeps the gentle-eyed and sweet-voiced Amsha to bid me welcome in the reception portion of my black goat-hair tent. She walks in gracefully, and in her low contralto voice bids me, "Al guwa ya Abu Sa'ud" (Strength to you, O father of Sa'ud), the usual salutation among the womenfolk. "'Allah i gaučhi ya Um Hussa" (God give you strength, O mother of Hussa) I reply, and then follows a host of welcoming sentences, such as, "How are you? How is Um Sa'ud? What news of the Khatuna (the wife)? and Sa'ud and Zahra (my children) how are they? Well, well, I hope. What is doing in Kuwait, and what news of rain?" etc. Amsha is followed by Maneira, the Mutairiyah, helper in the house, and Hussa, Amsha's daughter of fifteen (recently veiled to show she is now a woman and of marriageable age). Then the daughters of Dhuwaihi the herdsman, and of Maziad, the Dhafiri, and last of all comes coal-black little Mubarak, the negro slave's little boy—Barruk they call him in terms of endearment. The other little curly-headed boy, Marzuk or Mzairik, his brother, is still with the lambs a quarter of a mile away, and so is Hamud, Maneira's small son.

The women, led by Amsha, sit round me in a circle, all asking after me and all wanting to know something. Little Hussa, whom I have known since she was seven years old, encouraged by her mother, comes and sits by my side after holding up her *burga* a moment for me to kiss her dimpled mouth. She has mother's permission to do this, even though she is now fifteen and a grown woman, for have I not known her since she was a little child? After this preliminary, she retires again and sits by her mother's side, keeping that silence which all well-behaved Badawin children maintain when their elders are present. Only shy little Barruk comes up

to Amsha's side and cuddles up in her arms. She loves him almost more than her own daughter. She kisses him and fondles him, and allows him to put his head on her shoulder and gaze up at me with wide eyes. Amsha is pathetically fond of her two slave children. They are only five and three respectively. Such love and such tenderness would make the brains of those busybodies whirl, who talk so glibly of the cruelty and horrors of the slave problem. How is it done? The answer is simple. These babes, the sons of her stalwart slave, 'Abdullah* (bought originally from Rannia and married to a freed 'Ajman slave woman), call out every womanly instinct in Amsha. They are the offspring of her own property. They are hers to prize and cherish. She even opens up her gown† and offers her breast to little Barruk who is fidgeting somewhat. "There, keep quiet, *ya halaila* (little sweet one), will you," she says, "and let us hear news from Abu Sa'ud."

Presently Salim comes back again with the coffee-pot, and the special cups which he has brought back from Riyadh, little white and yellow-ochre ones, unknown among the people of Kuwait. With pride he once again offers me coffee. "The cups? Oh yes, they are from Riyadh. I brought them back for Um Sa'ud (my wife), when she returns from England." "The year has been a good one, *Al hamdu 'l Illah*," he proceeds. "The camels are fat and their humps are so round you wouldn't recognise them." "Nay, Abu Sa'ud", chimes in Amsha, "you would not know Farha except for her nose ring. She has such a big hump now that a saddle cannot be put on her. And congratulate us, thirty-six lambs have been born in the last ten days, and Zahra's (my daughter's) brown ewe which was a baby two years ago has had her first lamb also, her first-born, so sweet and soft. Run and fetch it, ya Hussa." The lamb is produced and much admired. Its wee tail is duly weighed in my hand to see if it has got any fat on it. "And now you must come and see our baby camel", and away I am taken by the womenfolk to the back of the tent where a dozen she-camels are standing. They have just come in from water, and are waiting to be milked and bedded down for the night. The baby-camel is next caught and brought to me. It is wonderfully tame, and holds

* He died the following year (1935) after returning sick from Mecca.

† If an Arab woman suckles her little slave child, that child can never be sold as a slave. It is henceforth free and her own.

its small well-bred face to my mouth for a kiss—really for a date, which I had not got.

Next the new watch-dog, a fierce and shaggy brute, is produced and shown to me. I praise it in suitable terms to express the hope that he will keep off wolves. The women now go, whilst I wash and get into my warm Gilgit boots and prepare for the evening meal.

It is night. I have just had the most delightful dinner I have ever tasted. Only Amsha's skilled hand could have prepared it. A dish of rice stewed with raisins and onion shreds, and on top a perfectly formed baby lamb which has not yet eaten grass. How good it was, and how soft and luscious! My two *qátas* (dividing curtains) have been furled inwards and tied to the centre rope so as to form a cosy room.

A lantern is burning at the far end. The remains of my dinner are taken away. Salim has just brought coffee again. I ask Salim if the needs of my two men have been attended to, and he replies that they have had a dinner similar to mine, and are preparing to turn in. "Have they had coffee?" I ask. "Yes, Abu Sa'ud, they have had coffee. May the women come and talk to you before you go to sleep?" he asks. I agree, for it is only 8 p.m. and far too early to think of turning in. Amsha and her friends again creep in and sit down. This time Salim is with them, but not Hussa. She is staying with the little black children and putting them to sleep in her tent.

Presently they ask me for the news of Kuwait, and they in turn give me all the Badawin gossip that has come their way since they arrived. They go through the names of everyone camped within 10 miles of them, and Salim tells of raids and counter-raids in distant Najd, the doings of So-and-So, the plans of the King (Bin Sa'ud), and of how careful he must be not to get into trouble with Yaman.* "Believe me, Ya Abu Sa'ud, the Imam Yahya, is very strong and has wonderful arms and infernal machines at his disposal. Why, he even has metal walking-chickens which he sends by the thousand into his enemy's camp by night, and as soon as they get among the troops they explode and kill very many with each explosion. *Wallah* (by God) it is true! Have I not myself seen men killed in this way? Have I not just returned from Riyadh and seen bits of exploded chickens

* This scene took place just before Bin Sa'ud's Yaman adventure of 1934.

that have been brought back from the Asir front for the King to see? It is true, I say, O Abu Sa'ud. You know I have never told a lie yet, and why should I do so now?"

As he tells this whopper, the women giggle and cry out in pretended alarm. They, of course, believe the story, and half Arabia believes it too.

"Do you know", said Salim again, "that there is talk in the Summán that Faisal al Duwish is alive and in hiding?" I replied caustically that this could not be, seeing that he died in prison of an aneurism two years ago. "That is just it", replied Salim, "you go and swallow any fairy tale that Bin Sa'ud likes to put about. Actually, if you must know it, Al Duwish escaped and is in hiding. Why, as I was coming from Riyadh only twenty days ago I met a Mutairi woman who had met him. She saw him standing outside her tent in the evening. He had come from his hiding place in one of the *dáhals* to ask for a little bread. She is a person who knows the Shaikh like her own self. If you must know it was Wadha, Faisal's own sister. There, that is proof, isn't it?" Cries of pleasure come from the women, for all the world loved Faisal al Duwish, in the eyes of the Mutair the greatest Badawin leader and shaikh that was ever born of woman.

Such and many similar stories were recounted till, tiring, I told them all to go to bed as I had a long day before me in the morning.

"Will you want lunch for the road in the morning, Abu Sa'ud?" said the practical-minded Amsha. "Yes, of course", said I. So she promised to get up at 4 a.m. and cook me three chickens* and a bowl of rice. The bowl, she said, had a cover, and with a loaf of Arab bread on top and the cover put on, the lunch would keep warm easily till noon. She was as good as her word. Next day's lunch was delicious. A salam now all round and I dismissed my woman friends, and the worthy Salim, and turned in.

I seemed to have slept but a little while by the entrance of my open tent, when I was awakened by ferocious barking. The three or four camp dogs had taken fright at something. I felt they were moving round and round the tents, they were quiet for five minutes or so and then broke out again in the fiercest growling and barking. I was very

* I had brought these along with me alive from Kuwait.

tired and dozed off again. Again I woke, and again I dozed off, till the barking of the dogs became a sort of rising and falling echo in my tired and sleepy brain. Once I heard the camels, which were kneeling close behind Salim's tent, jump up in alarm and bolt 50 yards, but the reassuring voice of Salim calmed them, and I dropped off to sleep again. Presently I heard him shouting: *Ya Nasir, shunnu illi khawaf al bil?* (Oh Nasir, what frightened the camels?). *Ma'aku shai*, came the reply (Nothing at all). I went on dozing the night long, hearing many and strange sounds, but too tired to move. It is always thus, my first night with my Badawin friends; I cannot sleep. Before dawn I heard Salim calling to prayer, and shortly afterwards, though it was still very dark, the goatskin of milk, rocked by one of the women to make curdled milk (*leben*) and butter, started its song. Rug-rug-rug-rug, the skin protested, and yet again, Rug-rug-rug. It was the old sound I knew so well, and it gave me a strange feeling of homeliness and comfort. They were awake before daylight, these simple people; they never seem to sleep—they also had prayed, and now they were watching for the dawn.

Presently I heard the shepherds calling their flocks of sheep together, and the camelmen talking to their camels. Both sheep and camels had slept in the open in front of Salim's and Dhuwaihi's tents, the ewes close to their young. *Hirr, hirr*, cried Faláh, as he started calling the mother sheep to feed their lambs, before going out to graze for the day. The lambs all began to bleat at once, it was the hour of their morning meal. After this they will get nothing till nightfall, so they must drink now deep and well. Presently, with the first glimmer of dawn the daily counting of the sheep began. Aha! a cry, "Ya Salim, there are two short. Come quick, a ewe and a lamb are missing." A hurrying of feet, then eager talking. A further cry, "A wolf, it is a wolf". "A wolf has done this in the night." From right under their noses, a he- and she-wolf had clearly visited the camp and carried off the animals in the dark. A quick cast round and the enemies' pug-marks were found. The he-wolf had cleverly given the watch-dogs his scent on the side from which the wind was blowing, and as soon as the dogs had rushed after him into the night his cunning spouse had crawled close up to the tents on the other side, much as a cat crouches and creeps after a mouse (except that the wolf seems

to drag its belly along the ground in doing so, if its tracks in the sand indicate anything) and had dragged away in silence two sheep, one full-grown and one a lamb. There had been no sound in the night. They explained that a sheep gets so frightened if seized by a wolf that it cannot cry out, only a goat cries, and the wolf avoids goats accordingly.

It was daylight now, and I got up and examined the spoor of the wolves myself. They were clearly to be seen on both sides of the camp. The male with its big tracks to the north, and the female with her smaller footmarks to the south. The female must have snatched the lamb from right inside the tent, for the woollen loop which fastened the lamb's neck was found broken, and the wolf's spoor was actually inside the tent. Other tracks showed that the she-wolf had made two visits, one to carry off the full-grown sheep, and one to carry off the lamb. We followed up the tracks at once in the hopes of saving one of the animals. We were too late. We found the fresh bones of ewe and lamb two miles from camp. Nothing but the bigger bones and some clumps of hair were left. It was a sad party which returned to camp. The loss cast a gloom over my friends. Two sheep had gone, two good sheep. There was nothing to be done. It was no use blaming the shepherds; the work had been cunningly and boldly done. One shepherd was actually awake, sitting over a small fire, on guard among the sheep themselves. So stealthily had the wolf come, so quiet had been the terror-stricken sheep, that he had heard nothing beyond the barking of the dogs.

"Nay, O Abu Sa'ud, it was written that they should die this night", said Amsha, when I tried to condole with her on the loss. "Indeed two others were carried off the night we arrived. The wolves are very hungry here, but we shall be avenged, Ya Abu Sa'ud, never fear, we shall be avenged."

It was full day once more. I prepared to leave for Wafra with Sa'ud, my hunter. Once more the little camp is astir and busy. My car is got ready, my lunch, cooked to a turn, is brought out of the women's tent, and tightly packed away in the tin saucepan and firmly covered. For water we depend on the filled leather goatskin tied on the near running-board. We are off, Sáleh, my driver, Sa'ud and myself, the first two in front of the car and I behind with coats, lunch, rifles,

bandoliers, shot-guns and bags of cartridges. Half an hour later a shout from Sáleh, and I see a bustard (*hubara*) running along the ground 100 yards off. It crouches immediately. Thinking there was no game there, Sa'ud had not unhooded his hawk. He does so now. We descend and I walk up to the bird. Up he gets, and with my right barrel I drop him some 30 yards away. He is only wounded, but mortally. Kabrit, the hawk, is after him like a flash and pounces before his victim has time to run a yard. Kabrit does his work well, and so does Sa'ud. The bird's throat is soon cut, the hawk given a small taste of its left breast, and friend *hubara* finds its way into the capacious bag produced from nowhere by Sa'ud. Three more birds we spot and kill before reaching Wafra. That is all we see. Each gave good sport, and a final difficult shot. I was successful each time, and Kabrit well fed and duly pleased with himself.

The road was shocking, actually there was not even a track, and the dry summer had made the *thammam* hummocks and *'arfaj* bushes stiff and hard with no give at all in them. Bump, bump, bump, we went, over hill and dale, for six solid hours. At rare intervals we found flat open ridges, free from bushes. We made for them and got a few hundred yards' good going. I took the seacoast route, and struck inland 20 miles south of the Ras al Zor. This was unknown country to me, and I took it against the advice of the worthy Sa'ud. "You will find no game and win only sore bones that way", he warned me, but my British obstinacy won the day.

We reached Wafra at 12.30 p.m. and found Bin Sa'ud's patrol under the dour and rather fanatical Ibn Shaja'an, an unpleasant man of the type so often found on the Sa'udian frontier. Plenty of wind in the head, scarcely civil and, according to report, notoriously cruel. He had come up from Hufuf, he said, by Bin Jiluwi's orders, to get in touch with Captain Papworth, R.E., the R.A.F. Survey Officer who was to revise the map of Kuwait and survey the Neutral Zone. This was a pretext. His obvious reason was to hunt down certain poor 'Awazim tribesmen who had evaded the King's call to arms for his coming Yaman campaign. I made Ibn Shaja'an give me a cup of coffee and some nasty tea, and told the man that the Survey Officer would not require his services seeing that he had both guard and guides from the Shaikh of Kuwait. Ibn Shaja'an did not appear over-

pleased. I left him with relief, after examining and giving quinine to one of his men lying in a corner groaning with fever.

I returned to Araifjan after another four hours of bumping and straining of my spine and brain. I reached camp at 6.30 p.m., a dog-tired but happy man. I had thoroughly enjoyed my ten hours' car ride. I had done 255 miles over the most glorious "down" country, with a fine and cool day to help me, only the bumpy nature of the track had somewhat marred what might have been a perfect day.*

* The above is a small description of a "trek" made in 1934. It was my good fortune to make many a score of such during my sojourn in North-East Arabia.

CHAPTER III

Nomad Life

In the two preceding chapters I have endeavoured to give a homely picture of family life in the desert. Let me now take my reader over to the more general life of the tent-dwellers of the great Arabian peninsula, and see how they manage their daily affairs and the annual migrations, how they maintain their flocks and camels in a manner little changed since the days of Abraham.

Except for the precarious existence which he leads, and the fact that he never knows what the morrow will bring for him in the way of hunger or raid, the true Badawin follows unconsciously a regular programme and routine; his annual moves in autumn, winter and spring, with his final camping on water when summer once more sets in, are part and parcel of his ordered life.

The great difference (and I am sure it is a difference to his advantage) between the Desert Man of Arabia and his Western brother, is that life for the former is so uncertain from day to day, and so beset with ever-present danger, that he must perforce live in the present. This turns his thoughts to his Maker, and leads him to put his trust in the one God who alone can protect him from enemy, hunger, sickness and death, who can order the seasons, who can grant him water and rain. Hence his deep religious feeling and firm conviction that everything comes from God, whether good fortune or ill, and so must be accepted without surprise or complaint.

To us Westerners who normally live our daily life in order and security undreamed of in the desert, it is not easy to appreciate his conception of life and the Deity. We are so preoccupied with business and pleasure that we don't even think of death, except as a far-off and unpleasant thing. Many of us think of God, too, as a far-away sort of Deity, ordering the things of heaven and the future, but not the life of every day.

The lesson, of course, is that an existence such as the Badawin

of Arabia lead makes for religion, and instils into the heart of man the greater virtues that make life worth living.

THE TRIBAL DÍRAH

Every Badawin tribe in Arabia has its *dírah* or tribal country, through which it roams with its camels in the autumn, winter and spring, and in which lie its permanent wells, the jealously treasured possessions of various sections of the tribe, on which these sections camp in summer.*

Let us take, for example, the great Mutair tribe ('Ilwa and Wasil) of North-East Arabia. Its *dírah* is roughly enclosed by the following boundaries:

On the north—By the Iraq Neutral Zone (Tawál al Dhafir) and the Kuwait frontier as far east as the Shaqq.
On the east—By the Shaqq depression and a line running south of same to Jariya al Sifla, Taraibi and al Khafaisat.
On the south—A rough line from the town of 'Anaiza, Zilfi, Majma'a to al Khafaisat including the town of Artawiyah.
On the west—A rough line from the Tawál al Dhafir (Iraq Neutral Zone) through Thamani (south end of Bátin) to Buraida and 'Anaiza.

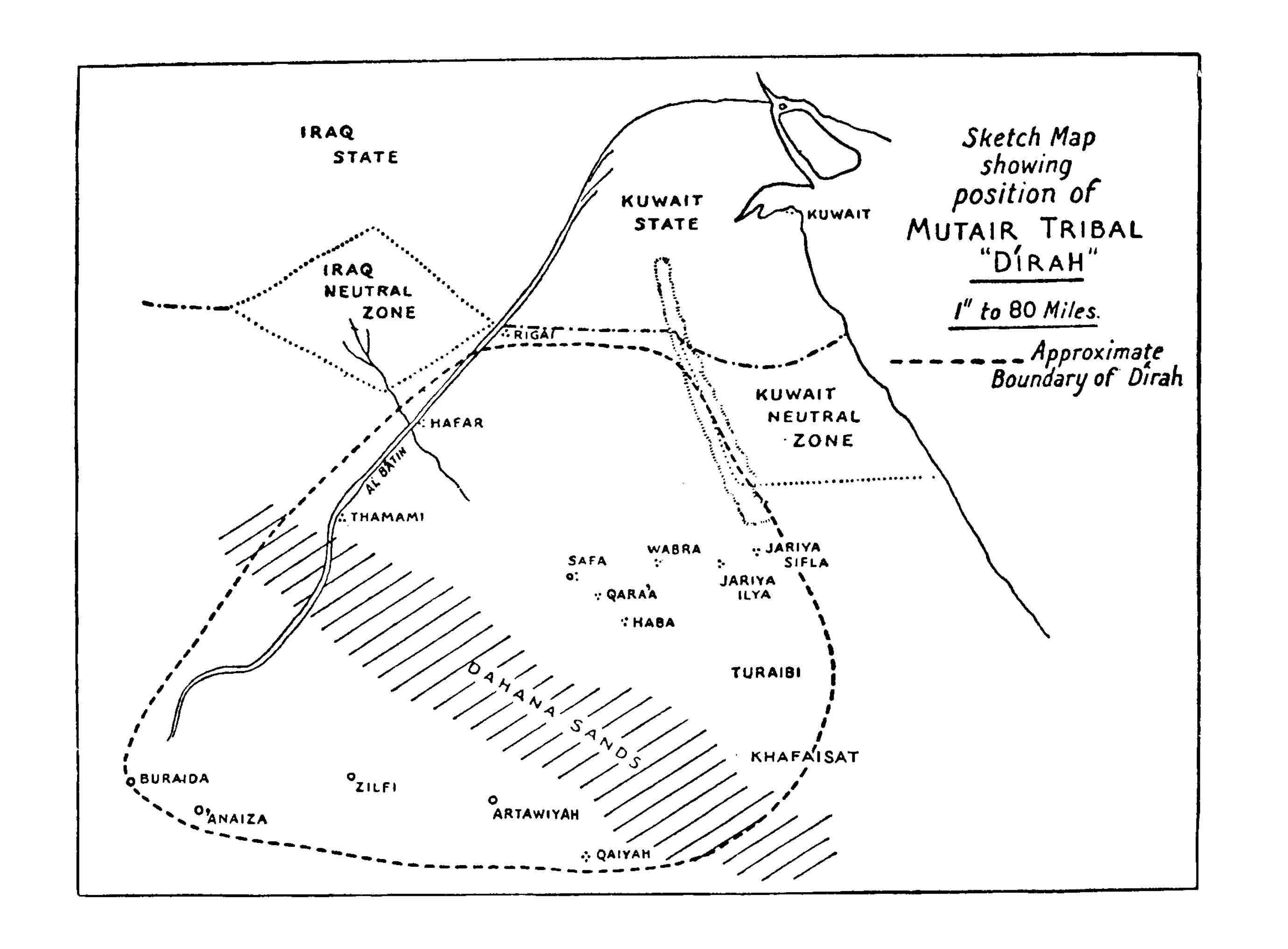
Its chief group of wells which need be mentioned are:

(*a*) Hafar al Bátin, the property of ibn Ashwan (Braih group of the Wasil Mutair).
(*b*) Sáfá, the property of ibn Lami (Jiblan).
(*c*) Jariya Ilya, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*d*) Jariya Sifla, the property of Al Fugum (Al Sahabba).
(*e*) Hábá, the property of Al Májid (Dushan).
(*f*) Qara'a, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*g*) Wabra, the property of the Dushan.
(*h*) Qaiyah, the property of Al Faisal (Dushan).
(*i*) Dijani, the property of Al Bara'asa (Muaha).

The Dushan being the ruling clan, with its Shaikh Al Duwish, controls also the tribal capital, or head village of Artawiyah.

This latter is an 'Ikhwan centre, and the creation of the present Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, who for political reasons placed in each tribal

* A reference to the tribal map at the end of this book will be found convenient.


Sketch Map
showing
position of
MUTAIR TRIBAL
"DÍRAH"
1" to 80 Miles.
Approximate
Boundary of Dírah
IRAQ
STATE
IRAQ
NEUTRAL
ZONE
KUWAIT
STATE
KUWAIT
KUWAIT
NEUTRAL
ZONE
RIGAI
HAFAR
AL BATIN
THAMAMI
SAFA
WABRA
JARIYA
SIFLA
QARAA
JARIYA
ILYA
HABA
TURAIBI
DAHANA SANDS
KHAFAISAT
BURAIDA
ZILFI
ANAIZA
ARTAWIYAH
QAIYAH

dírah a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

The terrain included in the Mutair tribal *dírah* consists of part of the sandy *Dahana* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Summán* and *Wiriya* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the *Mujdair—Qara'a-* and *Musannat* regions in the north.

The whole *dírah* is a choice and good one, and *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh*, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dírah* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the Mutair.

The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *dírahs* similar to theirs, are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Sbei and Sahul on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and Dhafir on the west, and Kuwait territory on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dírah.* *

A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dírah.* If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home, but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realised that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe, stretching from the Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Madína in the Hijaz. They are known as the Bani 'Abdillah Mutair, and Maymun, and in numbers and strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the 'Ilwa and Braih described above. The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Bani 'Abdilla have their own powerful Shaikhs, they will all follow the standard of Al Duwish the hereditary Shaikh who resides at Artawiyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A map of the Mutair Tribal *dírah* will be found at the end of the book.

wander into the lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their *dírahs* when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confederations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances, are often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples of such groups are given below, and all Arabia may be said to be parcelled up into similar protective alliances.

(*a*) Harb—Mutair (Ilwa)—'Ajman tribes.
(*b*) Bani 'Abdilla (Mutair)—'Utaiba.
(*c*) Dhafir—Shammar and 'Awazim.
(*d*) 'Ajman—Murra—Najran tribes (a blood federation).*
(*e*) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dahamsha, Fida'an Amarat, Ruwala, Sba'a and Zana Muslim.

When the Central Government is strong, like the present Sa'udi regime, then tribes are made to keep the peace and behave themselves,

* The 'Ajman claim to be able to turn out over 10,000 fighting men is obviously exaggerated. Their full fighting strength is probably about 8,000. They once claimed to be able to muster 2,000 mounted men, but that is not so to-day.

The 'Ajman have several *nakhwas* or war cries, of which the three commonest are—"Garás al hadid wa ana ibn al 'Ajám", "Sáfi al maut wa ana latháleh" and "Sufar sáfi al maut wa ana latháleh"—meaning "Cutter of iron, and I am the son of the 'Ajman", "Death cleared all and I still survive" and "Death is whistling and I am still surviving".

The 'Ajman tribe when about to join battle have a custom of tying up their side locks (*qurun*) over their heads in a tall knot, which they bind round with a *red* cloth. They call the head-effect thus caused "Al Ganaza".

The 'Ajman, whom some authorities would connect, and I think rightly, with the Qahtan, state that they are descended from the Shurafa of Najran, and claim with the Murra to have one ancestor, Yám. They certainly look upon the Murra as their blood brothers and each will help the other always. Should either the Murra or 'Ajman desire the help of the other against a common enemy, it is customary to send a messenger to the other tribe on a camel with *a red scarf or scarlet rope* bound round its neck. The messenger cries aloud to those he wants to rouse the words *'Aiyál Marzuk!*, the sacred call of the descendants of Yám, and all know what the signal means—even if 'Ajman and Murra were themselves fighting against each other, a not uncommon occurrence, they would at once fraternise and combine against the common foe.—(Authority Shaikh Fuhaid al Fahad al Hithlain 30.6.38). Their tribal strength and undoubted war prowess makes their alliance valuable and their enmity a serious danger; but in politics they are a shifting and inconsistent factor, being as they themselves have been known openly to profess, "the friends of those who treat them best".

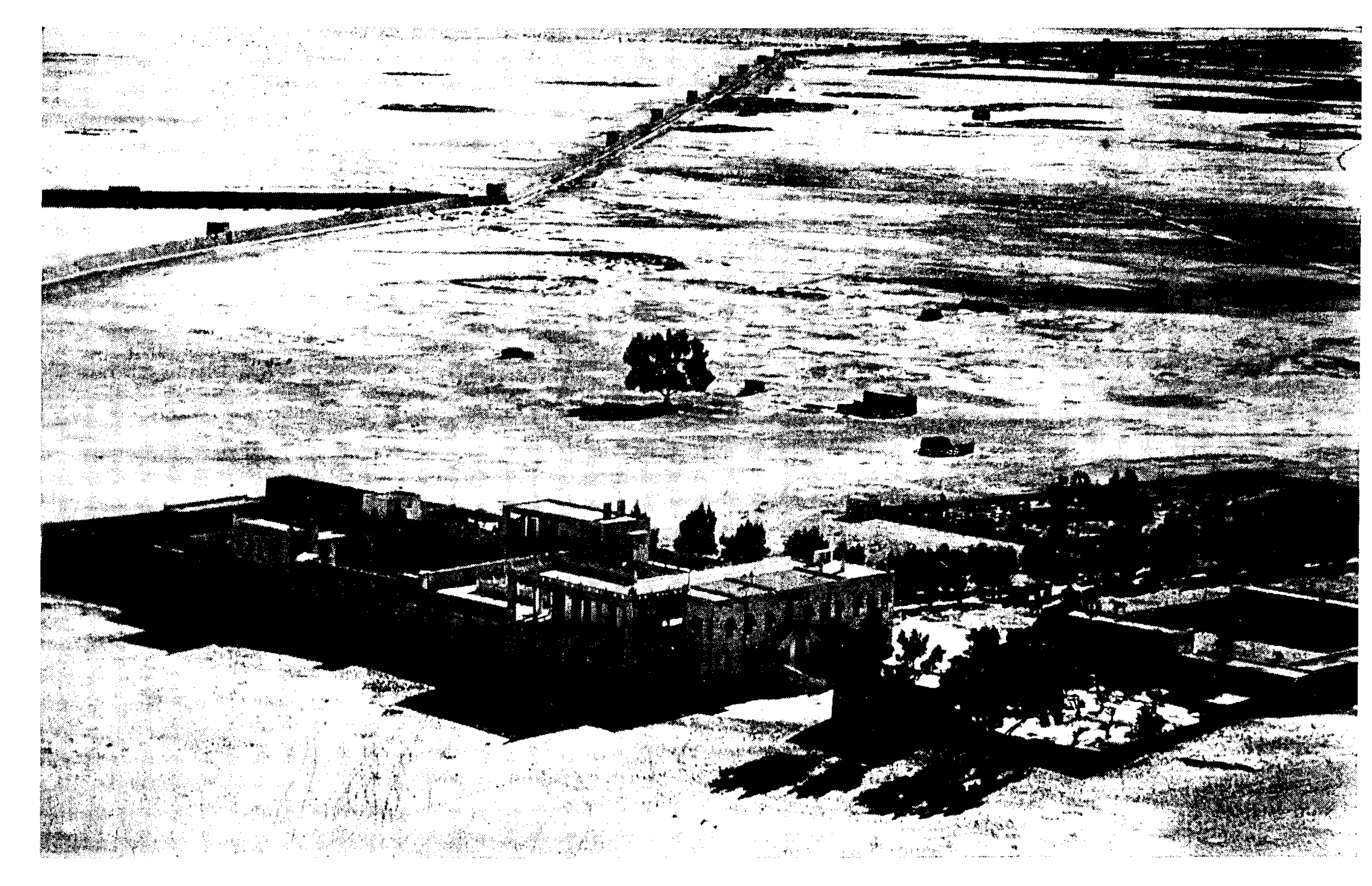
During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatif, the 'Ajman were constantly recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their shaikhs, and they inflicted several serious defeats on the army of occupation.



THE AUTHOR AND HIS WIFE
IN THE KING'S PALACE AT RIYADH



THE AUTHOR'S WIFE IN RIYADH



THE PALACE OF THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT—KNOWN AS DASMÁN
(the House of Plenty)



H.H. THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT IN THE CENTRE
ON HIS RIGHT, H.R.H. THE AMIR SA'UD, HEIR APPARENT OF SA'UDI ARABIA

but when the strong hand is weakened or withdrawn, then merry hell is let loose, and every tribe is at its neighbour's throat. Such a period is what every tribe and every individual Badawin long to see. It means raiding and fun for everyone and wealth for him who is bold and strong. Not much killing or loss of life follows from this state of anarchy, but camels change hands frequently, and there is loot for all and exchange of worldly possessions. Since women are always safe under such conditions (see Chapter VII) the Badawin considers this state of affairs as nearly ideal as possible, and is for ever talking about the good times when anarchy prevailed. This is his idea of heaven on earth, this is what he perpetually longs for. Is it not his birthright that "every man's hand shall be against him, and his hand be against every man"?

If tribes and confederations are at peace with each other, the individuals and families move about at will in each other's territories, as they go and come to and from the various towns that supply their wants. This movement to market towns is known as *musábilah* and exists all over Arabia. Each tribe has its special or favourite towns which it goes up to for its necessities, and it looks forward with joy to such visits. For instance, from time immemorial the Mutair, Harb, Shammar, 'Awazim and Northern 'Ajman have done their *musábilah* to Kuwait, while the Dhafir have visited Zubair, Nasriyah and Samawa on the Euphrates.

The system enables the town authorities to exercise a beneficial control over the Badawin who market with them, as any misbehaviour at once results in the tribe's being forbidden to enter the town—a very great hardship to the desert shopper. Despotic rulers like Bin Sa'ud naturally do not like the *musábilah* system at all, especially when it affects their border tribes, for these would like to spend their moneys outside the state, and are always liable to be got at by the powers that be, in neighbouring countries. One of the chief reasons for Bin Sa'ud's ten-year blockade of Kuwait was his determination to try and prevent his subjects doing *musábilah* with that town. The Ruler of the latter place naturally tried to encourage such *musábilah*, for if it were forcibly stopped, his people must have recourse to smuggling to get their goods out to the tribes.

THE ANNUAL MOVES

During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concentrates on its wells (*gulbán*), which in each case are groups of wells lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here they camp (*igaiyathun*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *musábilah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the time when the *zakát* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *saríya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

there is a stir in the Badawin world. Suhail (Canopus) has also been* seen, low down in the southern horizon, which to the Badawin means the end of the dread summer, for man and beast then need less to drink. Even the blood grows cooler of a sudden.

A general cheerfulness now takes hold of the Badawin tent-dweller. He has safely weathered one more dread summer, the life-giving rains are coming and with them abundance once again. He joyfully packs up his belongings and by the 15th of October is ready to move. The end of the month sees him gone, rain or no rain. At first he does not go too far from water, for his camels, sheep and mares must still be watered frequently.

With the first fall of rain, however, he is gone on his great annual migration, or, to be more accurate, his grand circular tour. The various sections of the tribe now move together or follow each other from grazing ground to grazing ground, till they have systematically passed over and eaten down all the *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh* grasses that the rains have brought in their train. Should rains be delayed in a particular area, the tribe skip it and pass on to where the country has become green. The night lightning and the heavy bank of clouds seen of an evening far away on the horizon are their surest guides.

Certain areas are known to be nearly always good in autumn, and to these the shaikhs will usually take their own best camels with them.

This moving in the wake of the grazing is spread over November, December, January, February, March and April, till by May all nomad households are once more beginning to converge slowly on to water. It is a sad period, this having to go, so to speak, "home again' after the glorious annual holiday. During the migration months the tribal tents change ground about every ten days, both for sanitary reasons and because the grass has been eaten up—so the moves are slow, leisurely and pleasant. Nor are distances to the next camp great. It is a period of joy for all, women renew their winter garments, make *leben*, wear their best frocks and amuse themselves among the flowers. The better-off men hawk the lesser bustard (*hubara*), hunt gazelle

* In Najd Canopus is usually seen between 1st September and 10th September. In Kuwait if the sky is clear it is seen any time after the 10th September, and at about 3.30 a.m., very low down in the south over the Braisi Gate.

(*dhabi*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves on fresh *leben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war, then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp. His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not necessarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father and become shaikh after him must prove:

> that he has the necessary courage;
> that he has powers of leadership;
> that he has *hadh* or luck.

The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Bin Sa'ud, the present Lord of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

proposes to wage war on So-and-So, and on such and such a date. This would not be tolerated. He must carry the public opinion of the tribe with him. Hence, before anything is undertaken, secret meetings and daily talks are held with the tribal greybeards and men of experience. Once a decision has been come to, however, and the battle joined, the leadership lies with the shaikh, and his orders must be obeyed.

To maintain his influence in the piping times of peace, the shaikh must prove himself literally the "father of his people". He must know the family troubles of every man and must give good and fair decisions when cases are brought to him for settlement. Above all, he must not be miserly, and must keep open house. No name has a more unworthy meaning, or leaves a nastier taste in the mouth of the Badawin than the epithet *bakhîl*, or "stingy one". Once this name *bakhîl* sticks to a chief, his influence is at an end. Hence a successful shaikh must always have coffee going in his tent, pestle must ring on mortar from morn to night. Even this is not enough; for his hungry tribesmen, the majority of whom would scarcely taste meat from year's end to year's end, expect from their shaikh an occasional feast and the slaying of a camel, that all may eat their fill. The shaikh can reasonably stage a feast on the arrival of an important guest, to celebrate a wedding, or circumcision ceremony, or the like.

A great shaikh will go even further and will regularly send presents of frocks and material for dresses to the wives of the less fortunate members of his tribe. This keeps the women happy and indirectly their husbands also. The shaikh's chief lady also has herself a lot to do in keeping up her husband's prestige, and the wives of the junior members of the clan are for ever calling on her and explaining their difficulties, in the unexpressed hope that assistance to the wardrobe or kitchen will be forthcoming. The great Faisal al Duwish was a master at keeping the women of the tribe happy, and it paid: the same must also be said of His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud.

HARD LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL BADAWIN

The average Badawin has a hard and difficult existence, and may be said to be always hungry and ill-clad. The main hardship he is at all times faced with is lack of money and inability to make any, by

what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdásha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kaffiyah* and thin rope *agál* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yáhi* or *jabali* wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *salúqi*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhalúl* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

keeps for breeding. Similarly, young male camels are sold for food and only a selected few retained to carry the household tents and baggage.

Mares are never sold, and the male foals, if not killed at birth, are a source of income when sold in the towns bordering on Arabia. (See Chapter XXX.)

The Badawin of the desert has a charm of his own, and if you once make friends with him or do him a kindness, he does not forget. He is above all things a child of nature, and is ruled by a strange pride which he calls his *sharaf* and which he values almost above life itself. Scold a desert man or call him ugly names, and he is ready to knife you; at the very least he will sulk, dig his toes into the ground and do nothing that you wish. On the other hand, if you treat him kindly, invite him to sit down in your tent and take a cup of coffee with you, you have gone half-way to win his friendship and confidence. If you treat him as an equal, and not as a servant, even if he is merely your guide or escort, he will react wonderfully and will rarely take liberties.

He is full of humour too, and will understand a joke and a good story, but you must not make fun of him before his fellow Arabs.

Next to his *sharaf*, the Badawin, and for that matter every true Arab, values his family honour or *'ardh*. This word implies the good name of his womenfolk and more especially of his wife and sister. If his *'ardh* is besmirched nothing short of killing the errant woman will restore it. Respect the Badawin's *sharaf*, speak well always of his *'ardh* and help him to guard both, and all will be well with you in your relations with him.

However poor he is and however lowly his dwelling-place, the Badawin excels as a host, and will slay his last camel or sheep to do honour to his guest. Nor are his womenfolk behindhand in this respect. If an important personage passes by her tent in the absence of her husband, the wife will run out of her tent holding out a frothing bowl of camel's milk or *leben*, as a sign of welcome.

THE BADAWIN'S FAULTS

The desert man has his faults, of course, and by Western standards they are grave.

Dirty he and his wife always are, but theirs is the dirt of the field, a thing totally different from the dirt of the town. He never washes his clothes till they are about to drop off, and then he replaces them. He and his good wife are covered with body lice, and reek of camel manure and other choice odours, but the important parts of the body are kept clean, and the wife bathes her hair once a week in she-camel's urine, and thus rids her head of vermin for a few days.

Both the Badawin and his women are envious to a degree, and cupidity is the breath of life to them. Both are as full of *hasad* and *tama'* (envy and cupidity) as anyone in this world could be, and they never tire of saying that others around them suffer from these vices but never they themselves. *Hasad* takes the form of backbiting at every opportunity, and disparaging the efforts and good name of anyone who happens to be better off. His *tama'* is proverbial and has caused him to be dubbed by certain Westerners "the arch parasite of world society". True it is that you can make a Badawin man or woman do pretty well anything in this world except (and here I speak for the desert only) sacrifice his or her honour, by the offer of money.

Yet with all these faults I have found the Badawin and his wife to be the most lovable and delightful of all people, just primitive Adams and Eves, like their ancestors.

The true Badawin is a deeply religious man, and his hard life in the desert with its perpetual dangers to man and beast increases his sense of nearness to and dependence on his Maker. The grim scenery which surrounds him, the wide sandy deserts, the blood-colour of blazing sunsets, the deep yellow-black of the dust storms, a very incarnation of monstrous evil, and last but not least the devilish flicker of the witch's oven, as it trembles above the ground, with its cruel sister the ever-deceiving mirage, all tend to convince him that the One and Indivisible God is near him always and if only he be a true Musulmán will help him when peril is about. The thought of God is always with him, and the name of Allah is perpetually on his lips. He prays ceremonially five times a day. He can and will do nothing without invoking God's aid. After his duty towards God, comes duty towards his neighbour, and to a lesser extent towards himself. His whole code can be summed up in the following few sentences:

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his tent neighbour (*qasír*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*áhiáfa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafiq*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wejh* and *dakhála*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*chessib*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yargud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked

about. Yet gossips they are, and expert in tearing others' reputations. Many a desert tragedy has resulted from too glib a tongue. Ordinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing. The bearing of their young by camels, mares and ewes is not only an everyday topic, but mothers will take their children to watch the progress of such events, alongside their menfolk.

On the whole, Badawin women are extremely moral, though they might readily succumb to temptation were it to come their way. Fortunately it does not.

They go in for love affairs, of course, and married women are not above falling desperately in love with other men than their husbands. A woman's only hope in such a case (unless her man happens to be her first cousin) is to tell her husband the whole truth, and beg him to divorce her. This happens fairly often among the rank and file, though not among the senior ladies of the tribe or the shaikh's wives. Sir Richard Burton has said somewhere that among Badawin women who were separated from their menfolk during long absences in the desert when at war, abnormal and unnatural living was not uncommon. This I think a libel, or at least a grave exaggeration.

THE DAILY ROUND OF A BADAWIN FAMILY—"AN AUTUMN STUDY"

Time, Early November; Place, Wafra, 30 miles from the sea in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.

The tent is pitched on a slight rise in the ground, so that if rain comes the water will not flood the interior. Everyone is busy from earliest dawn to nightfall, especially the women and girls. A little rain has fallen, the first for eight months, and grass has just started sprouting in the hollows. Both camels and sheep are thin and scarcely able to walk any distance. The summer has been a terribly severe one. More rain is urgently needed, else the grass that has come up will wither again. The head of the family has ridden off on his mare the previous evening to see if better grazing exists 10 miles away. He will not be back till sunset to-day.

At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the *'adhan* (call to prayer),

with which the day commences. It is still quite dark, but the prayer-call has roused the camp. The women also pray, but in their own tent. After prayers, the woman whose duty it is to make the daily supply of *leben* (sour milk), starts rocking her goatskin to and fro on the *mirjahah* (wooden tripod from the centre of which it hangs). According to the tribe they belong to, some women sing when at this work, others do not.

The woman of the house then orders a little bitter coffee or tea (a modern innovation) to be prepared and gives some to the shepherd and the camelherd, who with the dawn will start off on their day's duties. With the coffee she hands them a supply of dates; part of this is eaten on the spot and part put into a little leather bag as the day's ration. If coffee or tea is scarce, the men are given a bowl of milk. While this is being done, another servant whose duty later will be to go and fetch water, etc., looses the lambs from inside the tent, where each has been attached by a woollen loop to a central rope during the night, and allows each lamb to be suckled by its mother. This done, the lambs are tied up again. The grown-up animals are counted to see that no wolf has stolen one during the night, and off they are sent to graze in charge of the shepherd boy. As the sheep are weak from lack of fodder and the long summer, they will be sent a couple of miles at most. There the shepherd-boy amuses himself one way or another till the sun gets up and makes him feel inclined to rest. He thereupon plants his staff* in the ground and hangs his *'abba* on top. This is enough to deceive the sheep into thinking the shepherd is standing near them and watching. They will not wander; the shepherd goes to sleep. There is no danger by day while he is in sight of the camp.

After the sheep go the camels. A few of these, being in extra poor condition as the result of the summer, find difficulty in rising. They are given a mouthful of dates to encourage them; one or two may have to be helped up, protesting with growls and burblings as their tails are seized and given an upward twist. They are all ready now and the herdsman bursts into song of encouragement and leads the

* Called *mikhyal*. *Mikhyal* is the special stick which shepherds keep to hang their *'abbas* on to prevent sheep and lambs from wandering. Every tent has one.

Najdi and Iraq sheep take no notice of the *mikhyal*, only the black sheep of Hasa and Kuwait. [See Bible. "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me"—here "staff" is undoubtedly the Arabian *mikhyal*.]

way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird, rising and falling in semitones. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He it is who is leading them to pastures fair, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry groans and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for the day's needs. *'Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their necks to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

in of firewood goes on, and the girls and children get in a two- or three-mile walk every morning. It is good for them and makes them strong, straight and fit to bear children later on, and they know it.

Two hours later they return, each bearing an enormous load of *'arfaj* bushes on their heads, and followed by the tired little mites who have gone with them. In the meantime the woman of the tent has not been idle. She, with her sister, or old mother if she has one to help her, has been sunning the family bedding (*laháf*) and putting it away, or has been cleaning pots and pans from the previous night's meal and has tidied up the tent. She has sent off the spare shepherd to go and fetch water from the wells they have just vacated, perhaps 10 miles back. He takes for the purpose a couple of male camels kept back from the herd, on whom he loads up either two large camel water-skins, or four goatskins. This will suffice for the needs of the tent and its neighbours. Should a small *thamíla* exist near them, as is often the case after rains, the daughters of the house will once again be sent off with goatskins (*garab*) to collect the water—(a *thamíla* is a small supply of water lying under the surface of a dry, sandy water-course which does not sink deep and disappear completely, because it lies on subsurface rock or clay). The girls scratch away the sand to a depth of two or three feet to reach the brown, muddy liquid. They ladle it into skins by means of a small cup (*jiddá*) of tamarisk wood, and keep it on one side for drinking purposes only. The water is at first opaque and yellowish, but the silt soon settles.

To keep the water-skins cool during the day, a bed of *'arfaj* bush is made just outside the women's quarters, and all skins are laid on the bed.

By now it is time to prepare the midday meal. If the family is a fairly prosperous one, rice will be cooked and made tasty with *semen*, clarified butter of sheep's milk, and all will sit down and eat their fill. If the family is a poor one, there will be no meal till sundown.

After the midday meal, the woman of the house will first clean the cooking pots, and then start weaving any cloth that may be required for the tent, or if the tent is complete she will work on a *qáta* or *masnad*, which in due course she will sell when she visits a town to do *musábilah*. A *qáta* if well and artistically made will bring her in Rs.45 to Rs.50—a vast sum of money for a Badawin family.

An hour or so before sunset, the tent housewife takes a stroll. She has had a hard day. She enjoys herself with her children for half an hour or so. Before going out she has ordered the household to prepare and fill the *haudh*. This is a large leather drinking trough fixed in basin fashion on a stand of three bent hoops of wood. This is for the sheep when they come home and for the master's mare. There is a good supply of water ready, but the sheep will not need much, for they have been having green grazing. The camels will not yet drink: it is autumn and they will not want water for five days now. It is impossible to water them in camp, so every fifth day the herdsman will take them back, either to the wells they summered on, or to others that may be handy and let them drink their fill (*i-waridun-hum*).

On such journeys the herd will take the spare shepherd with him and he will go equipped with *al haudh* (see above), the *dallu* (small leather bucket), to draw water with, and the *habl* or rope to attach to the bucket. He will also take all spare *garabs* (water-skins) to bring back water to the camp. It is now nearly sunset and all eyes are on the look-out for the return of the master of the house. At last he is seen on the horizon cantering leisurely home. As he nears the tents the dogs begin to bark, the children rush out to meet father and the wife orders coffee to be prepared. His welcome is like that given to a guest, for he will be tired and hungry. As he dismounts, his wife or daughter takes his mare and at once throws over her a *jillál* (blanket) before taking her to water. That duty done, they shackle her with clumsy iron shackles and allow her to go free. If the family is fairly well off, the mare will be given a feed of barley, but the poor man's mare gets nothing.

Salutations over and several cups of coffee handed round, the master of the house is asked about the result of his journey. He produces out of the voluminous folds of his *dishdásha* samples of different kinds of grass which he has seen growing at the spot he visited, and which he has brought home to show his wife and herdsmen; he praises his new find, he says grazing is good out there, and there is lots of it, and no other Badawin have as yet found it. He has brought good news (*bishára*), he wants his womenfolk and all the others to rejoice with him for he is a *bashír* (a bringer of good news):

"By God it is excellent, very very excellent, and there are no Arabs

on it—Oh my children, oh my servants, we will move to it to-morrow morning."

Yet what, after all, is this new-found grazing? Nothing but a slightly rained-upon locality, where a few green shoots and weeds wait for man and beast to find them. Yet with the scarcity that prevails, the find is welcome. At sunset the camels once again come home, this time with the herdsman riding behind them. He is no longer singing, but encourages them with a "wa-ho, wa-ho, hurry up my daughters, the night is coming on, 'tis late—'tis late".

On arrival the camels are gently shepherded to the front of the tent where they are encouraged to lie down in a semicircle forming a sort of zareeba, with heads all facing the open side of the tent. This for protection, and to give each other warmth, for the tent keeps off the chill night breeze. However cold it is, the camels have no covering on their backs, and they appreciate any shelter they can get from the night wind.

An hour after sunset, and often when it is quite dark, the sheep come in with much "baa-ing" and calling upon their lambs to come out and appease their hunger, for the lambs have been kept at home all day. The sheep are brought into the semicircle formed by the camels, and the lambs are let loose. For twenty minutes or so pandemonium reigns. The babies have to be guided to their mothers, who will accept no lamb but their own, and in the darkness there is much apparent confusion due only to the noise made by ewes and lambs.

The shepherds know their job, and the lambs, having fed, are soon taken back and tied up inside the tent. All this time there are no lights, for the Badawin family cannot afford such luxury. Only in the kitchen portion of the tent a fire is cooking the evening meal and the master of the house sitting in front of the guest portion of his tent has got a small fire going with the embers of dry camel dung. Every now and then he flings on a bunch of *'arfaj* to cause a blaze and show him what is going on.

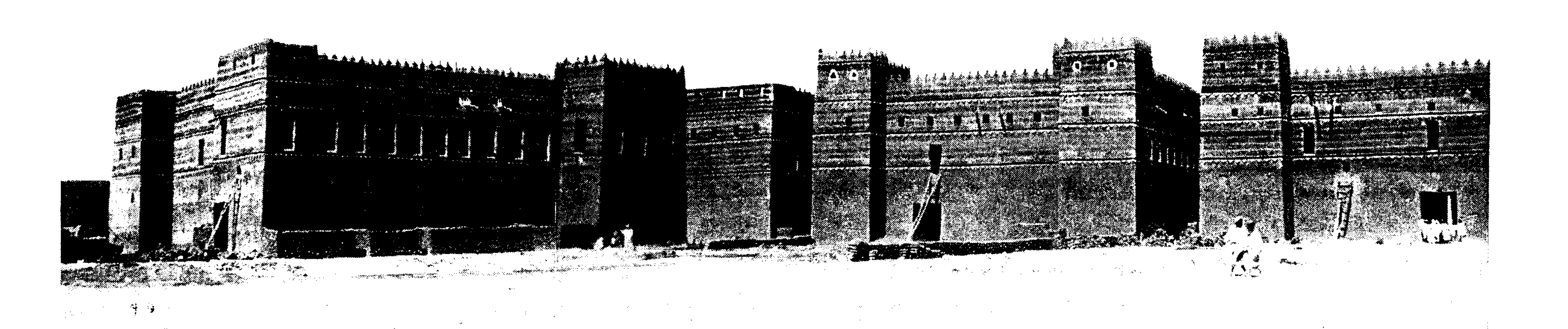
Supper follows, a simple meal of boiled rice and possibly a little bread. It is washed down with *leben*, of which master takes long and copious draughts. The women do not eat with him. They have already had their snack. Only the wife sits by her husband to see that he has

all he wants. Coffee then goes round, and master, servants and women go early to bed.

That night Allah the All-seeing, the All-merciful, is good to his people. As the camp sleeps, a great thundercloud appears and gradually creeps up from the far north-west. Nearer and nearer it comes till at 3 a.m. it is exactly overhead. There is a death-like stillness, and even the camp dogs cease their baying and the sleepers turn uneasily in their sleep. The air is oppressive, even hot. Suddenly a cold chill wind begins to blow; the shepherd watching his sheep in front of the tent wakes his master and whispers, "Allah Kerim, Insha'llah it will rain, the mercy of God is coming, Oh Allah, give us of thy blessing". Suddenly there is a soul-raising thunderclap followed by a simultaneous blaze of forked lightning, which lights up the whole landscape a vivid bluey-white. Clap after clap follows; each rolling away in the distance like salvos of great artillery. Shouts and cries rise from the camp. The men rush to the camels and sheep, the women to the tent ropes, and then with a dull roar growing every instant deeper and closer, the rain comes at last. At first great heavy drops the size of small saucers, then in a few seconds the downpour. And what a downpour! Fortunately there is no wind but just a deep booming roar, as the water pours down in sheets. For ten minutes everyone holds on to what he can grip, expecting the squall which usually follows such rain. But none comes. Then cries of joy as the open spaces round the camp site begin to fill with water. The tents perched up on higher ground than the surrounding country are safe from flood, but by 3.30 a.m. the countryside is a vast shallow lake. By 3.45 a.m. the rain thins off. Regardless of everything, men, women and children rush forth to collect the delicious rain-water into every kind of utensil they can lay hands on: water-skins, basins, tins and cooking pots of every description are made to serve. When these are filled women and children sit in the water and literally wallow in it for sheer joy. The men rouse the camels and make them drink knee deep in the fresh brown sea. Everyone is delirious, for they have been drinking brackish and even salt water for the last nine months. The great blessing has come at last. God is great, God is good to the ***Muslimín***. The incongruous part of it all is that it is still pitch dark. No one has a lantern, no one cares. At length dawn breaks. Prayers,



THE KING'S OLD PALACE, RIYADH



THE KING'S NEW PALACE IN RIYADH
(In course of construction)

genuine prayers of heartfelt thanks are said and the storm passes away. What a scene daylight brings! Each tent, like a litttle Noah's ark, is perched safely on its small Ararat, and a sea of fresh water for a couple of miles all round gives the appearance of the Flood of Bible story. Away to the right are some low hills, and to the left one can see the water tumbling down their sides as the various nullahs *sail* (the Arab word for running in spate). You can hear the dull roar of these distant water-courses running full. The summer has ended at long long last. The Badawin world comes to life and is happy once more. "Now we shall see the *fagah* (truffles)", cry the delighted children.

(The above was a personal experience of 2nd November, 1933.)

CHAPTER IV

The Tent and its Furnishings

A Badawin tent or *bait al sha'ar* is made up of strips of black or brown coarse cloth known as *fala'ij* (plural: *filján*). These are woven from goats' hair or from sheep's wool, never from camel hair, so that the name "camel hair tents" is a misnomer. The length of each strip used, and the number of such strips, naturally depends on the importance and circumstances of the owner. An average shaikh, for instance, will have a tent of, say, six extra-broad strips, each seventy feet long and supported by four poles, while a poor man may have cheap narrow strips to his tent, each twenty-five feet long, with only two poles, possibly with one.

The true Badawin shaikh does not go in for bigger tents than the one described, as his movements from camp to camp would be hampered thereby. Among the leading Shaikhs of the 'Anizah and Northern Shammar, such as ibn Sha'alan, ibn Hathal, Ajil al Yarwar and also among Arabian princes like the Al Sa'ud, the Shaikhs of Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar, tents of enormous size are the fashion. These, however, are practically used only when the owners are going out for the spring months to certain standing camps, from which they will sally forth and hunt gazelle, or hawk *hubara*. They would never be used for migration purposes.

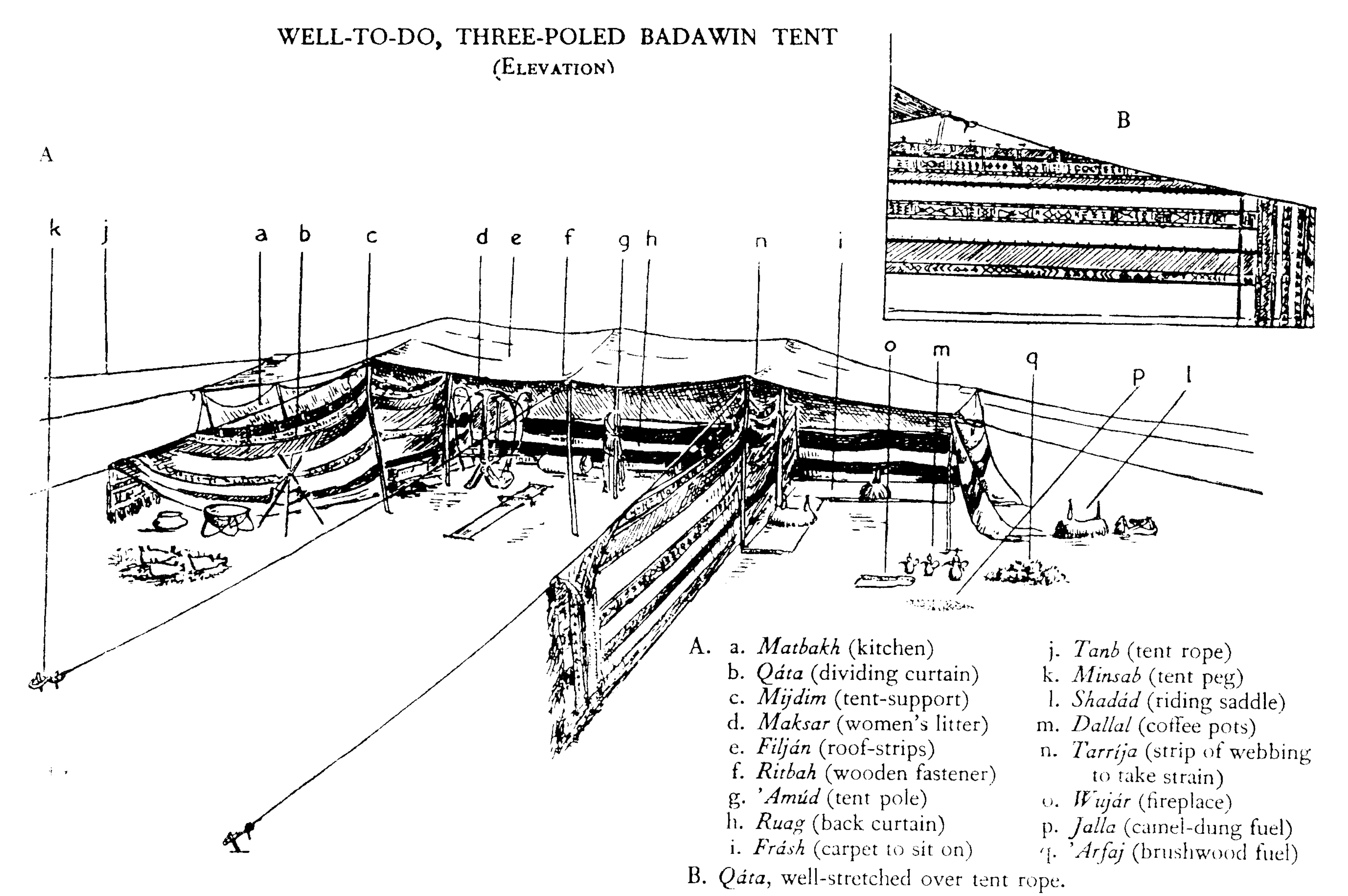
To return to the tent: the strips are all sewn together so as to form one long rectangular whole, and are then raised up on the tent poles (*'amdán*) and the sides stretched taut by means of tent ropes (*atnáb*).

The tent is then divided, usually by two or three long and gaily decorated curtains, known as *qáta* (pronounced *gáta*), which hang on the tent poles inside the tent to a height of some six feet from the ground. They have their ends attached to the roof at the back of the tent, and to the roof and the tent ropes on the open side respectively.

Each *qáta* has one of its ends especially gaily decorated (see drawing of

WELL-TO-DO, THREE-POLED BADAWIN TENT

(ELEVATION)

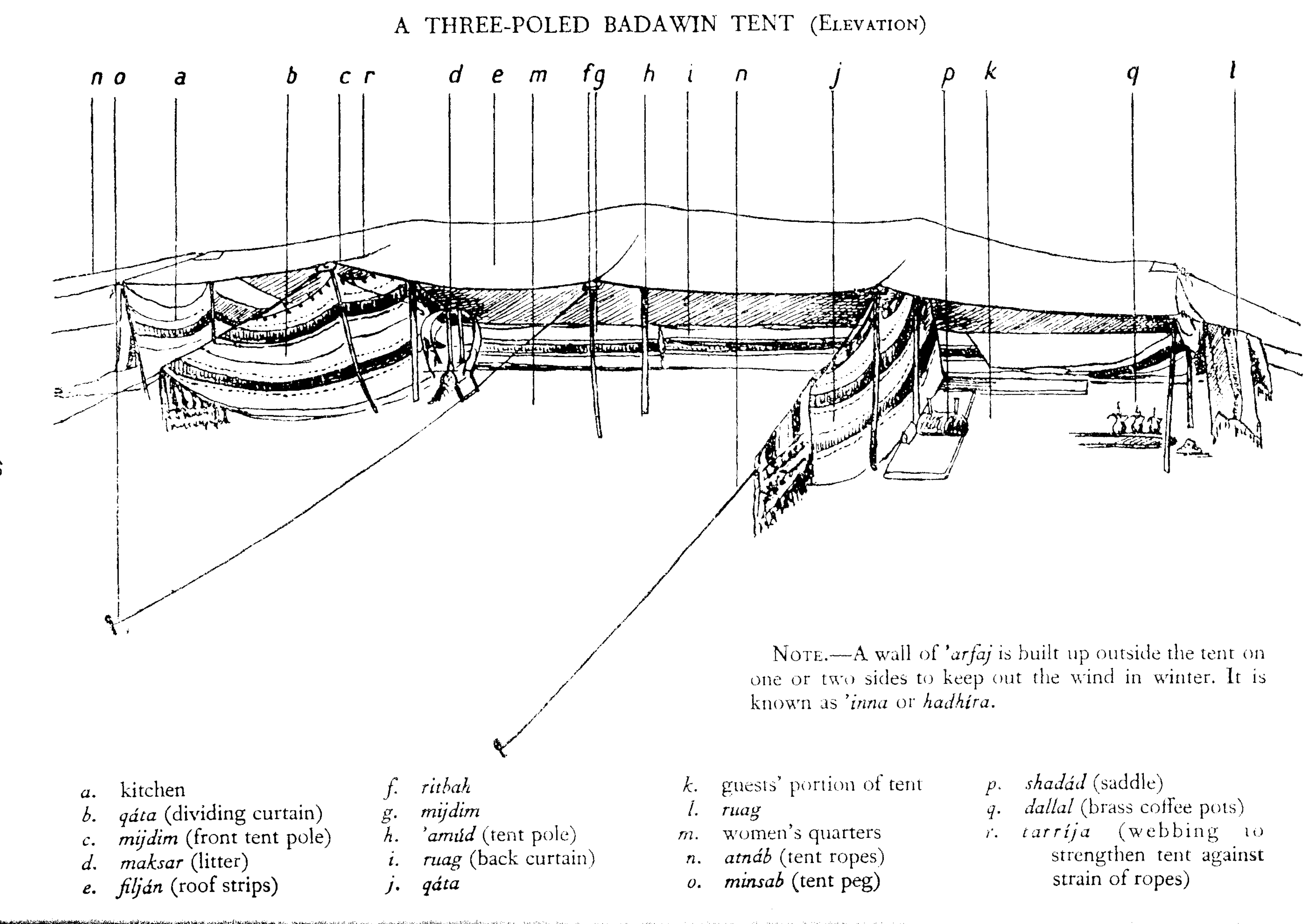


A.
- a. *Matbakh* (kitchen)
- b. *Qáta* (dividing curtain)
- c. *Mijdim* (tent-support)
- d. *Maksar* (women's litter)
- e. *Filján* (roof-strips)
- f. *Ritbah* (wooden fastener)
- g. *'Amúd* (tent pole)
- h. *Ruag* (back curtain)
- i. *Frásh* (carpet to sit on)
- j. *Tanb* (tent rope)
- k. *Minsab* (tent peg)
- l. *Shadád* (riding saddle)
- m. *Dallal* (coffee pots)
- n. *Tarríja* (strip of webbing to take strain)
- o. *Wujár* (fireplace)
- p. *Jalla* (camel-dung fuel)
- q. *'Arfaj* (brushwood fuel)

B. *Qáta*, well-stretched over tent rope.

NOTE.—A wall of *'arfaj* bushes (*'inna* or *hadhira*) is built in a semicircle round the front of the tent to keep out wind in winter. Not shown in the diagram.

A THREE-POLED BADAWIN TENT (ELEVATION)

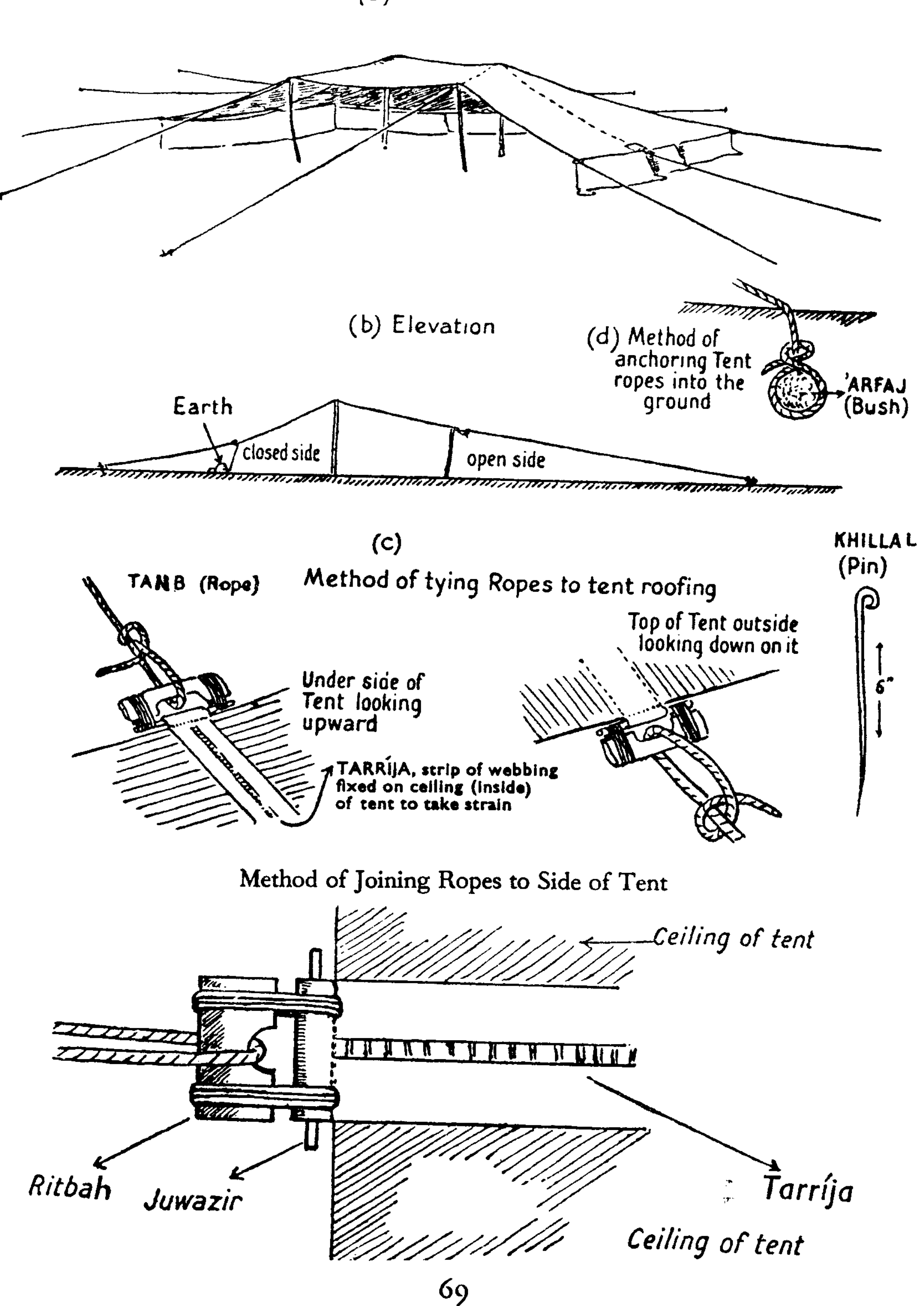


NOTE.—A wall of *'arfaj* is built up outside the tent on one or two sides to keep out the wind in winter. It is known as *'inna* or *hadhíra*.

a. kitchen
b. *qáta* (dividing curtain)
c. *mijdim* (front tent pole)
d. *maksar* (litter)
e. *filján* (roof strips)
f. *ritbah*
g. *mijdim*
h. *'amúd* (tent pole)
i. *ruag* (back curtain)
j. *qáta*
k. guests' portion of tent
l. *ruag*
m. women's quarters
n. *atnáb* (tent ropes)
o. *minsab* (tent peg)
p. *shadád* (saddle)
q. *dallal* (brass coffee pots)
r. *tarrija* (webbing to strengthen tent against strain of ropes)

qáta pp. 67 and 68). This decorated end must face outwards on the side of the tent which is open. If the wind changes, and the reverse side of the tent is used, the *qáta* must be taken down, turned round and refixed.

DETAILS



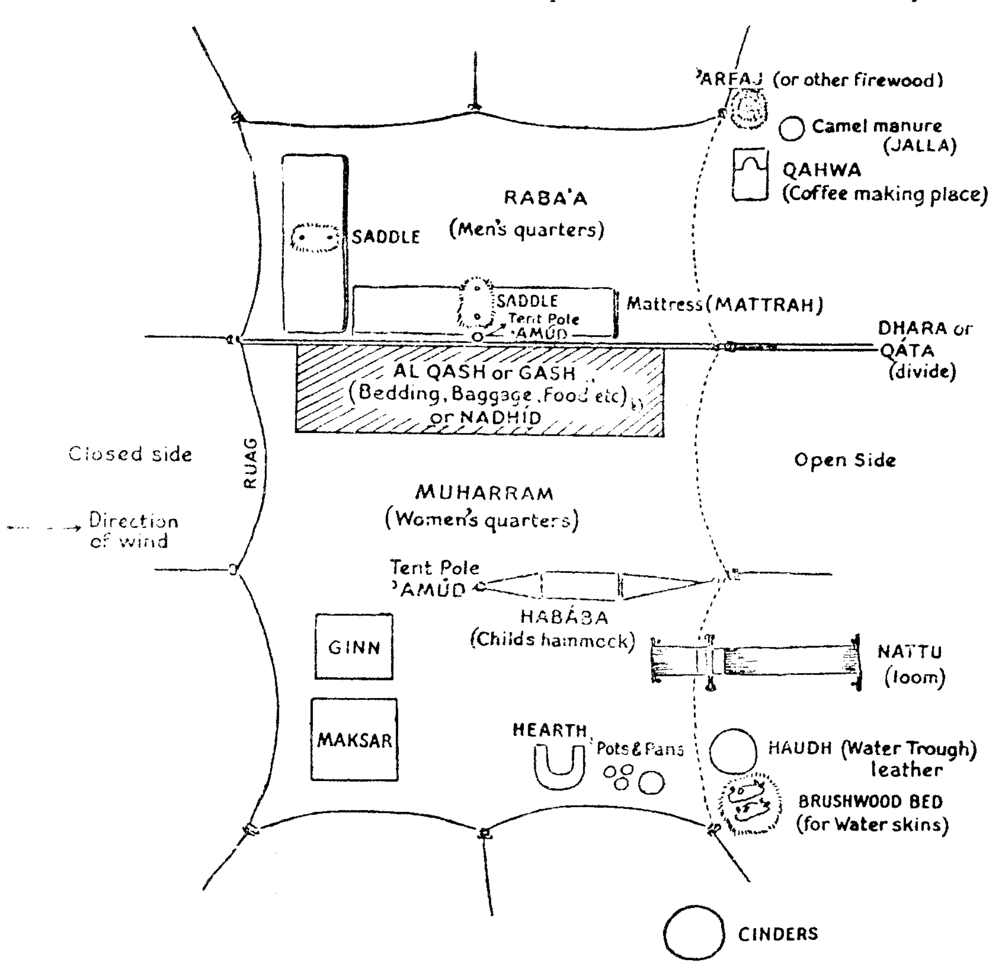
The number of tent ropes which support a tent in front and rear depend on the number of poles the tent has. Opposite each pole there will be two ropes, one in front and one behind, so that a tent of three poles will have six ropes (three on either side). Apart from these front

WELL-TO-DO, TWO-POLED BADAWIN TENT

(PLAN)

NOTE.—In Eastern Arabia the *Raba'a* (the men's portion of the tent) is always at the eastern end.

In a stone or mud house the men's portion is known as Al Diwániyah.



and rear ropes, the two ends of the tents are kept stretched out taut by six other ropes, three at each end.

On the reverse side of each tent and stretching well round so as to shut in the two open ends, and with enough material to spare to close them at night from the front, are two long stretches of cloth known as

ruag, made up of four narrow strips each, which join in the centre of the reverse side of the tent; these are attached to the tent sides by a series of bodkins known as *khillal*. The whole then hangs down in the form of a heavy curtain which, where it meets the earth, is buried in the sand for its whole length, or pegged down if the ground is hard.

The lowest strip which always is covered or buried in sand is of inferior material, as it gets most wear and damage from white ants and rain.

We thus have in the completed pitched tent the following main parts:

(*a*) The roof of the *bait al sha'ar* consisting of six strips *filján* (singular: *fala'ij*) joined together.
(*b*) The poles *'amdán* (singular: *'amúd*).
(*c*) The partition curtains *qáta*.
(*d*) The two rear curtains *ruag* joined together at centre of the back of the tent and stretching round the two ends.
(*e*) The tent ropes *atnáb* (singular: *tanb*).

THE QÁTA OR DIVIDING CURTAIN

Patterns commonly found on Mutair and 'Ajman *qátas*, or the curtains which divide the tent, together with the particular names under which they are known, are given below. Although the number and name of each strip always remain the same, the actual pattern on each strip varies according to the tribe, and the time that is given to the making of each strip. This in particular applies to strips (1), (2) and (3).

The *qáta* or divide is composed of four strips sewn together as under, and commencing from the top.

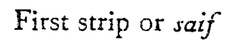
(1) The first strip or *saif* is all black with pattern (*a*) in the centre and pattern (*b*) above. Width one span plus four fingers.

(2) The second strip or *al ghadir* is a white strip with a one-inch-wide black border in the centre of which is pattern (*a*). The width of *al ghadir* is two spans.

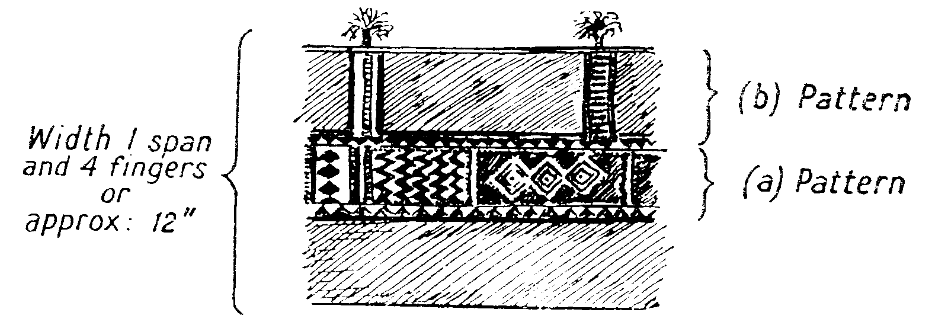
(3) The third strip or *al ba'ij* follows below *al ghadir*. Its upper half is black and lower half white with pattern (*c*) in the centre. Width also two spans.

(4) The fourth and last strip is *al muta'ba*. This is the lowest piece and lies along the gound. Its upper half is white and its lower half light or dark brown. Width two spans.

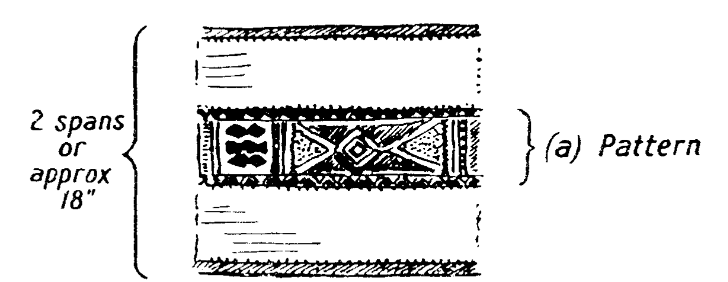
DIAGRAM OF THE QÁTA



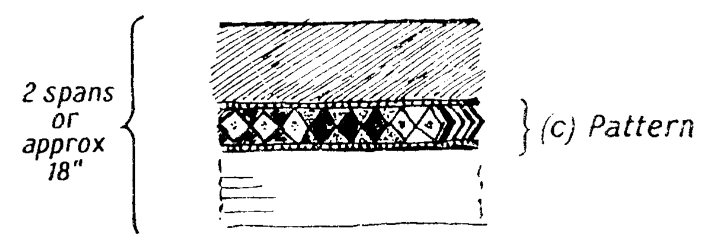
First strip or *saif*



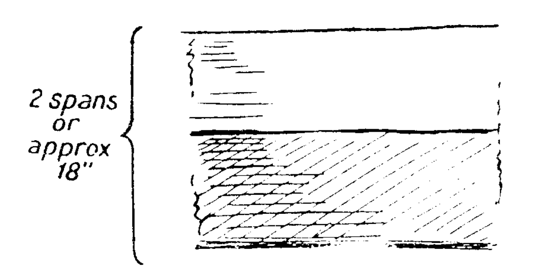
Second strip or *al ghadir*



Third strip or *al ba'ij*



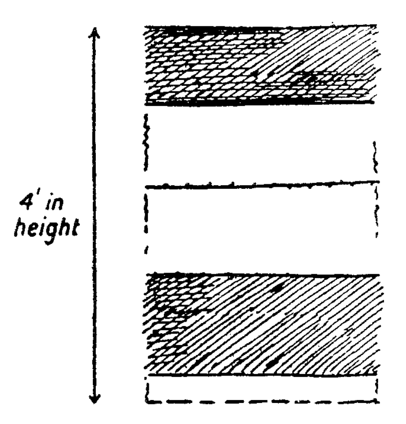
Fourth strip or *al muta'ba*



THE RUAG (or back curtains of a tent)

These consist of four strips sewn one on top of the other horizontally so as to form a long narrow curtain. Below is given a pattern very commonly used in the Kuwait and Hasa desert. The well-to-do

man goes in for handsome black and white *ruags*, while the poor man practically always confines himself to plain brown or black ones.



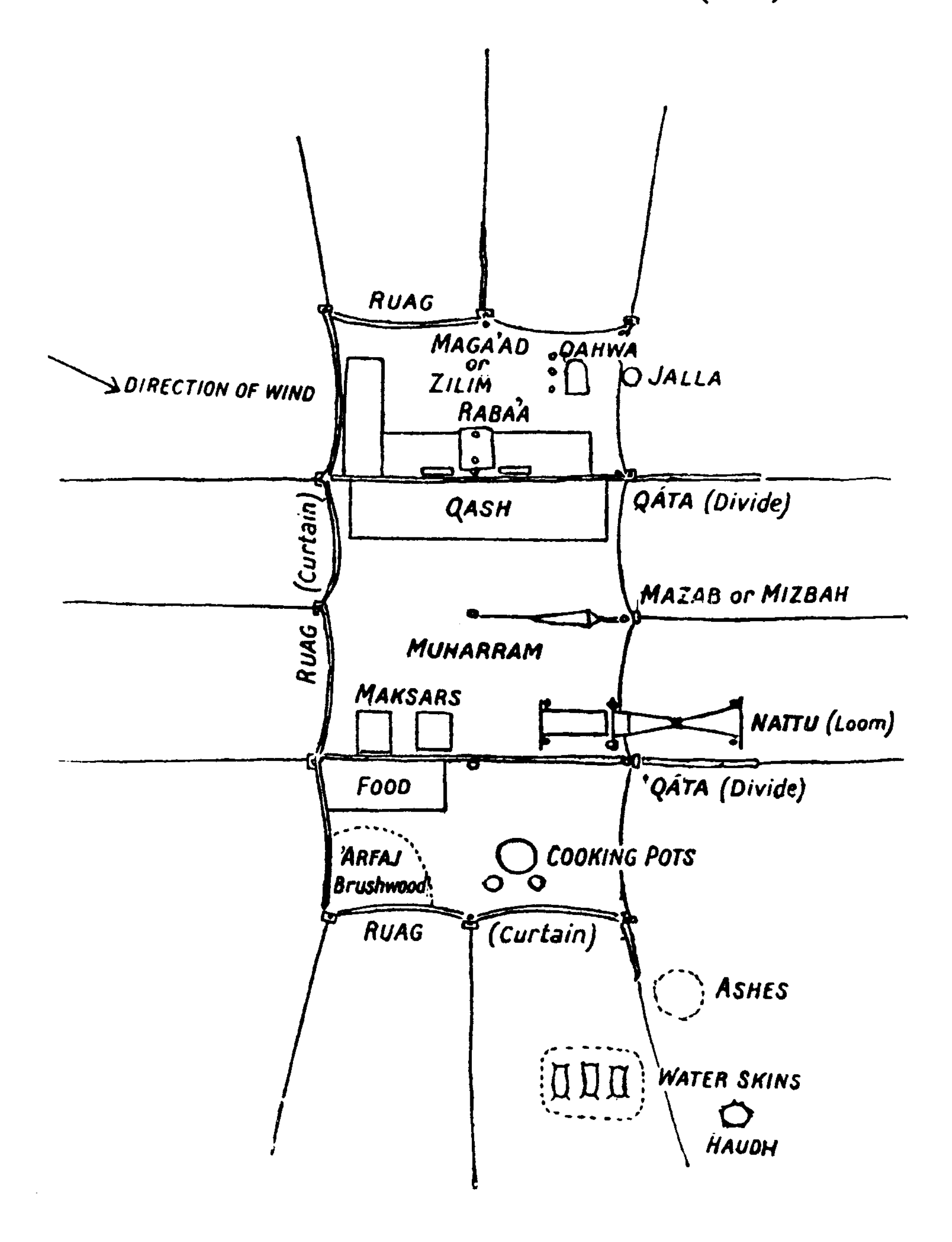
These four strips are sewn together and placed round the back and sides of the Badawin tent. The patterns vary slightly, some are without the second white strip. A coarse piece is woven and sewn along the bottom edge. This goes on the ground, and is usually covered with sand to weigh it down. The shade of brown varies according to the wool available.

The weaving of the tent material is largely done by the inhabitants of the towns and villages bordering on the desert, and both in Kuwait and the neighbouring hamlets of Jahrah and the Qusur a good trade is done in this commodity. This does not mean that this work is not largely done in the tribes themselves, but the best qualities and strongest materials for shaikhs' tents probably come from the towns.

Actually every humble tribal woman makes and renews the worn parts of her own tent, and only those with means go into the towns to buy. This was confirmed to me by Rifa'a, wife of Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra of the Mutair in 1934, and by many other women. The best and most sought after material is made of goats'* hair alone. It is jet black and is thicker than that made from sheep's wool. It also looks better. A good and favourite material is also of goats' hair and sheep's wool mixed. It has a streaky brown and black appearance and is handsome also. A noticeable feature are the tent ropes. They are made very long, on the principle of a ship's anchor, better to take the strain.

* Probably the best are made by the Bani Lam tribe near Amara in Iraq.

A THREE-POLED BADAWIN TENT (PLAN)



usually do the hammering in of the pegs with the long stone instrument known as *al fihr*, while the menservants attend to the poles and supports, etc.

The following are the orders the owner of the tent gives to his women and servants in the form of a regular drill, addressing individuals by name. Of course they are accompanied by a lot of chat and talk which need not be detailed here.

These ropes are attached to the ground by wooden pegs if the ground is firm, but if the soil is sandy the practice is to dig a hole two feet deep, tie the end of the rope round a bundle of *'arfaj* and bury the whole in the earth. An excellent anchor is thus formed, and a rope so treated rarely comes away. When a man first buys a tent, he purchases the poles separately, next the necessary rolls of tent strips of the lengths he requires, then the *qátas*, ropes, side poles, etc., and lastly the back curtains.

He then hands the tent strips to his women, who start sewing them together under the experienced eye of one of the older women. Much skill and care is needed to sew up a tent so that it stands straight and does not give way at any of the seams, which are carefully drawn together and sewn with extra-strong all-goats'-hair thread.

After the tent roof has been put together the *tarríja* (plural: *tara'ij*) have to be sewn on from side to side on the underside to support the poles and take the strain of the ropes. These are extra-strong white-and-black patterned strips 6 inches in width (like the Indian *nawar*). Immediately over the spot where the roof bears on the tent poles, two strips of wood are sewn into the tent roof, each 1½ feet long, so as to prevent the tops of the poles tearing open the roof. Each wooden strip is called a *gatba*. These wooden strips are not evident to the naked eye as they are rolled sausage fashion into the tent roof where the centre strips join. Each pole is placed exactly under the centre of the wood, and when in position does not damage the tent cloth. In the north proper holes are made for the tops of the poles in the tent ceiling, but not so among the tribes of Hasa and Nejd.

Lastly the *ritbah* (plural: *artáb*) or semicircular wood fasteners have to be sewn on to the ends of the *tarríja* on which the ropes are fastened to the tent sides. This is a very important operation, as there must be no weakness here. The ropes (always thick hempen ones) are now tied to the tent and everything is ready for pitching.

The pitching process is always done by the women, assisted by servants and slaves, occasionally also by a young son. It is supposed to be the women's particular job in life. The head of the family (*rai al bait*) directs the operation, and it is surprising to see how every person has a particular task allotted to him or her, knows it and sticks to it at every tent-pitching. The daughters of the house, for instance,

(1) "Spread out the tent *ya 'aiyál*" (O my people) (from its rolled up position when taken off the camel's back).
(2) "Stretch out the ropes *ya auládi*" (O children) (so that they are at right angles to the tent).
(3) "Anchor the rope ends in the ground *ya fulan wa fulan*" (O So-and-So).
(4) or "Drive in the pegs and wind the ropes round them *ya Nasir*."
(5) "Tighten the ropes *ya Hussa, ya Wadha*."
(6) "Take a pull on the end ropes *ya Marzuk, ya Nasir*."
(7) "Affix the *majadím*" (front-side, support-poles.) This is done on side away from wind.
(8) "Raise the centre poles"—the men's job.
(9) "Raise the back side poles and remaining end side poles."
(10) "Now lay to and take a pull at all the ropes once more."
(11) "Now *rawwagu al bait*, i.e. attach the *ruag* or back and side curtains, and cover the lower edge with sand to keep them down."
(12) "Now affix the *qáta* or partition curtains."
(13) Lastly, "Spread out the carpet and the *dawáshaks* and get ready the women's and men's portions of the tent". Women's quarters centre and left (*margad al harim*), men's quarters right (*margad al rijál*).

The tent is now fully pitched and the women place their treasures and stores in the centre portion of the tent, including their litters (*maksar*, *ginn*, etc.), sleeping gear, blankets, food, etc., and transfer to the end compartment the cooking pots, cooking utensils, etc., turning it into a sort of kitchen.

MEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

In the men's portion of the tent are then unrolled a well-worn carpet or two, the best *dawáshaks* (mattresses), to sit on, and the master's own camel saddle covered with white or black sheepskin. Pillows (*masanad*) are placed on both sides of this camel saddle, and also behind it for the guest's back to rest on, and generally the place is turned into a neat guest chamber for anyone who may come. The master now hangs up his rifle on a hook attached to the tent pole in the guest chamber, and prepares a fireplace to make coffee in the centre of the floor by digging out a shallow circular hole (*wujár*). This done, he gets out his row of three coffee pots (*dalla*), also a fourth "stock" pot, and lays them alongside the fireplace, together with the *mahmása* (coffee roaster) and *yed al mahmása* (coffee-berry stirrer).

Last of all he places in position the *shat finajín* (brass case for coffee cups) alongside the *yed wal háwan* (brass pestle and mortar), the *mubarrad* (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbát* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lífa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *makhbár* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamum seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood (*'arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched.

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand.

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *murtachi*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*masnad*), he is said to be *mutasannad*. If he tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hands he squats with knees wide apart.

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are stored up against the *qáta* curtain dividing the women's from the men's apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *laháfs* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the stores, and the woman of the house and her daughter's decorated *maksars* (litters) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by.

Not the least important of the women's treasures are the spindles (*maghzal*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirring, whether on the

march or on camel back; indeed, the *maghzal* would seem to be almost part of the *Badawiyah*. The method of spinning is as follows:

The spinner keeps the wool she is spinning under her right arm, or in her bosom, while with her left hand she prepares the wool to be spun some two feet in length, ties it to the lower end of the spindle pole, and thrusts it under the hook fixed to the top of the spindle head. Next she raises her left knee (she is sitting at the time) and, placing the lower end of the spindle pole on it, she sharply twists the spindle handle on her knee with an outward move of the palm of her hand. This causes it to spin sharply. Next moment she holds the spinning spindle aloft in her right hand by means of the wool. When this latter has got a sufficient twist on it, she winds the completed wool round the underside of the spindle head. The other most important article of the women's quarters is the hand loom (*nattu*) on which all the cloth parts of the tent are woven or replaced. Mother or daughter keeps the loom in constant action: they are never idle, these desert women. Treasures such as money, coffee beans, cardamum, sugar, salt, silks and special holiday attire are kept by the housewife locked up in a small tin or wooden box. The key of this she always keeps on her person, and tied to a portion of her head veil or *milfa*. This key is one of the first things that catch the European's eye when talking to a Badawin woman.

Close to, but outside the women's quarters, and away from the guest compartment, lie the filled water-skins (*garab*), which for coolness' sake are always placed on a thick mattress of *'arfaj* bush. Near these are kept:

(*a*) The small leather bucket and rope (*dallu*) for drawing water out of wells, with or without the cross-piece of wood in the centre to keep it open, and

(*b*) The large leather bucket or bath (*haudh*) standing on its curved wooden legs, from which camels and sheep drink. Both *dallu* and *haudh* are usually bought by the owner of the tent when he comes up to Kuwait or other town to do *musábilah*; in the same way he buys his goat water-skins which have to be renewed fairly frequently.

(*c*) The still larger camel water-skin or *ráwi* for conveying water from wells that may be distant.

Last, but not least, the *mirjahah* (or tripod) with goatskin hanging

below it ready to make *leben* (sour milk) with, or, if necessary, to hang a sheep's carcase on, preparatory to skinning it.

A fuller description and names of the articles found in both men's and women's portions of the tent will be found in Chapter V.

POSITION OF TENT WITH REGARD TO THE WIND

Tents are always pitched with one of their long sides facing in the direction of the wind. Hence in the eastern and north-eastern part of Arabia, where there are two very common prevailing winds, the *Shamál* (north-west wind) and the *Kaus* (south-east wind), it is the general rule to see black tents pitched with their longer axis facing towards the north-west. This does not mean that tents are opened towards the side from which the wind is blowing—the contrary is the case, and the side of the tent is always closed in the direction from which the wind is blowing, and the sheltered side opened.

The side which is open is called *wejh al bait* (the face of the tent), the closed side *guffa al bait* (the back of the tent). Should the wind suddenly change, as often happens during the rainy season, it is necessary for the inhabitants of the tent to change the "face" of the tent at once. Otherwise the wind gets under the tent, billows it up, and if it does not carry it away, at least causes the tent poles to fall and lets the tent then collapse upon its occupants. A sudden change of wind therefore means confusion and lots of shouting. The owner's first and immediate orders are, "Change the back wall, my children, the wind has come", or in Arabic, *Jaina al hawa, dabbaru al bait ya awaladi.* The excited women and servants thereupon rush about, drop the front bamboo supports (facing the wind), quickly unpin the back curtains and carry them round to the side from which the wind is blowing, and again as quickly pin them on to the tent roof, and bury their bottom edges in the sand; the side poles are next put under the edge of the tent roof facing away from the wind, each under a rope, and lastly the tent partition curtains are taken down, reversed and fixed up again with the embroidered ends extending out of the tent and thrown back over the tent ropes. The whole process takes a surprisingly short time.

Of course, in very hot weather the Badawin wants to take advantage of the slightest breeze, so he rolls up the back curtain or unpins several

yards of it so as to let portions of it lie on the ground: the breeze in this manner percolates into every part of the tent. If the sun is very strong, a locally woven carpet (usually some shade of orange) is hung up near the tent roof between poles and is pinned to the underside of the tent roof. This doubles the thickness of the tent and brings relief.

In very cold weather, on the other hand, the tent can be closed from the front by drawing inwards the embroidered ends of the *qáta* (which already extend several yards outside the tent) and by joining the ends near the middle of the tent side. The top edge is then pinned to the edge of the roof of the tent as is done in the case of the back curtain. This encloses the tent completely and gives great cosiness and warmth to the occupants. Similarly, the ends of the *ruag* are brought right round the guest quarters and the woman's cookhouse respectively, and turn those places into warm corners to sit in.

NOTE.—The men's quarter of a tent or *raba'a* is always situated at the east end of the tent, irrespective of which way the tent is facing. This is the universal rule in Eastern and North-Eastern Arabia.

Similarly it is the rule for a tent to be pitched with its longer axis at right angles to the north-west wind (*Shamál*). In inner Najd, and especially among 'Utaiba tribe, the longer axis facing the north-west is the rule, and the tent is opened at its ends only. The *raba'a* here is at southern end.

THE TENT DOGS

Every tent has its watch-dogs, and also (especially amongst the 'Ajman, 'Awazim and Mutair) a *salúqi* or two. The former are fierce, shaggy animals who usually have their ears cut off short to make them good fighters. Their heads are broad, rather like our bull-terrier type, and they are fierce and very powerfully built. These dogs guard the camels and sheep at night from wolves and strangers, and are trained to move round and round the tents all night in a large circle. The incoming or departing guest usually has a busy time keeping off these savage dogs, who bark at his heels in a most disconcerting manner, and are only kept back by a continual motion of his cane behind him, or by the shouts of the occupants of the tent. The watch-dog usually sleeps outside the women's apartments and is fed with little bits of rice, bread and dates that are left over from the meals. It is never allowed inside the tents, being unclean (*najis*). The *salúqis* (pronounced *salúqi*,



ONE OF H.H. THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT'S FALCONERS
SAUD BIN MUHAMMAD AL NAZZAL

plural: *salag*), on the other hand, are regarded as clean, especially by those Badawin following the Maliki tenets of Islam (who are in the majority in Hasa and Kuwait), and they are allowed to enter tents and sleep in the women's portion at will. They are valued for hunting purposes, and are taught to kill hare and gazelle for the pot. Great care is taken that there shall be no interbreeding between the tent watch-dogs and the *salúqi*, and when the female *salúqi* of the household is on heat one of her hind legs is attached by a leather thong to her collar, thus forcing her to sit down, which effectually prevents a heavy dog covering her.

A STRANGER ARRIVING AT A TENT

A stranger arriving must approach a Badawin tent from the front only. It is the worst of bad form to come up from the back. He must then approach the guest side of the tent and halt and make his camel kneel while some way off. This shows that he wants a night's rest or some food. He must never approach or halt his camel near the women's end of the tent (*muharram*). The purpose of this custom is to give the women time to adjust their *burqas* or veils whilst the visitor is some distance off. Were the visitor to come up from behind, he might come upon an unveiled woman attending to nature or washing her hair, or cleaning kitchen utensils.

FAVOURITE SPOTS FOR PITCHING TENTS

In choosing a tent site the proximity of water is, of course, the first essential. Next, the nature of the grazing decides where a man will wish to pitch his tent. If he is migrating with the tribe or part of the tribe, the tent owner leaves the selection of the area to be camped on to the shaikh, but tries for the convenience of himself and his family to get as close as possible to a sandy nullah or dry water course with high banks. This is very important, for it allows the whole household, and especially the women, to attend to their toilet and other sanitary duties out of sight and in sandy surroundings which are ideally healthful. In this connection a Badawin (male or female) never unnecessarily soils the ground, but makes a point of digging a small hole in the sand, which he afterwards fills in. If water is scarce, as more often than not

it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water. So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *maksars* or *ginns*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalúls*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *nauwakh al dhalúl* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first under their leader, all of them riding *dhalúls* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*sbúr*) have

already gone ahead to spy out the land, the grazing and the water. Assuming that there is no enemy near or danger imminent, the baggage-camels and women folk follow fairly close on their heels. After the women and camp gear, the herds of camels and sheep follow on a broad front, slowly grazing along till they reach their new camp. There they find everything ready and the tents pitched. A strong guard is, of course, left with the herds. As in the case of the individual tent owner, the shaikh decides on where the camp is to be, and on the spot where he kneels his camel and off-saddles, his own tent will be pitched.

A tribe in camp is not concertinaed up but scatters out over a wide space, each group of family tents being about two hundred yards from its neighbour if the ground is broken, and possibly four hundred yards apart in flat open ground. Hence a body of Badawin having, say, four hundred tents will cover a wide area when camped. This is the procedure in winter or spring when no enemy is about and likely to attack. In summer, on the other hand, when the tribe is camped on water, it literally surrounds the wells with tents, leaving only sufficient space for the camels and sheep to drink. Tents on such occasions are close together and generally in a series of lines, with tent ropes almost touching those of their neighbours. The widely scattered camp formation of winter may make it difficult for the fighting men to concentrate suddenly, but is ideal for passive defence. A sudden surprise raid cannot penetrate deeply into such a camp, as each tent becomes a small fort from which fire is directed on the intruders, who soon find themselves fired on from all sides. (The German pill-box system during the first Great War proved the efficacy of the method.) Badawin methods of fighting are discussed in Chapter XXVI.

NOTE.—

Assás—the man who goes ahead to look for best grazing ground.

Salláf—the leader of the tribe or head of family on the march. He always rides alone at head.

Makhúr—is name given to the family baggage-camels as opposed to *Al Aba'ir*, milch and loose camels on march.

Al Ghanam—the sheep on the march.

Al Baham—the lambs who march separate from the ewes.

CHAPTER V

Tent Treasures

MEN'S PORTION OF TENT

(*see sketches*)

The following articles are always to be found in the guest or men's portion of the tent, *al raba'a*.

(*a*) *Shadád*—riding saddle, rear pommel usually richly inlaid with finely polished lead patterns having the appearance of silver, and similar to the inlay work on incense burners. Made of tamarisk wood (*ithil*).

Ja'ad—white or black sheepskin covering for riding saddle.

Ghazál al shadád—pommels of riding saddle.

(*b*) *Misáma*—pack saddle, also made of tamarisk wood. The thongs used to tie the cross-pieces A A to the saddle arch B B, are made from the sinews of the camel's neck: one of these exists on either side of the neck. They are as long as the neck, and as thick as a thin wooden pencil. There are several patterns of pack saddles, the commonest is shown in the sketch p. 85.

(*c*) *Kharj*—men's saddle-bag, it hangs over the top of the *shadád* under the sheepskin covering or *ja'ad*.

NOTE.—Men's saddle-bags and women's ditto must be, if well made, 3 *shibbrs* and 1 *chaf* in width, i.e. 3 spans plus distance between extended thumb and forefinger. The richest and most fancied in Arabia are made in Kuwait and Hasa.

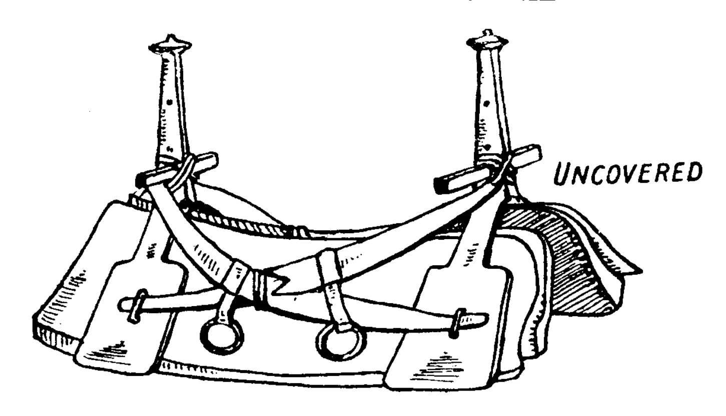
(*d*) *Dalla* (plural: *dallal*)—coffee pot, minimum set of three. (Drawing shown is type used in Kuwait.) With the coffee pot is always found the *lífa* or piece of coir or hemp which is stuffed into the spout as a strainer to prevent coffee grounds entering the cup.

(*e*) *Háwan*—mortar, usually of brass, for pounding coffee berries. Sometimes a plain iron cylindrical mortar and pestle is used by poorer Arabs, or a wooden mortar and stone pestle, light and convenient for those going on journeys.

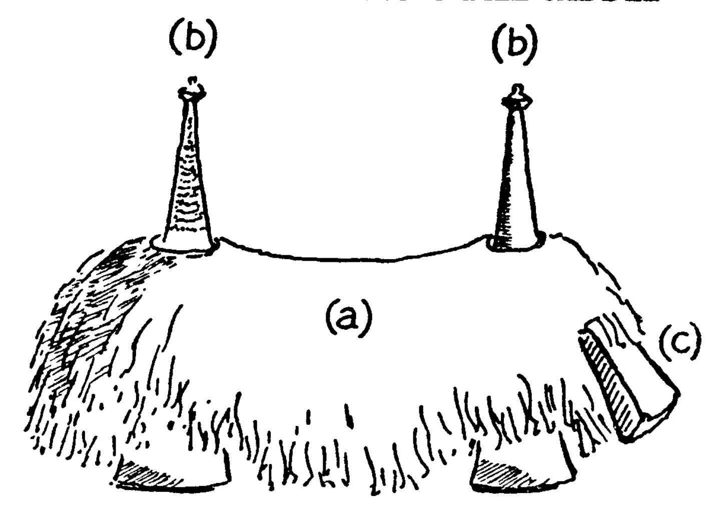
(*f*) *Mahmása*—coffee roaster. It is made of iron with brass bands let into the handle and having the appearance of gold. It is always fastened by a chain to the *yed al mahmása*.

Yed al Mahmása—coffee stirrer.

RIDING CAMEL SADDLE

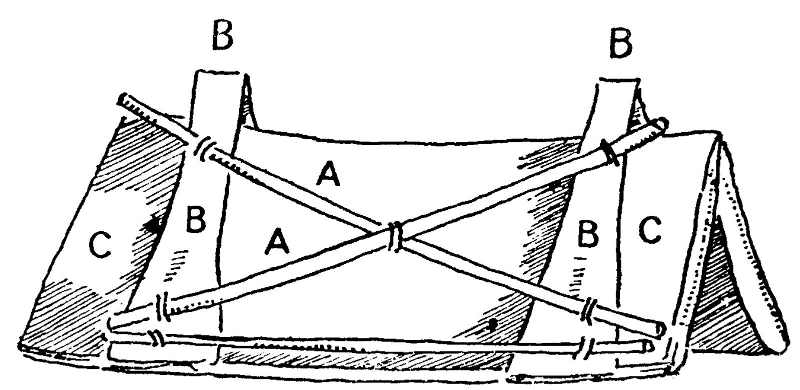


AL SHADÁD OR RIDING CAMEL SADDLE



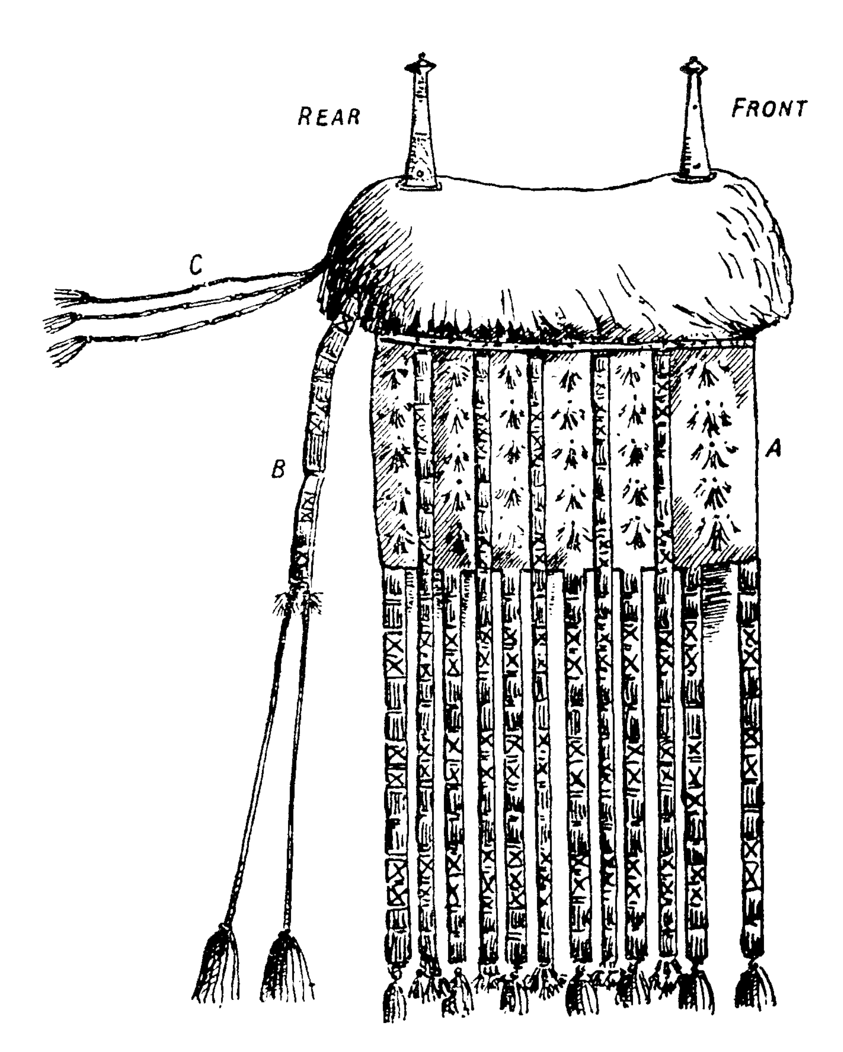
(a) *Al Ja'ad*, black or white sheep-skin covering saddle.
(b) *Ghazál al Shadád*, pommels.
(c) *Musainad*, leather cushion to rest leg on when crossed in front of saddle.

AL MISÁMA OR COMMON PACK SADDLE



A, A. Cross pieces tied to saddle arches. B, B. Saddle arches.
C, C. Weight-carrying pads, made of sacking and stuffed with chopped straw fodder.

AL KHARJ (MEN'S SADDLE-BAG)



A. Saddle bag goes right over saddle. Two holes permit the pommels to pass through. Sheepskin is laid on afterwards.
B. Solitary, ornamented piece hanging from both sides of rear pommel (*safífa*).
C. Three fancy woollen cords that pass from rear of saddle bag, close to pommel, and extend over camel's quarters.

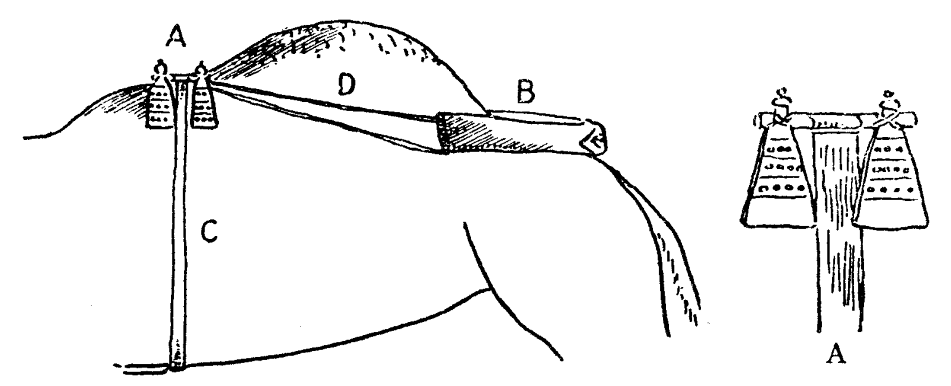
The off-side bag is joined to the near-side bag by a one-piece strip (whereas the women's *miẓáwal* are two entirely separate bags). Twelve ornamented strips 1½ in. broad ending in a tassel hang down from the saddle bag, seven of them are attached to its lower edge, while five hang all the way from the top.

The whole is rich red in colour, picked out in yellow, white, black and violet.

(*g*) *Markab*—tripod for cooking coffee on. (Used in better-class tents only.)
(*h*) *Malgat*—pincers (tongs).
(*i*) *Mukhbát*—wooden peg to stir boiling coffee.
(*j*) *Shat fanajíl*—brass case for holding coffee cups, usually engraved round sides with patterns or texts in Arabic.
(*k*) *Finjal* (plural: *finajíl*)—coffee cup.
(*l*) *Mubarrad*—wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans after roasting, studded with brass nails.
(*m*) *Mabkhar*—burner for frankincense (*luban*) or sweet-smelling wood (*'udh*). The word is from the same root as *bukhúr*, incense. Made of tamarisk wood inlaid with brass and finely studded lead patterns, or made out of *juss* (gypsum) with sides carved out in various patterns.
(*n*) *Jiddá*—wooden bowls made of tamarisk wood, all sizes, studded with brass nails, and inlaid in silver or lead.
(*o*) *Míraka*—finely worked fancy leather apron, which hangs down in front of camel's chest and stretches to its knees, used by Shaikhs and leaders.
(*p*) *Jiffar al tufaq*—leather bag with tassel at muzzle end to carry rifle.
(*q*) *Mishá'ab*—camel stick (sidr-tree wood).

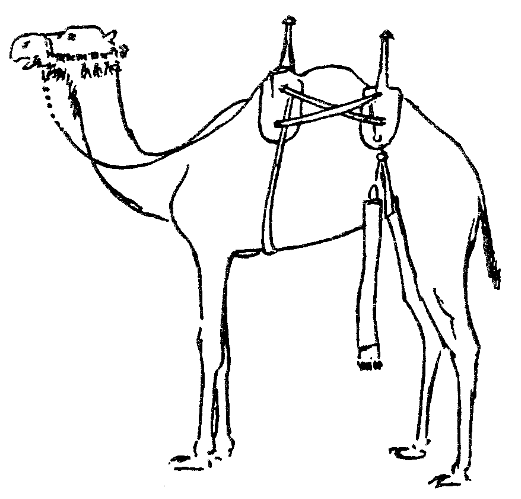
AL FULÁNI

Special riding saddle favoured by the tribes of Southern Hasa, Trucial Coast, and Oman, for fast and light work. Found also among Bani Hájir, Sbei and 'Ajman tribes (southern sections)

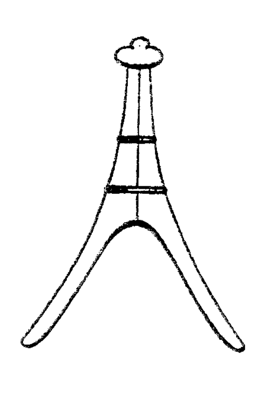


A consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches in dark hard wood, two on each side, both pairs being joined together by a piece of stout wood, to which the girth is fixed.
B consists of a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress on which the rider sits, behind the hump.
C is the girth.
D are two ropes holding B in position and preventing it from slipping off.

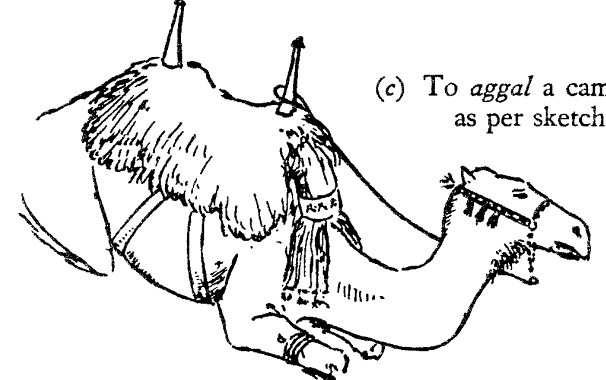
SADDLING A CAMEL



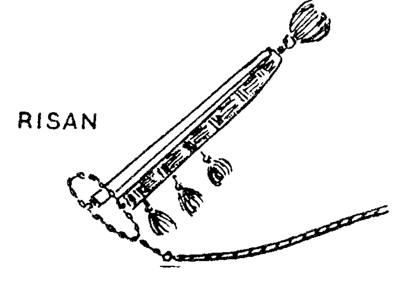
(*a*) Showing how saddle frame fits the camel's back, without showing trappings, etc.



(*b*) The pommels are actually two bits of wood joined together by metal pegs each half being rather like a spade with handle.



(*c*) To *aggal* a camel means to tie up its fore leg as per sketch. If the camel is obstreperous both legs are tied up and a rope goes over the neck, joining the leg cord on each fore leg.



(*d*) *Risan* or camel head-stall. Rope from head-stall to rider always lies on left side of camel's neck.

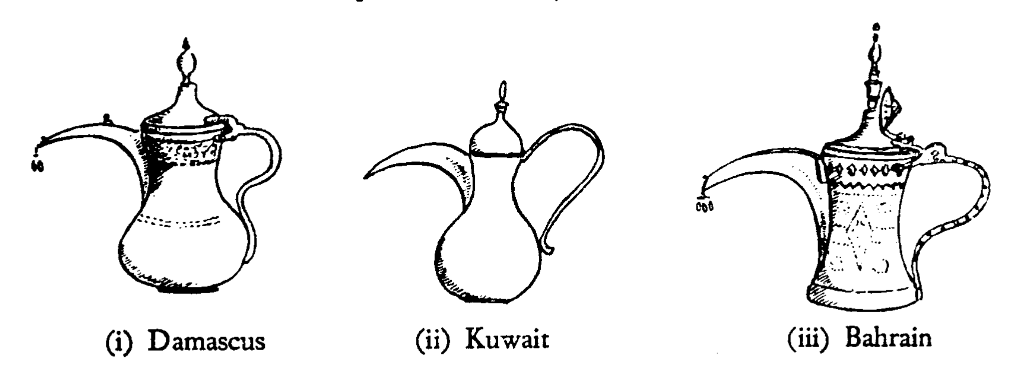


(*e*) *Risan* in position.

Utensils for Coffee Making

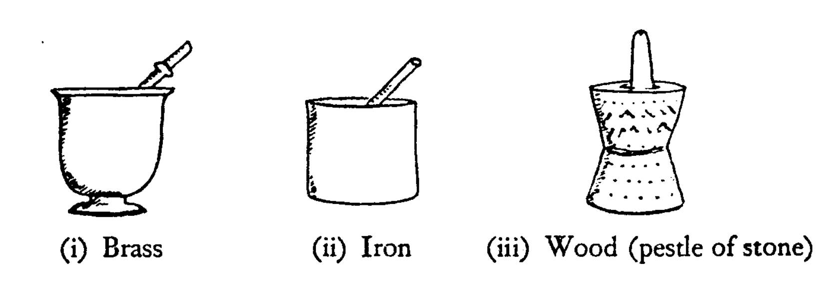
Chap. V

DALLA (plural DALLAL)—COFFEE POT



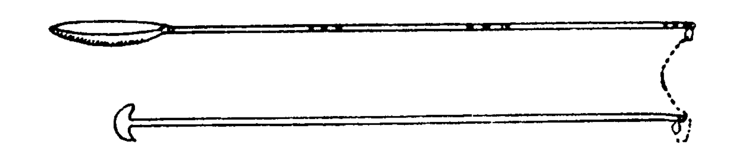
(i) Damascus (ii) Kuwait (iii) Bahrain

HÁWAN and YED AL HÁWAN—MORTAR and PESTLE



(i) Brass (ii) Iron (iii) Wood (pestle of stone)

MAHMÁSA and YED AL MAHMÁSA { Coffee Roaster
Coffee Stirrer





MARKAB

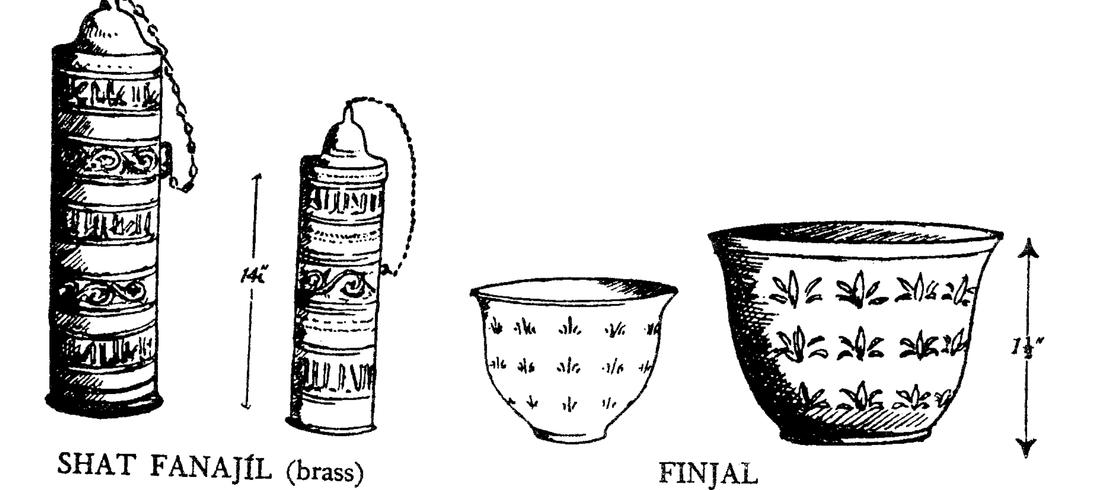
Coffee and Incense Utensils

Chap. V



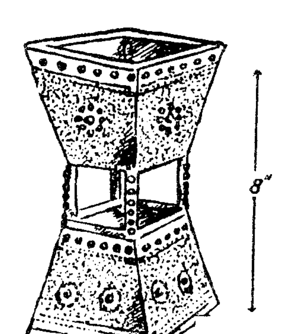
MALGAT (Tongs)

MUKHBÁT (wood stick to stir boiling coffee with)

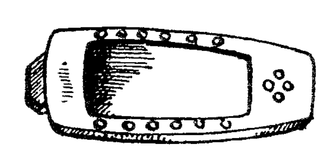


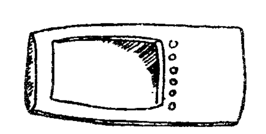
SHAT FANAJÍL (brass)

FINJAL

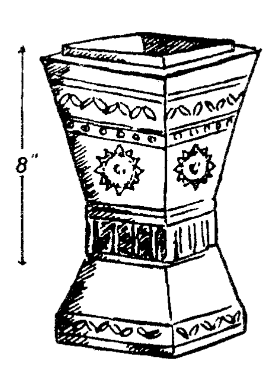


MABKHAR
(all wood)



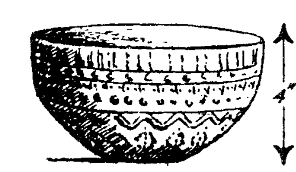


MUBARRAD

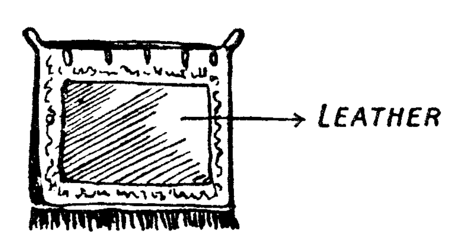


MABKHAR
(carved out of piece of white gypsum)

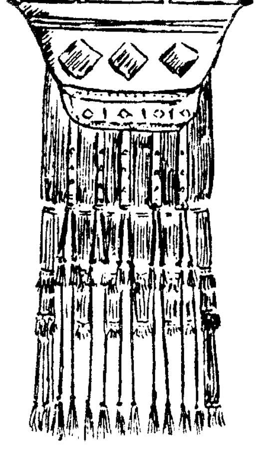




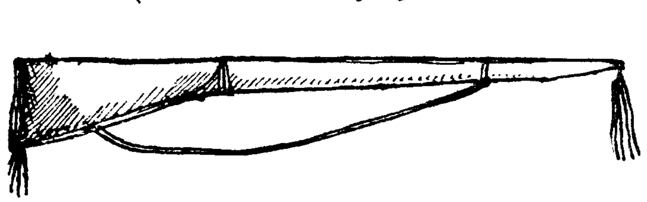
JIDDÁ (wood)



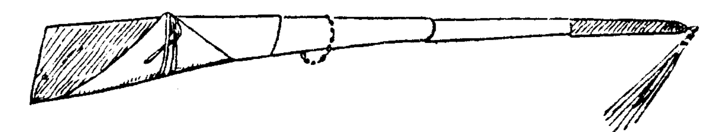
MIZÚDA (all leather for carrying dates)



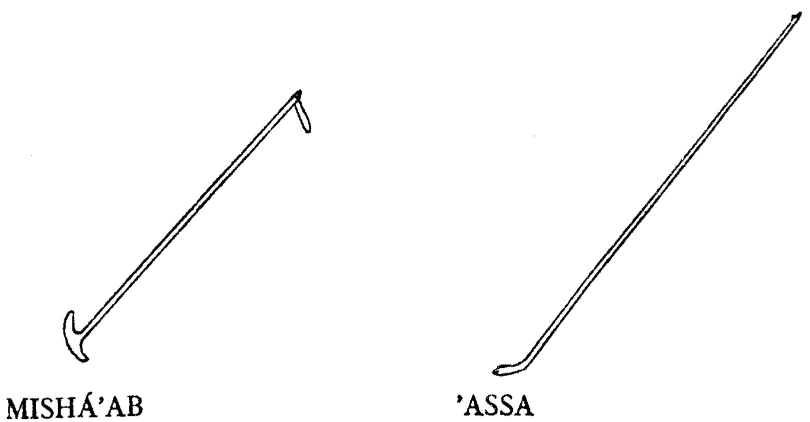
MÍRAKA (all leather)



JIFFAR al TUFAQ

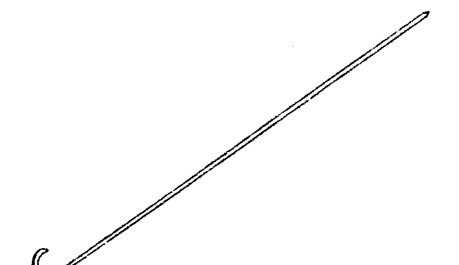


JIFFAR al TUFAQ (all leather)

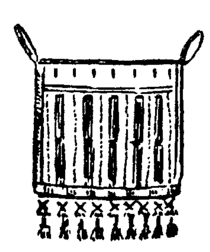


MISHÁ'AB

'ASSA



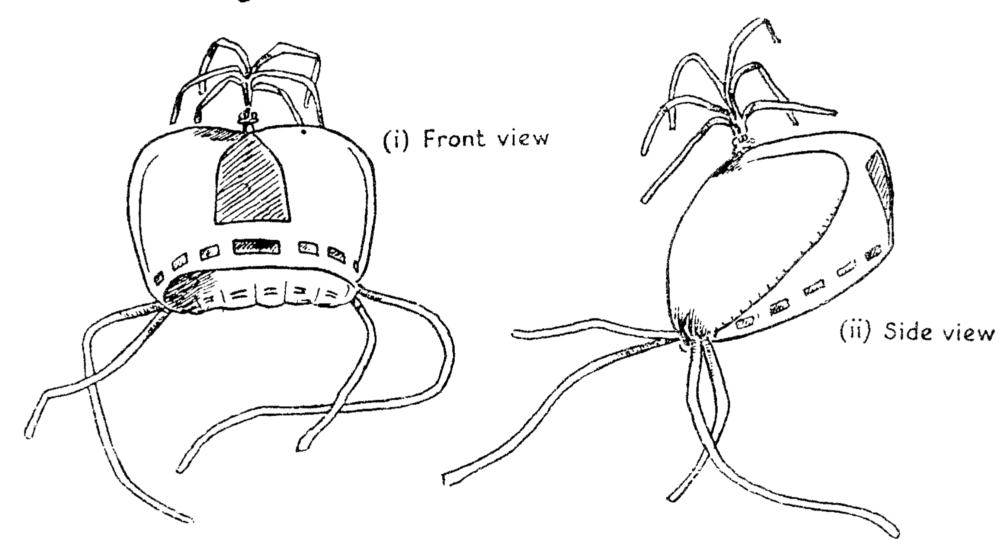
BAKÚRA



MIZÚDA (all wool bag)

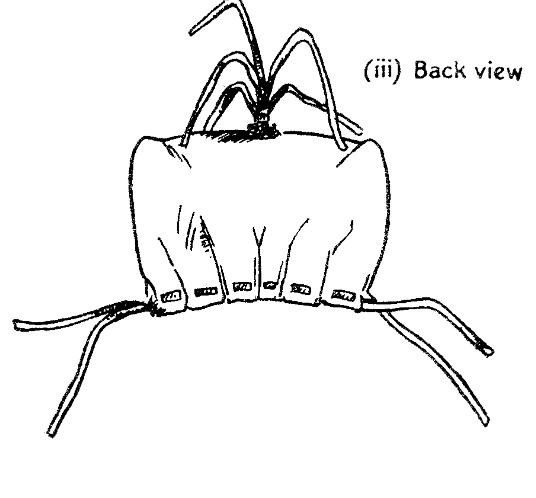
HAWKING OUTFIT

Leather BURQA or HOOD

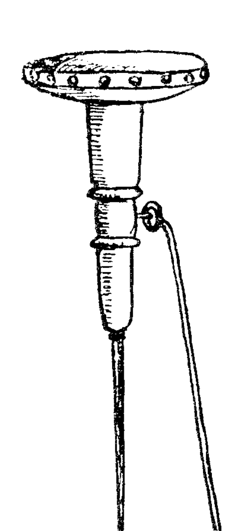


To tighten,
pull long thin
leather thongs

To loosen,
pull short thicker
leather thongs



DASMA AL TAIR
(Hawker's leather glove)



WAKAR AL TAIR
(Hawk stand)

(*r*) *'Assa*—camel stick (made of cane).
(*s*) *Bakúra*—camel stick (cane).
(*t*) *Mizúda*—the small bag made of wool or leather for carrying money, *hail* or small quantities of dates when a man is travelling alone.
(*u*) *Risan*—camel's halter.

FALCON'S GEAR

(See Chapter XXVIII on Hawking)

(*v*) *Burqa*—hawk's hood.
(*w*) *Wakar al tair*—hawk's stand.
(*x*) *Dasma al tair*—falconer's glove.

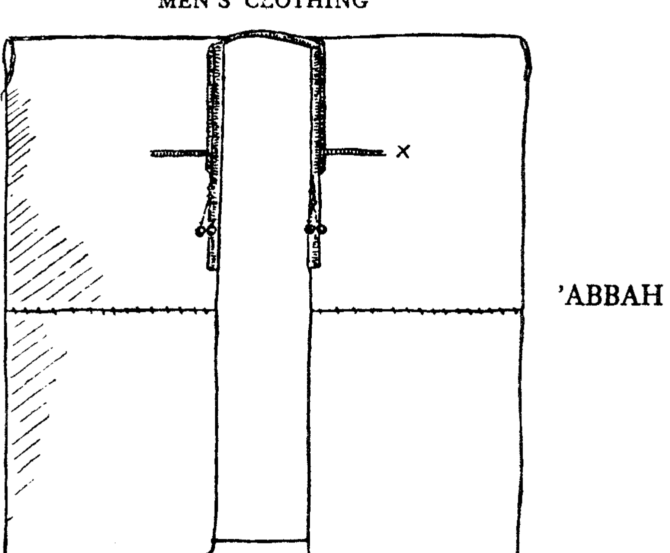
NOTE.—Other articles of furniture connected with a *well-to-do* person's tent are the—

Mattrah (plural: *mattarah*)—mattress for guests to sit on.
Mafrash—carpets to spread on floor.

We have also the various forms of firewood found in every tent, rich and poor alike. These are known under the general terms of—

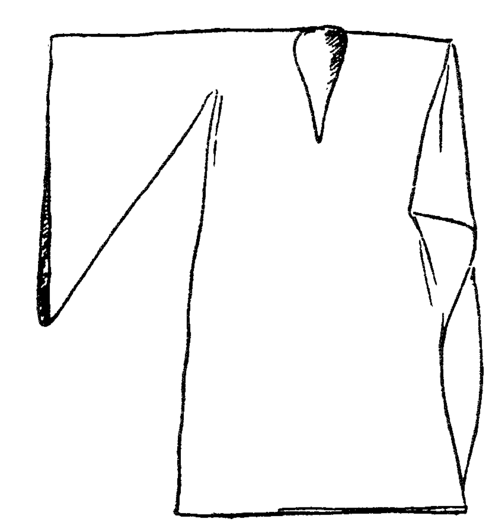
Jalla—camel dung.
Hamdh—a pungent-smelling bush giving a fine white ash.
'Arfaj—a well-known bush found all over North-Eastern Arabia.

MEN'S CLOTHING

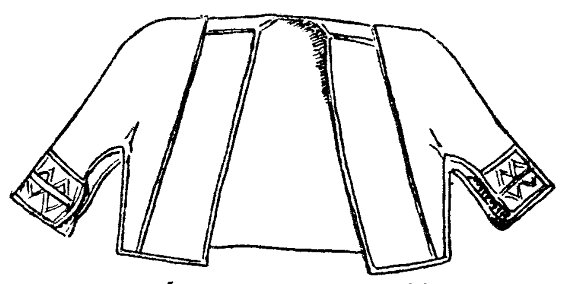


'ABBAH

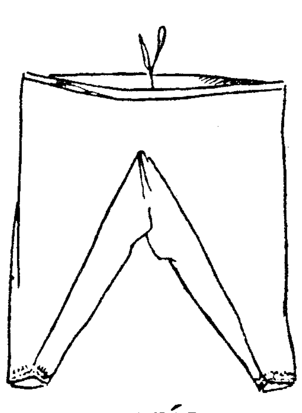
'Abbah or *Bisht*—made of finely woven sheeps' or camels' wool in two pieces. Texture can be superfine, thin, coarse or thick according to means of weaver. Round neck and down both fronts (shaded portion) is fine gold embroidery ending in a couple of tassels on both sides. The horizontal gold braid (x) indicates that the *'Abbah* is of type worn by shaikhs of Kuwait. Colour—all shades of brown verging on to black.



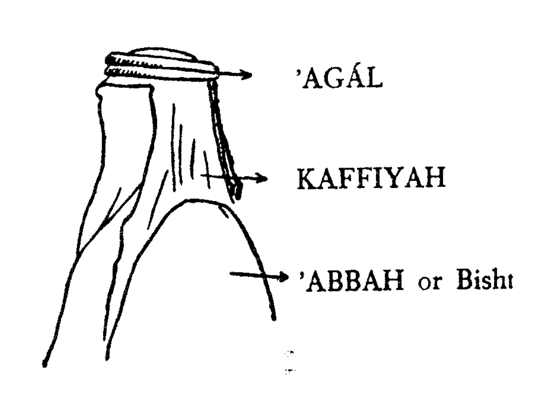
THAUB SHILLAHÁT

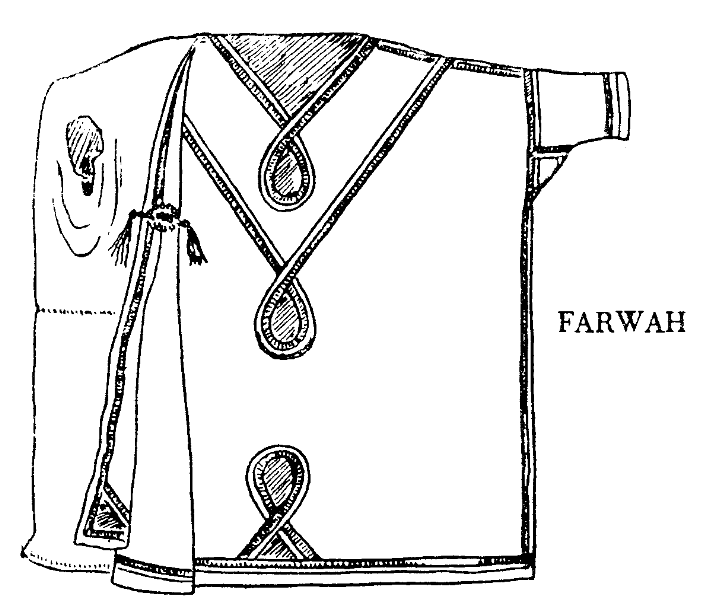


DÁMIR (black and gold)



SIRWÁL





FARWAH

Farwah—gaudy coloured and braided cloak for winter wear. Made of black and blue cloth picked out in scarlet, green, mauve or maroon cloth. Braiding is pale yellow and black. Inside of cloak there is a lining of black or white lamb skins, the former commonly preferred. An extremely warm and comfortable garment. Worn by shaikhs and well-to-do Badawin only.

Thaub Shillahát—white smock with long, wide sleeves.

Dishdásha—similar to last, but with tight-fitting sleeves.

Zibún—a superior kind of *dishdásha*. It is open down the front from top to bottom and is so amply cut that one side folds over the other (dressing-gown fashion). The *zibún* is held in place by two pairs of little strings, one inside and the other outside.

Dámir—sort of Zouave jacket in black and gold. Worn by men.

Sirwál—loose Badawin trousers worn by both men and women.

'Agál—the head-cord which holds the *kaffiyah* in position.

Kaffiyah—the head-cloth worn by Arab men.

DAGGERS

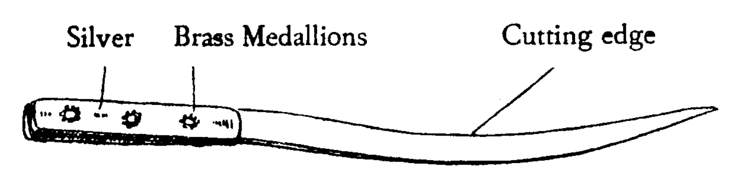
Khúsa—dagger with single cutting edge, used for defence purposes and for cutting throat of gazelle, sheep, camels, etc.

Jiffar al khúsa—scabbard for *khúsa*.

Huárdhi—miniature *khúsa*, used for cutting throat of *hubara* and other game birds.

The *khúsa* is affixed by buckle or stud on the inside of the belt bandolier; the *huárdhi* is similarly fastened on the inside of the shoulder bandolier.

DAGGERS



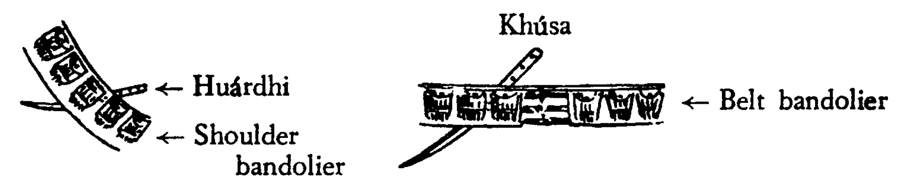
AL KHÚSA
(dagger with single cutting edge)



JIFFAR al KHÚSA
(scabbard)



AL HUÁRDHI
(miniature KHÚSA)

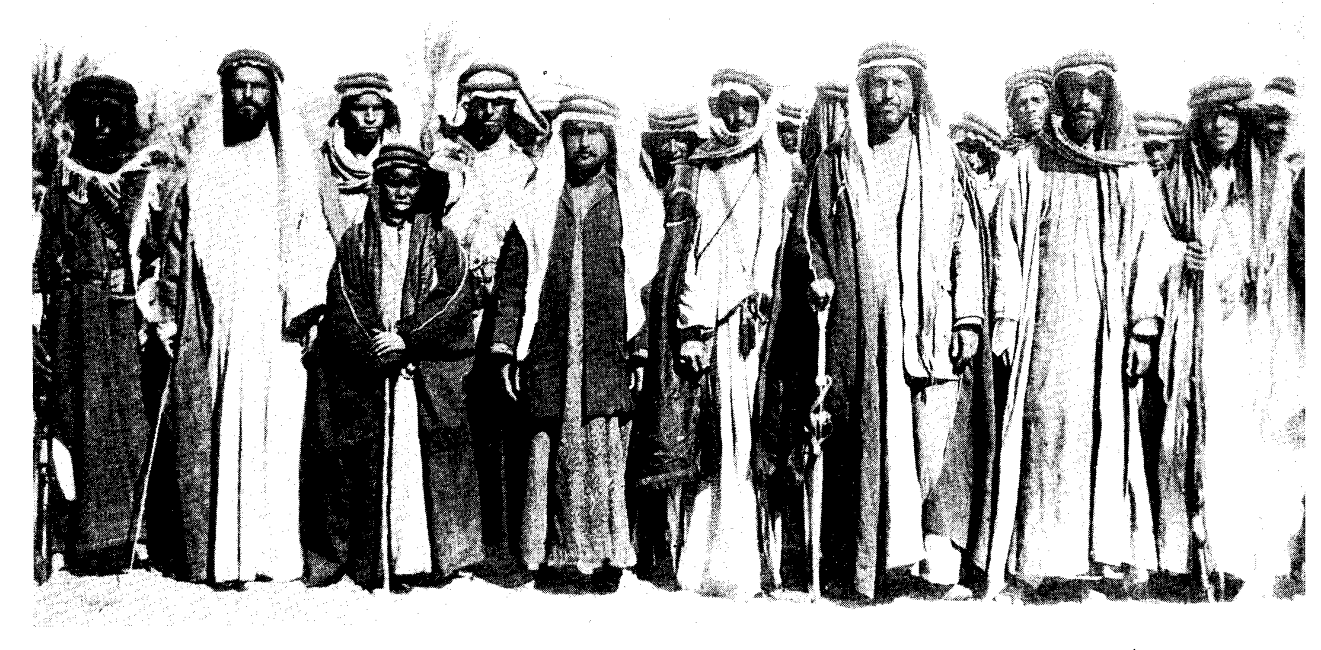


ATTACHMENT OF KHÚSA AND HUÁRDHI

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

The following articles are always to be found in the portion of the tent reserved for women. (See sketches.)

Maksar or travelling litter. The name given by the Mutair and other tribes to the special type of women's covered-in saddle, most commonly used in North-East Arabia and round Kuwait. It consists of an elaborate basket framework, usually covered over when in use by a bright orange, red or other coloured woollen shawl, and the woman sits perched on the camel's back surrounded by her personal



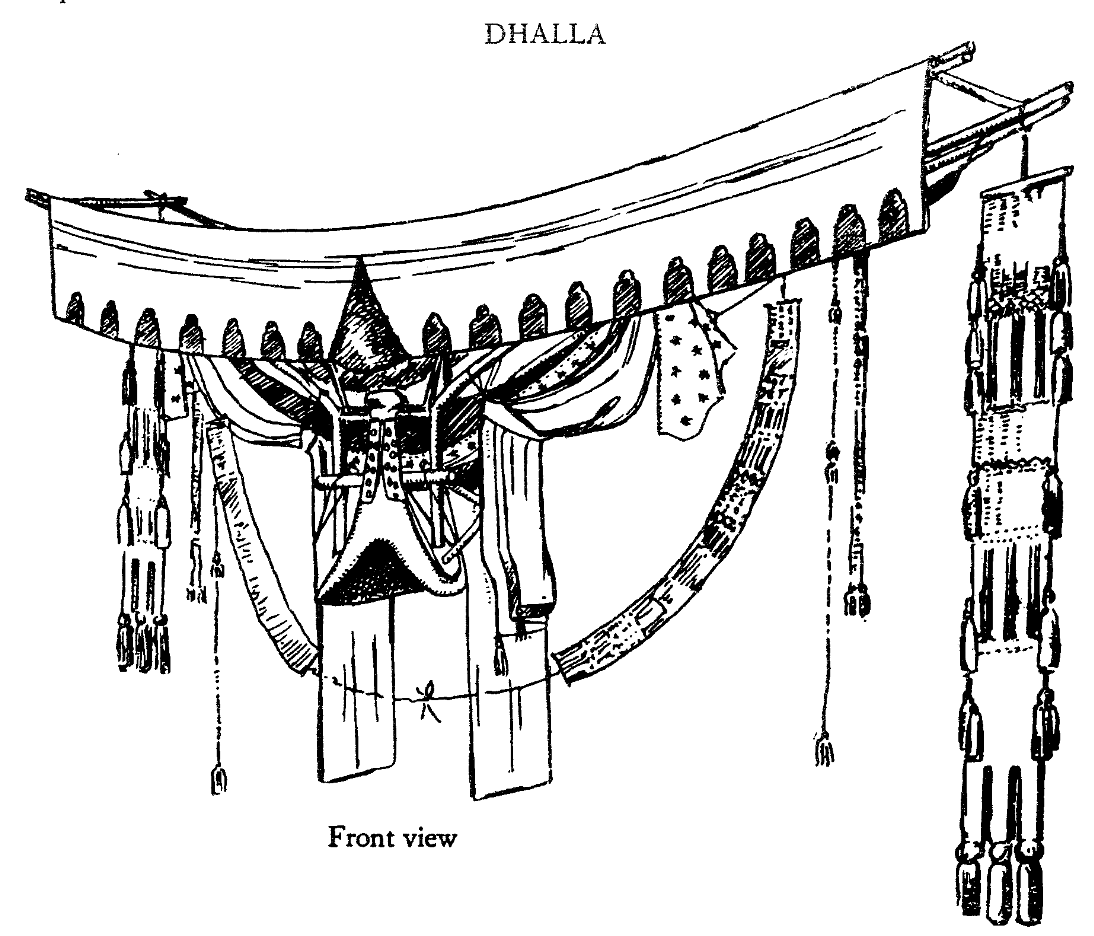
LEADING SHAMMAR SHAIKHS WITH THEIR CHIEFTAIN IBN RASHĪD
Taken at Jahrah

From a snapshot given to the author by Lt.-Col. J. C. More, C.I.E., late Political Agent, Kuwait

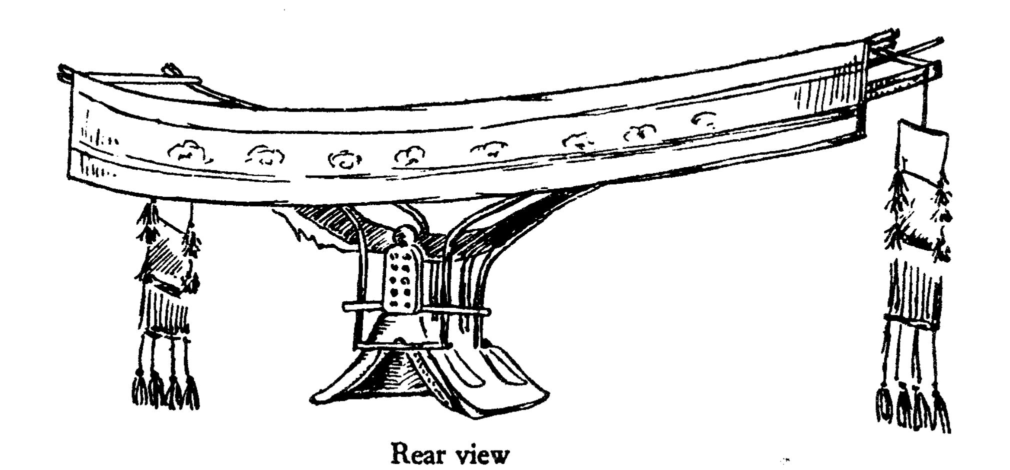


THE AUTHOR AMONG THE RUINS OF DHARA'ĪYAH NEAR RIYADH

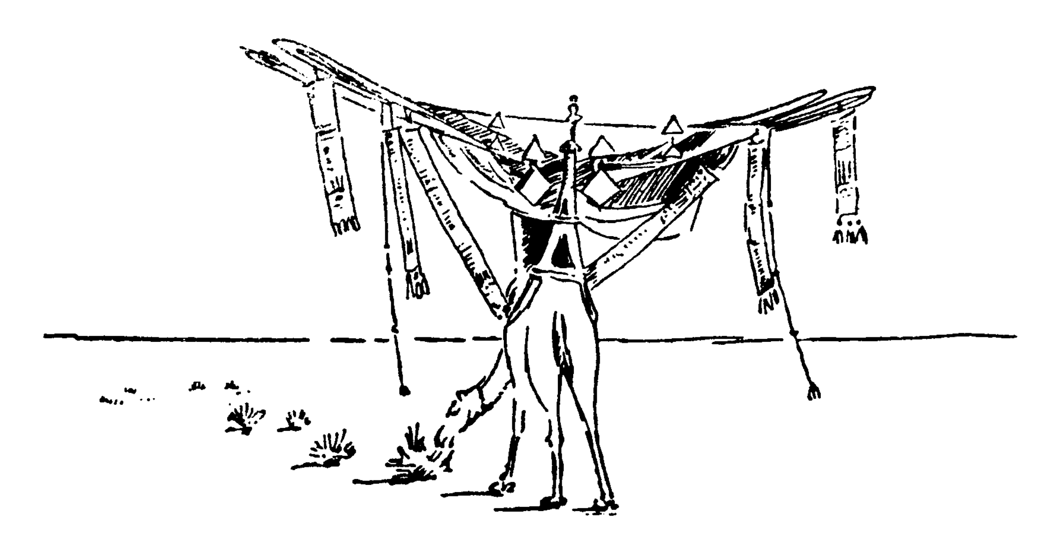
DHALLA



Front view

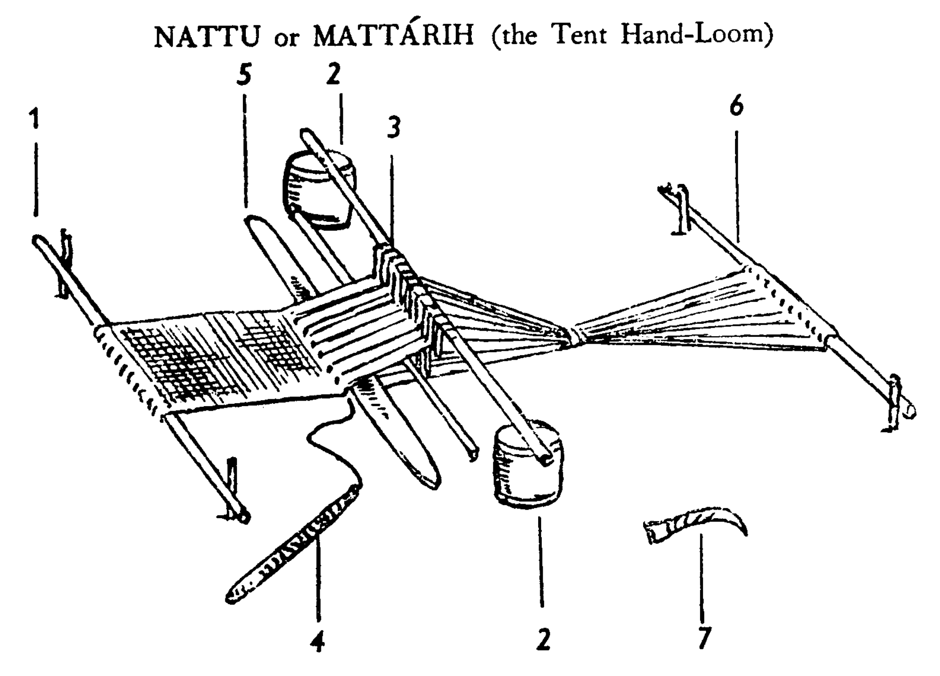


Rear view



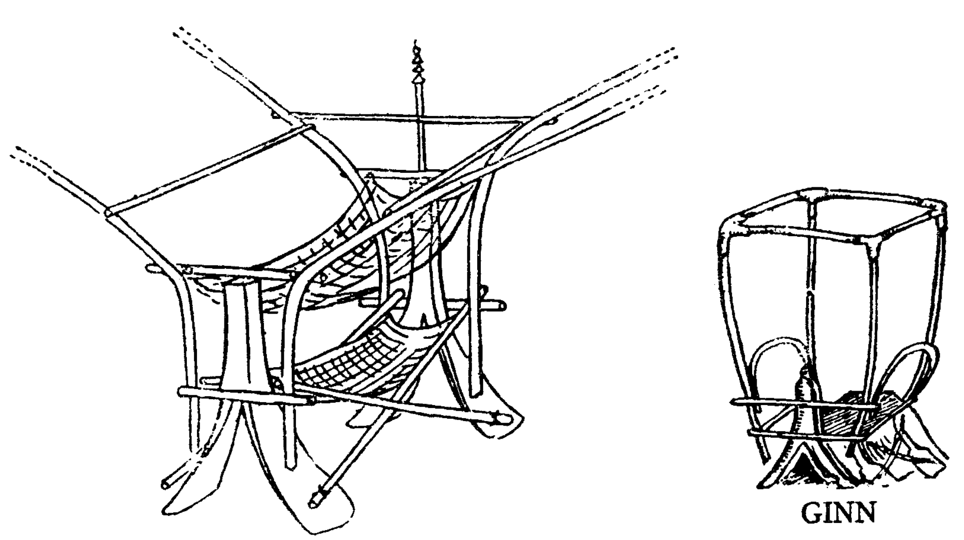
CAMEL CARRYING *DHALLA* ON THE MARCH

NATTU or MATTÁRIH (the Tent Hand-Loom)



1. *Al ras*—wooden rod holding the end of the threads.
2. *Marakib*—circular wooden supports holding up the *Minyar*.
3. *Minyar*—wooden rod holding up threads.
4. *Misha*—shuttle.
5. *Mishizza* or *Natha*—flat piece of wood for tightening up the threads of the woven fabric.
6. Piece of wood known as *Ga'ah*.
7. Gazelle horn, *Middrah* used for pulling down thread when weaving.

DHALLA or CHITAB

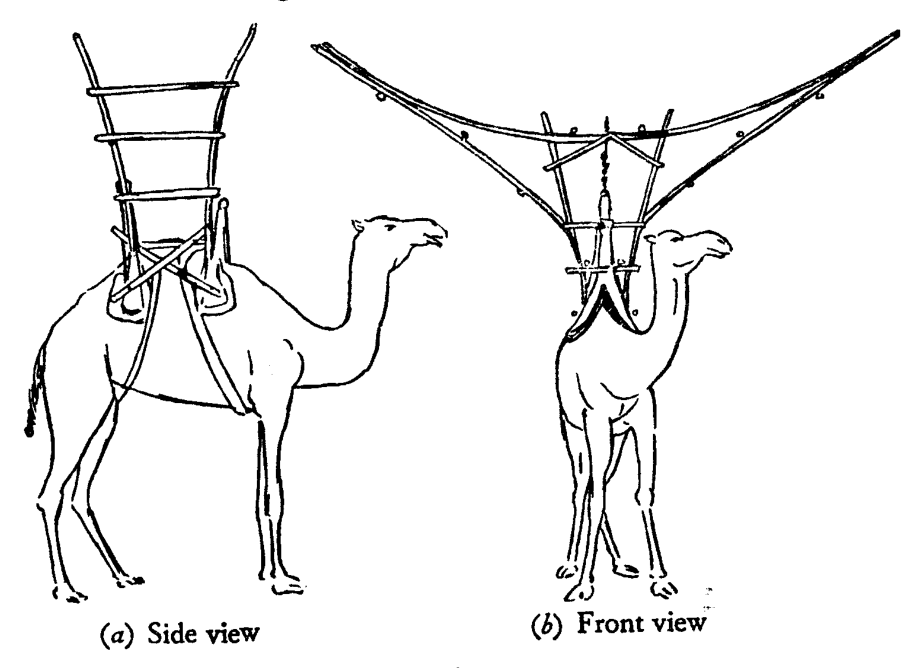


Framework of saddle showing seating arrangement

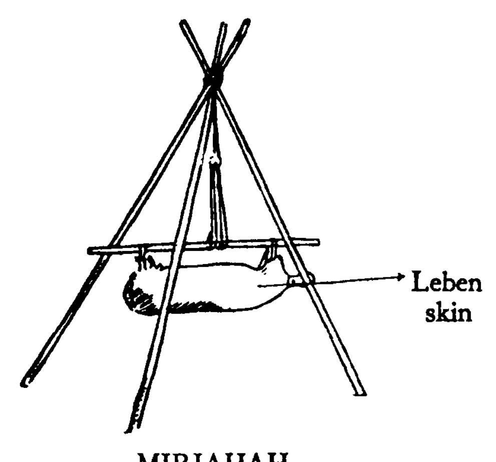
DHALLA or CHITAB

(without trappings)

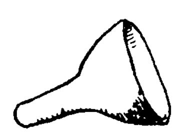
Showing how it is fixed on camel's back



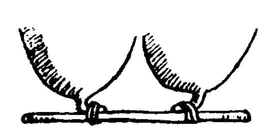
(*a*) Side view (*b*) Front view



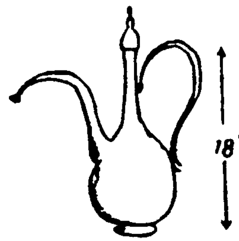
MIRJAHAH
(Tripod stand for making sour milk or for skinning sheep)



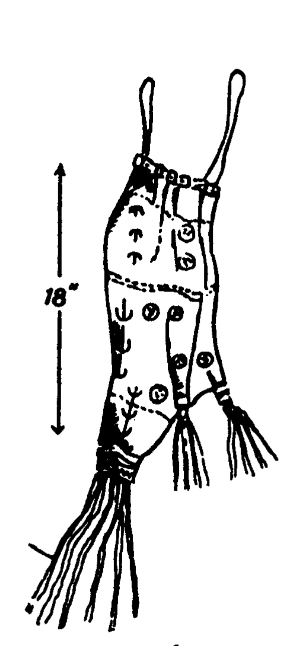
MAHJAN
(wooden funnel for pouring milk into skins)



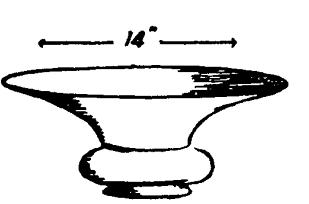
SARÁR
(stick used to tie up camel's teats)



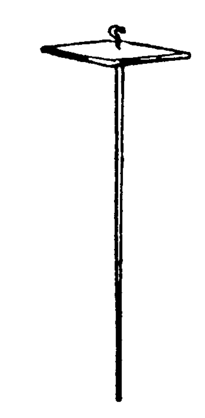
BIRÍQ (jug)



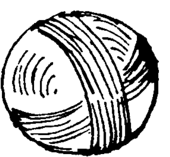
JERÁB
(made of Baby Gazelle skin) for carrying coffee on march when a man is travelling alone



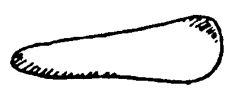
MAGHASSAL (basin)
(Used only among townsmen)



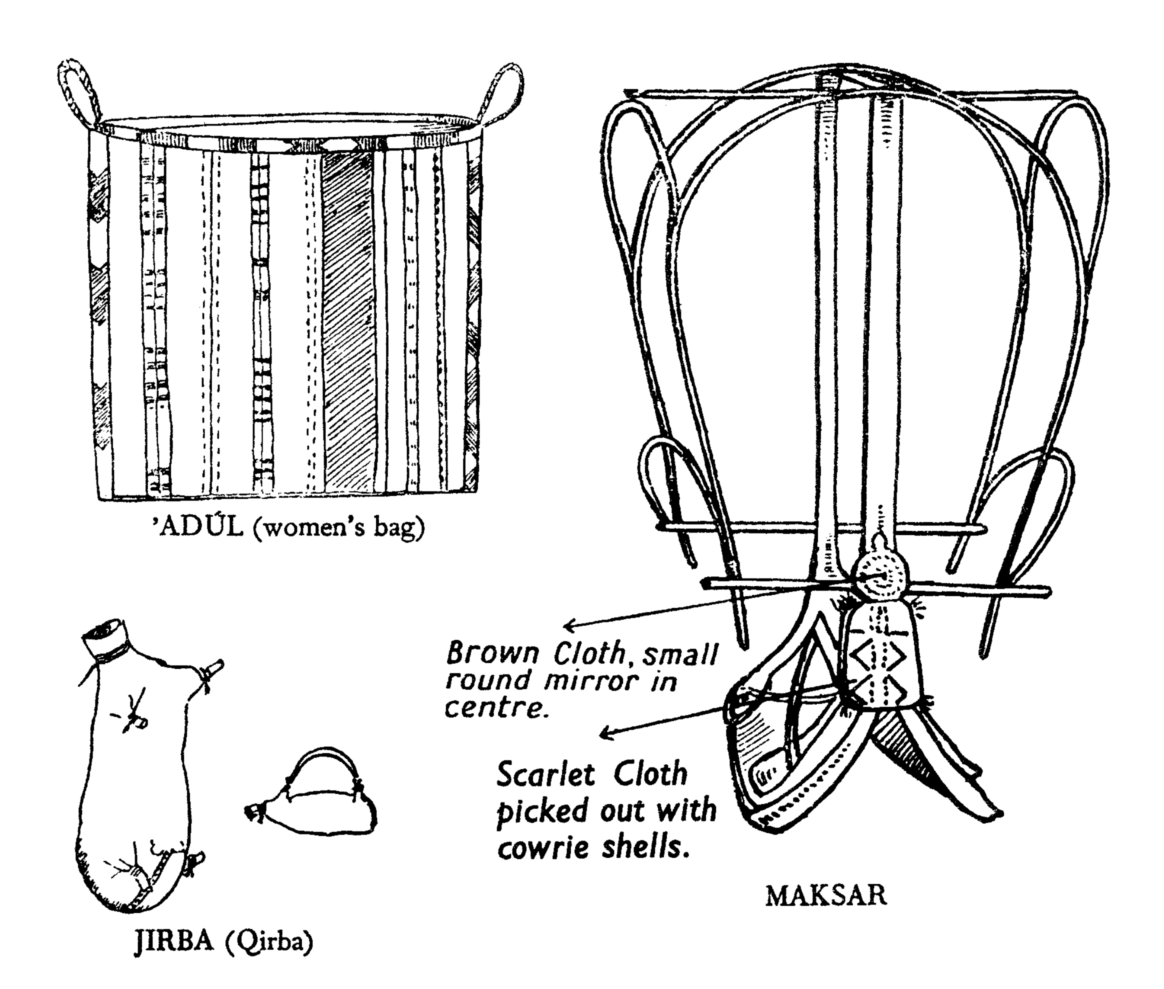
MAGHZAL or MUBRAH
(Spindle)



SÚF
(ball of wool)



FIHR
Stone hammer (volcanic) used for hammering in tent pegs

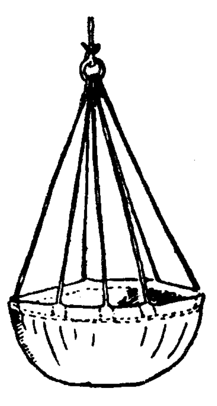


'ADÚL (women's bag)

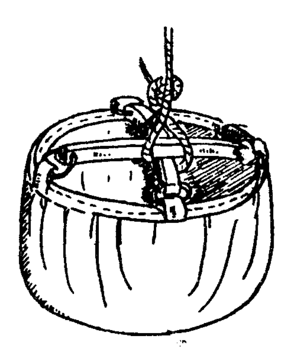
JIRBA (Qirba)

MAKSAR

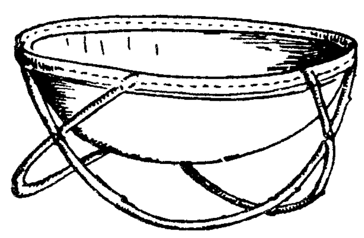
DALLU



(*a*) Collapsible

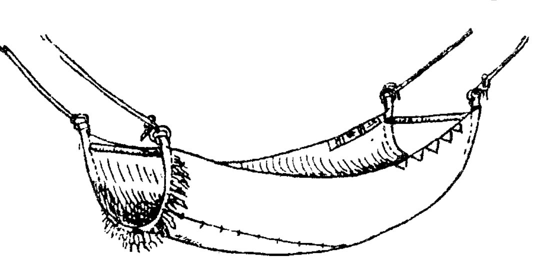


(*b*) With cross pieces



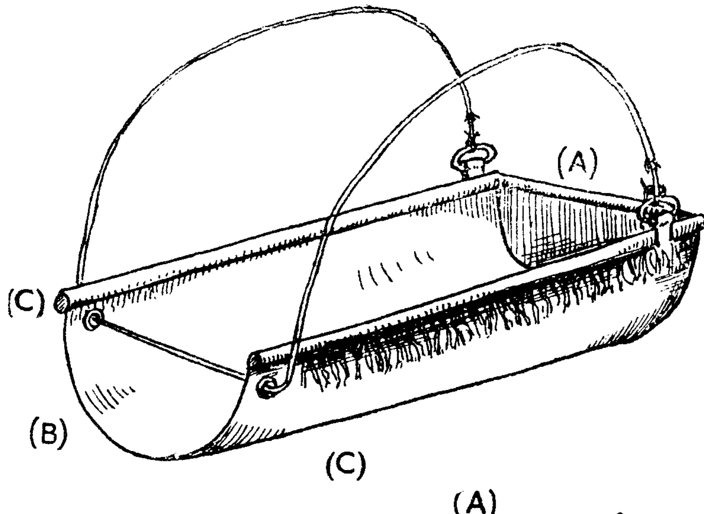


HAUDH



HABÁBA (child's hammock slung inside tent)

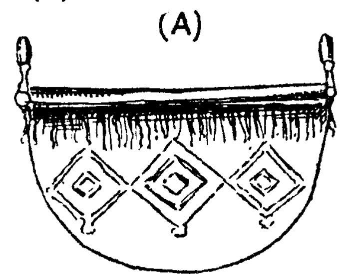
MIZBAH (child's portable cradle, common to the tribes)



A. Head, with decoration on outside.

B. Foot.

C. The holes through which passes a running rope that closes the cradle at foot when it is lifted.



Outside decoration at A

treasures, her baby, etc., in a sort of comfortable cot. On the saddle itself is placed the woman's bedding, and hanging down on either side are her saddle-bags (*mizáwal*). The *maksar* is always made of pomegranate wood, as this can be bent into the necessary hoop shapes. Various patterns and variations of the *maksar* are used by different tribes.

Sahára—the woman's treasure box, containing her coffee, cardamum, saffron, tea, sugar, dyes, jewellery, trinkets, etc., etc.

'Aibah (plural: *'aiyáb*)—leather saddle-bags for storing dates.

TYPES OF WOMEN'S CAMEL LITTER

See sketches pp. 97–99; 101; and coloured plates.

(*a*) The *Maksar* is the common type used among the Mutair, 'Ajman, Harb and Dhafir tribes.

(*b*) *Al atf.*—This is a special pattern common to the 'Awazim tribe. It is the same as the *maksar*, but has no front vertical bar. This enables women to mount and enter with greater ease.

(*c*) *Al ghabith* is peculiar to 'Ajman women. Like *al atf* it has no front vertical bar, and the rear vertical bar is not joined on to the top arch but falls 9 inches to a foot short of it. It is more highly and richly decorated with cowrie shells than the *maksar*, and as a rule the rear vertical bar is covered with such decorations from top to bottom. The Mutair women occasionally use *al ghabith*. I saw a good specimen in the possession of Faiha, wife 'Abdul 'Aziz al Májid, on 10th February, 1938.

(*d*) *Al ginn* is the square type of litter common to Shammar, 'Anizah and Dhafir. It is not so large or comfortable as the foregoing.

(*e*) *Al dhalla*, is the great winged or moon-shaped affair in which the women of the Al Sa'adun travel, and the Shaikhs of the 'Anizah and Dhafir place their wives and daughters in *al dhalla* when on the march. The framework of the *dhalla* is covered all over with fine, almost white gazelle skin.

(*f*) *Chitab*—Same as the *dhalla*, except that it is generally smaller, and its woodwork is not covered all over with gazelle skins, but only at joints. Both *dhalla* and *chitab* are rendered very colourful by brightly coloured curtains and trappings.

(*g*) *Farkh al hanni* or *Farkh al chitab*, a diminutive *dhalla* or *chitab*.

(*h*) *Mughbát* (plural: *mughabat*).—Is the same as (*g*) and is a name peculiar to the 'Ajman tribe.

(*i*) *Muthaumina* is the 'Ajman name for *al dhalla*.

(*j*) *Murauwar.*—'Ajman name for *chitab*.

Generally speaking, the women themselves make their litters from pomegranate and tamarisk wood, the parts being bought in towns. They do all the work of binding these together, and covering with pale yellow gazelle skins, as well as decorating front and rear pommels themselves. The men make only the *shadád* or riding saddle, and the *misáma* or pack saddle.

NOTE.—It should be noted that when on the march and in use (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*e*), (*f*), (*g*) are covered entirely over with richly coloured cloth, both woollen and silk, the more brilliant the better, so as to attract attention and give prestige to the owner. In sketches "frames" only are shown.

MARKAB

Akin to the *dhalla* and *maksar*, but of far greater interest, is the *markab* of the 'Anizah tribe, more especially of the Ruwala. It consists of a light wooden frame and is covered with the feathers of the *na'am* or Arabian ostrich.

The *markab* is known as the Ark of Ishmael, in honour of the first Arab nomad, and when the 'Anizah go into battle, a maiden (daughter of the shaikh) rides in it and moves forward in the centre of the force to spur the warriors on to deeds of valour.

When the battle is joined the camel bearing the *markab* is said to be hobbled with a chain so that it cannot retreat from the scene or flee.

Should the battle go against the Ruwala, retirement is only allowed as far as the *markab*—there everyone must rally and fight, if necessary, to the last, in defence of the *markab* and the lady seated in it. The *markab* of the Ruwala has undoubtedly a pre-Islamic origin.

The Shaikh of Kuwait told me on the 10th January, 1935, that a similar *markab* was last used by Bin Sa'ud at the battle of Jaráb in the spring of 1915. Also that a *markab* was used by Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait a few years before he died when Bin Rashid threatened to attack Jahrah; one of the fairest of the Al Subah* ladies was put in it with hair flowing, head uncovered and face unveiled. Had not Bin Rashid withdrawn, the Subah would have rallied round their *markab* to a man.

There can be little doubt, however, that both Bin Sa'ud's *markab* and that of Mubarak al Subah were merely glorified and richly decorated tribal litters, and should be more properly called *maksars*. The Ruwala are the only tribe I know of who use the true *markab* as a tribal fetish or banner. Carl Raswan, in his book *Black Tents of Arabia*, gives some excellent photographs of the Ruwala *markab*.

Shaikh Khalid al Hithlain of the 'Ajman told me on the 5th December, 1934, that the 'Ajman tribe still use the *markab* when going to war, but call it by the ordinary name of the women's camel litter, *maksar*. Like the Ruwala, however, they put up their fairest maiden unveiled and with hair flowing to encourage the warriors to extra bravery, and to shame the laggards into pushing forward to the forefront of battle.†

* Maniera bint 'Ali, wife and first cousin of Shaikh Mubarak.

† My wife and I visited Ibn Shaalan of the Ruwala in 1945, and were shown the famous Markab.

Mizáwal—coloured saddle-bags for storing women's clothes, spare garments, coloured wools, etc. These are separate and hang on hooks on either side of the *maksar,* whereas men's saddle-bags are joined together and hang over the top of the saddle. The *mizáwal*'s bag-tassels are half as long as those adorning men's saddle-bags.

'Adúl—large woollen saddle-bags for carrying rice, flour, sugar, etc.

Laháf—cotton quilts, usually red.

Fihr—a volcanic stone resembling an ox-tongue in shape. Hard and black, used as a hammer for knocking in tent pegs.

Mirjahah—wooden tripod 4 ft. high, on which the skin is slung when making *leben*, or the carcase of a sheep which is to be skinned.

Samíl (plural: *samlan*)—special skin for making *leben*, always a sheepskin.

Mukrash—bladder for storing butter, known as *masrab* by the 'Awazim.

Jirba (plural: *garab*)—Goatskin for carrying water.

Ráwi (plural: *ruwi*)—Camelskin for carrying water. (Known as *mizáda* among the 'Ajman.)

Mahjan—wooden funnel for putting milk into skins

Jeráb—Bag made from skin of baby gazelle with a pattern on it in coloured dyes, used for carrying coffee in on the march.

Mattárih—hand loom (also *nattu*).

Misha—shuttle.

Natha—flat wooden piece for tightening threads.

Middrah—gazelle's horn for pulling down threads.

Maghzal or *Mubbrah*—spindle.

Sarár—The pair of sticks 8 inches long used to tie up the udders of a she-camel, e.g. *saru al naja* (an order indicating that the camel's teats should be tied up). Each stick is laid alongside two udders, and each udder is tied separately with a piece of woollen thread. This is to prevent calves drinking. Calves are only allowed to drink morning and evening. The camel has four udders.

Biriq (pronounced *brich*) and *Maghassal*—jug and basin (used only among *hadhar* or townsmen).

Al Haudh—a leather basin for watering sheep and camels. Three bent pieces of wood form the stand.

Al Dallu—small leather bucket (two kinds) used for drawing water from wells.

Mizbah—Child's portable cradle, common to the tribes of Hasa. It is carried on the mother's back supported by thongs across her forehead, or else carried under her arm supported by thongs over the shoulder, according to which tribe she belongs to. The *mizbah* is made out of one piece of leather. As the cradle is lifted the end where the child's feet lie is automatically closed by the running rope which passes through two holes one at each side (see diagram). The *mizbah* is not

used by the northern Badawin of Arabia, who carry their children on their shoulders or, when travelling, on their hips. The *mizbah* is not to be confused with the *habába*.

Habába—Baby's hammock for use inside tent. It is slung between two tent poles. Especially favoured in the north.

Hail—cardamum seeds for putting in coffee.

Masmár—cloves, for putting in coffee.

Záfáran—saffron, for putting in tea and coffee.

Shinkar—hooks on each side of the *maksar* to hang women's saddle-bags on.

THE LOOM—MATTÁRIH, NATTU OR SADU

The loom gear consists of seven pieces which altogether are known as *mattárih*.

(1) Piece of wood known as *ga'ah*.
(2) Shuttle known as *misha*.
(3) Tightener known as *mishizza*.
(4) Piece of wood holding up threads known as *minyar*.
(5) Circular wooden supports of *minyar*, known as *marakib*.
(6) Piece of wood holding ends of threads known as *al ras*.
(7) Gazelle horn for pulling down threads known as *middrah*.

SKIN CONTAINERS

These consist of:

(*a*) Water skins.
(*b*) Skin bags for storing *dehen*, coffee beans, dates, etc.

Under (*a*) we get the *ráwi*, the *thilaithi*, *minún* and common *qirba* (*jirba*).

Ráwi is the generic term for a water receptacle made out of a camel's skin.

Thilaithi is the name given to a water receptacle made out of one half of a camel skin doubled over and sewn together.

Minún is a gigantic water receptacle made out of the two side skins of a camel sewn together. They are always very water-tight.

Qirba is an ordinary water skin made out of a whole sheep's or goat's skin which is peeled off the animal. The best and most lasting are made from goats' skins (males) and cost in the rough about Rs.2/8 each. Sheepskins do not last.

Under (*b*) we get the *'akka*, the *madhara* and the *jeráb*.

The *'akka* is the name given to a sheepskin used for storing *dehen* (clarified butter).
The *madhara* is the same but is made out of a lamb skin.
The *jeráb* is made out of a young gazelle's skin, and is used for storing coffee beans.

BADAWIN METHOD OF SKINNING ANIMALS

(*a*) *Sheep and Goats.*

The carcase is suspended head down, and the skin is opened up behind the hind legs and under the tail by one single cut. It is then peeled off downwards towards the head. In the finished article, the opening at the neck end becomes the filling end, while the original cut at the tail end is sewn up together with each leg.

(*b*) *Camel.*

The cut is made from the head along back of neck to top of hump and down again to tail. Both sides are then peeled off in outward direction. Finally each side is removed separately by a cut along centre of belly and under the neck.

When killing a camel, the head is drawn round to one of its flanks and tied by the halter in that position. The jugular vein is then cut close down to where the camel's neck comes out of the body. This is the exact opposite to the method used for killing sheep and goats. The incision in their case is made immediately behind the jaw bone.*

When cutting an animal's throat, be it animal or bird, the invocation "Bism Illah al Rahmán al Rahím" (in the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate) must invariably be made before the cut is made.

* Exactly in centre of the Adam's apple.

CHAPTER VI

Badawin Social System

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

The Arabs divide themselves into two main groups:

Al Hadhar and Al Bádia.

Al hadhar (singular: *hadhari*) are those who dwell in permanent stone or mud houses, i.e. townsfolk or villagers; *al bádia* are those who live nomad lives, own camels and live in black hair-tents (*biyut sha'ar*).

From this word *bádia* comes also our word Badawin (often written in French style, Bedouin), which is not used or understood in Arabia proper.

The dweller in the black tents, although he may occasionally speak of himself as a man of *badu* or nomad calling (e.g. "*Hana Badu*"—we are Badawin, etc.), he does so to signify that he is a wild, simple man of the desert, and not versed in the cunning ways of settled life.

He far more often refers to himself and his people by the proud title "'Arab"—e.g. *'Arabna sannadu*, *'Arabna nizzalu l ala Subaihiyah*—Our Arabs have gone up into the interior, or, Our Arabs have camped at Subaihiyah.

If a Badawin meets a nomad stranger in his territory he will enquire, after salaams and general greetings, *Inta minain ya walad?*—From whence art thou, O youth? The answer is, *'Ana min 'Arab fulan*—I am from such and such a person's Arabs.

Not to be confused with the 'Arab or pure-bred Badawin, are the 'Arabdar or 'Arab-ad-Dar. The latter is the name commonly given in Kuwait and also, I believe, in Najd to those semi-nomads who are found in black tents on the borders of the great desert, and who camp close to the towns in summer, and move out into the interior, a matter of 80 to 100 miles from their homes proper, in winter. Many of them also own small house property in the cities they are attached

to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin in the transition stage to a more settled existence.

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter undoubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi, are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs. The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging in the city.

Akaluna al Badu, is a common cry heard among the 'Arabdawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful, for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

or form part of the nomad camel tribes, or have stock of their own and roam the outer desert in various formed tribal bodies. These shepherd tribes are known under the general term of *Shawáwi* (singular: *Shâwi*) by town dwellers, or *Hukra* in the desert.

For example, in North-East Arabia we have the following:

(*a*) The great *Shawáwi* or *Hukra* shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq confederation on the Euphrates, who for seven months in the year move south into the great desert and only return with the advent of the hot weather. These in origin were the shepherds who looked after the flocks and herds of the Al Sa'adun hereditary Shaikhs of the Muntafiq in bygone days, but who to-day for the most part own their own stock. (See Chapter XLV.)

(*b*) The *Hirshán* or *Shawáwi* tribes of the Mutair, a more or less serf-community owing allegiance to that great tribe of nomads.

(*c*) The *'Awazim Ahl al Ghanam*, or people of the sheep, who care for the flocks of the camel sections of that tribe and are in closest touch with them. These 'Awazim shepherd tribes by no means confine their attention to caring for their own, or their camel brethren's sheep. They are such good shepherds and so well trusted that many of them come up to Kuwait to hire themselves out to those townsfolk who own sheep, and even take those sheep many miles south and graze them with their own in the Suda region and 100 miles south of Kuwait town, where water is plentiful when summer sets in. Being honest in the extreme, they hold it a matter of tribal pride to account faithfully for every animal so entrusted to them.

The true Badawin nomads (*Bádia*) breed only camels, and for nine months in the year dwell in the interior of the far desert places, far away from civilisation and towns, where the best grazing after the winter rains is to be found. Their object is to find the best grazing grounds, irrespective of water; this means the ground which has been rained upon. With the first signs of autumn, therefore, they anxiously look out for signs of rainstorms in the distant skies, indicated by lightning flashes at night, low down on the horizon, and they make for those areas, as if life depended on it. The bustard, the gazelle and other wild animals obey the same instinct.

These Badawin proper are entirely exclusive, and look upon themselves as the very salt of the earth, marrying only with exclusive

tribes like their own and despising the rest of the world. They are the *'Arab al 'ariba* and with their co-equals the *'Arab al Musta'ariba.**

These 'Arab or pure desert Badawin divide themselves into:

(*a*) Superior or Sharif tribes.
(*b*) Inferior or non-Sharif tribes; everyone knowing and accepting the origin of his neighbour without question.

Of these the former are *'Asilin*, i.e. pure in origin and blood, and claim descent from the Patriarchs Qahtan and Ishmael. The latter are not *Asil*, i.e. are not of pure descent.

The following are the best known of the Sharif Arab tribes of Arabia proper:

'Anizah, Shammar, Harb, Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Bani Khálid Bani Hájir, Al Murra, Qahtan, 'Utaiba, Duwasir, Manasir, Bani Yas, Sbei, Qawasim, Hawaitat and Bani Tanim (not found as a whole tribe to-day).

The 'Anizah especially consider themselves to be the aristocrats of the desert, though the others do not always admit their superiority.

The following well-known present-day Arab Rulers claim descent as follows:

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud—'Anizah (Masalikh section).
His Highness Ibn Subah of Kuwait—'Anizah (Amarat section).
His Highness Ibn Khalifah of Bahrain—'Anizah (Amarat section).
His Excellency Ibn Thani of Qatar—Bani Tamim.

Also the noble family of the Al Sa'adun, former Rulers of the Muntafiq (present head His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha) claim direct descent from the Quraish tribe, as well as being descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.†

The following are some of the Inferior or Non-Sharif tribes of Arabia proper:

* Arab historians have it that YARAB, the son of QAHTAN, who lived some centuries before Abraham, was the father of the ancient Arab peoples, and gave his name to Arabia. Hence the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, are known as "*Arab al Masta'ariba*" (those who became Arabs) in contradistinction to the Arab who calls himself *'Arab al 'ariba* (Arab of the Arabs), to distinguish himself from the later comers.

† The Sa'adun indeed claim that they are the purest of all descendants of the Prophet, in that they have never throughout their history given their daughters outside their clan, nor married with non-Sa'adun women.

(1) *In Hasa and Kuwait* (East Arabia).

The 'Awazim tribe, probably of Hutaim origin, and originally a serf-community of the 'Ajman.

The Rashaída Tribe—certainly of Hutaim origin; originally serfs of the Mutair, and retainers of the Shaikhs of Kuwait from earliest times.

(2) *In North-West Arabia.*

The Hutaim—A large and very powerful group of tribes, who generally acknowledge the overlordship of Shaikhs Ibn Barak and Ibn Naumas. (The Shararat tribe, for instance, forms part of the great Hutaim group.)

(3) *All over North and North Central Arabia.*

The Sulubba—The lowest, most despised of desert men, and said to be descendants of the Christian Crusaders. Great guides and hunters. (See Chapter XLI.)

(4) *Central and North Arabia.*

The Aqail or Agail*—residents of Qasim and Baghdad. From time immemorial camel-dealers of the desert.

The great house of Al Bassam are Aqailis.

(5) Not to be confused with the above, are the Al Sana,† a community of ironmongers, farriers and arms-repairers, sections of whom each Sharíf tribe protects and possesses as part of itself. *Sanna* is the plural of *Sana*, e.g. Sanna al Mutair, Sanna al Rashid, etc.

No Sharíf Arab can take a daughter from (or give a daughter to) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) above. His own tribe would not tolerate it, and his relations would kill the offender. The excuse would be that he was spoiling the tribe's blood. Everyone will remember the shooting of the capable 'Abdullah Beg al Sana, Governor of Baghdad in 1932, by His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha al Sa'adun, because of the former's foolish attempt to marry the Europeanised daughter of His Excellency 'Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Prime Minister of Iraq. The true Arab of the desert, from Bin Sa'ud downward, not only condoned the murder, but highly approved it.

* The Aqail or Agail are, of course, not a Badawin tribe in any sense of the word, for they live in the towns. They more correctly should be termed a *hadhar* community.

† Members of this class have often risen to the highest positions of trust under various Arab Rulers as well as under the Turks.



THE PARAMOUNT SHAIKH OF THE 'AJMÁN
KHÁLID AL HITHLAIN

It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman, even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharíf Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharíf tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

(*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al.*

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Nazlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

A man says *Ya 'Aiyál* when addressing his sons or his family as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Aiyál?* when enquiring after the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiyál* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi wardkum?* (How is the person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.

Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait auládd fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indicate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the 'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the members of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.*

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance.

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abal Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám*, and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál*, his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Amam al rajál, alzam min khawálu is a well-known saying. This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful (the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám*, kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *mijlis arjal*, or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the

father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her *walad 'ám*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and do the deed.

Between *bani 'ám* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man must never seize and bind one of his *'amam* even though he be a thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'amam* by a *dawn* attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *bani 'ám* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dushan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. (See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'ÁM

(2) *Walad 'Ám*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'ÁM

(3) *Bint 'Ám*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'ám*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'ám*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

SHAIKHS

A vital element in the stability of Badawin society is the tribal leadership exercised by the shaikh.

The position of a shaikh of a ruling house or tribe is hereditary, to the extent that he must be a member of a definite family or house. It is, however, by no means essential that the shaikh's eldest son should succeed his father. When a shaikh dies, the question arises: who is the best and most suitable man of that particular house to lead the tribe? It is usual to recognise as chief that member who possesses marked experience or outstanding physical and mental qualities.

Hadh, or good fortune as a leader, most often secures the Shaikhship. If he has led the tribe on one or more raids, and has shown that he possesses qualities of "luck" as well as "leadership", the Shaikhship is his of right. It is most important to realise this point, especially in principalities like Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait which are under British protection It would be wrong and useless, were Government to try during the lifetime of a Ruler, to get him to nominate his son as the next heir. It simply is not done, and an attempt to impose our principles of primogeniture would cause offence and lead to misunderstandings.

Bin Sa'ud in 1930 nominated his heir apparent, and each year since has tried to get his tribal leaders and brethren to swear fealty to his nominee. Some do so with their tongue in their cheek, others, notably Muhammad al Sa'ud, the King's brother, steadfastly refuse to obey. All know it to be a grave error on the part of the King. The King himself knows he has been mistaken, but the move was doubtless made to impress the European Ministers and Consuls residing at Jiddah. It pleases the Chancelleries of Europe. In private the King has said over and over again to the members of his family, "After my death, let the best man win". And this is what will no doubt happen in the end.

A shaikh's fighting force or tribe as a whole is known as *Gaum*, e.g. Gaum al Duwish, Gaum Bin Sa'ud, Gaum Al Sha'alan (in literary Arabic the word is *Qaum*).

A shaikh will say *Ya Jama'a* or *Ya Rab'a* when addressing his followers.

CHAPTER VII

Arab Honour

GUESTS AND THE LAWS OF HOSPITALITY

Among Arabs generally, and more especially among the Badawin of the desert, a guest (*thaif*) is a very sacred person indeed, and the unwritten laws of hospitality lay down that such a person, even though he be a perfect stranger, and of a strange tribe, be entertained, fed and looked after in fitting manner, and to the best of the host's power.

There is a beautiful Arab couplet, which takes the form of a host's welcome to his guest, and illustrates better than any words of mine, the tent-dweller's duty towards his guest. It runs as follows, and has been addressed to me in my capacity as guest on several occasions, notably by H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud when I visited him in 1920:

> "O Guest of ours, though you have come, though you have visited us, and though you have honoured our dwellings:
> We verily are the real guests, and you are the Lord of this house."

A guest is, of course, expected not to impose on his host nor take advantage of the laws of hospitality, unless he genuinely requires food and rest. A traveller, for instance, at the end of a long day's journey, will look round for a tent where he can spend the night, and finding one in the distance can legitimately go to it and get a night's food and lodging. Should he, however, be within a mile or two of his own destination, he must make an effort and complete the distance rather than sponge on perhaps poor strangers.

In the desert a man (or party) does not brazenly go up to a tent, and demand hospitality. That is never done. Gentlemanly instincts are highly developed in the Badawin. A man approaches the tents of his prospective host modestly and with becoming diffidence. He must

draw near from the front, and not from the back of the tent or tents of his host—in other words, he must come up on the side where the tents are open and facing him. He must then make his camel kneel a couple of hundred yards away, and then busy himself with its saddlery or start tying his camel's knees up (*aggal rikayibu*) until he is noticed. The host will then either go out himself from his tent, and invite the traveller to come and rest, or he will send out a servant, according as he thinks the man is a more or less important person.

The guest will then be conducted to the guests' part of the tent, will be given coffee, a meal and a night's rest, and will depart in the early morning. This normal form of entertaining a guest in the desert is exercised every day. It may be called giving a traveller a "night's rest". The guest never dreams of offering payment, nor would such offer be accepted.

The quality of the food naturally depends on the status of the tent-owner, but a host will always offer of his best.

Similarly, if by day a traveller passes close by a tent and would like a drink, he has only to turn towards the tent and he will be given a bowl of *leben* or camel's milk.

A traveller's social status is indicated by the number and style of his retinue. If an important person passes by, the would-be host will move out of his tent, and stand in such a position that it is obvious he is offering a welcome.

Should the master of the house (tent) be absent, the wife steps forward and holds out a bowl of camel milk in such manner as to make it quite clear that she expects the passing cavalcade to halt and partake of her hospitality by drinking at least her buttermilk.

If she has reason to think that it is her own shaikh, or someone equally important, who is passing by, she will go further and hang up her best holiday garment (*thaub*) on a pole in banner fashion, to signify that she gives double welcome. This is called hoisting the *raiyat* (*ta'allag al raiyat*).

Three days is the time limit for a guest to stay in his host's tent. Should he shamelessly stay longer, the host has a right to ask where he is bound for, and whether he can assist him in any way. This hint is as a rule sufficient, and the laggard guest moves on.

GIFTS

Kings, such as Bin Sa'ud, great Princes, and important shaikhs in the desert, will press their honoured guests to stay and partake of their hospitality up to ten days, but after that period is up, the guest is supposed to take his leave (*yatarakhas*). Both sides will, before parting, exchange presents. The host to his guest and to all the members of his party, and the guest to the servants and retainers of his host.

Should a prince or big shaikh visit another of like status to himself and by invitation, then the arriving guest brings special gifts for his host, his host's ladies and his host's servants. These usually take the form of coffee, bags of rice, men's cloaks, strips of silk for men's *zibúns*, or overgarments, and coloured cloth for women's frocks.

This giving of gifts among persons of rank is an important and essential part of the ritual of hospitality, and has before now fallen hardly on British officials, who have been sent on special missions, for example to Bin Sa'ud's court.

I recollect that on the two occasions when I visited H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz Bin Sa'ud with Sir Percy Cox (then H.M.'s High Commissioner for Iraq), Sir Percy on leaving paid Rs.600 as largesse to the King's servants and retainers, while he and all his party (Europeans) received each a mare in return, with a complete change of Arab garments apiece. The servants received *'abbas*, *kaffiyahs* and *agáls*.

Similarly, when I accompanied Sir Hugh Biscoe (H.M.'s Political Resident in the Persian Gulf) to Hufuf and Khabari Wadha respectively, I distributed Rs.500 on his behalf to the King's retainers.

I mention the above, for it is important that a benign Government should abandon the English standpoint and loosen Treasury purse-strings in recognition of the fact that such an exchange of gifts is a vital custom of the country, and if adequate gifts were not made, its representatives would lose face and influence, and give offence.

In January 1936, when H.M. Bin Sa'ud visited Kuwait, he distributed *zibúns* and *'abbas* to three hundred of the shaikh's retainers, gave Rs.50,000 to deserving persons as presents, and distributed Rs.10,000 to the poor, mostly in person. He followed this up by later presenting

eleven motor-cars to the shaikh's relations. The shaikh for his part disbursed Rs.95,000, including Rs.25,000 to the King's sons, as well as 750 *zibûns* and *'abbas* to retainers.

This giving of gifts by a host to his guest is more particularly the prerogative of the host if he be the big man and the guest be the poor man. It follows then that any Badawin shaikh who comes on a visit to his King, his prince or his paramount shaikh, and is hospitably received by him, expects to receive some sort of present before he departs. "After all," thinks he, "have I not come a distance of many miles, have I not shown my loyalty and have I not imparted much information of value?"

I had the honour to be for seven and a half years the Political Agent of Kuwait, and I can testify that this officer can similarly maintain good relations with the great desert tribes of Iraq, Hasa, Najd and Jabal Shammar, only by keeping open house at all times and receiving with due honour the shaikhs of these tribes whenever they come to the town to purchase supplies. These shaikhs call, as a measure of duty, receive coffee, sherbet and other refreshments and before departing are given a present of cash, clothing or coffee by the Political Agent.

The expenditure is worth while, for each man has given a full picture of what is happening in his country, and has unconsciously provided the official with much valuable intelligence. Were the Political Agent to cease giving his guests a present, however small, they would immediately cease to come and see him, and in a very short time indeed H.M.'s representative would find himself blind and deaf. He certainly would get little news out of the local powers, seeing that in self-defence their policy must always be to keep H.M.'s representative more or less in the dark or at least in blinkers.

THE SALT BOND

To have eaten with a person gives a guest security from the man who has fed him and entertained him, and even from his host's people or tribe, for a period of three days.

Even if you merely drink coffee with your host, this counts as if you had eaten his food.

Faleh bin 'Aamir, a Mutairi of the Mu'aha branch of the 'Ilwa, whom I have known for several years and with whom I have spent many a pleasant evening in the desert, has from time to time told me many stories relating to Arab hospitality. Among other things, he detailed the duty of guests towards their host which I recorded in my notes on 7th January, 1935.

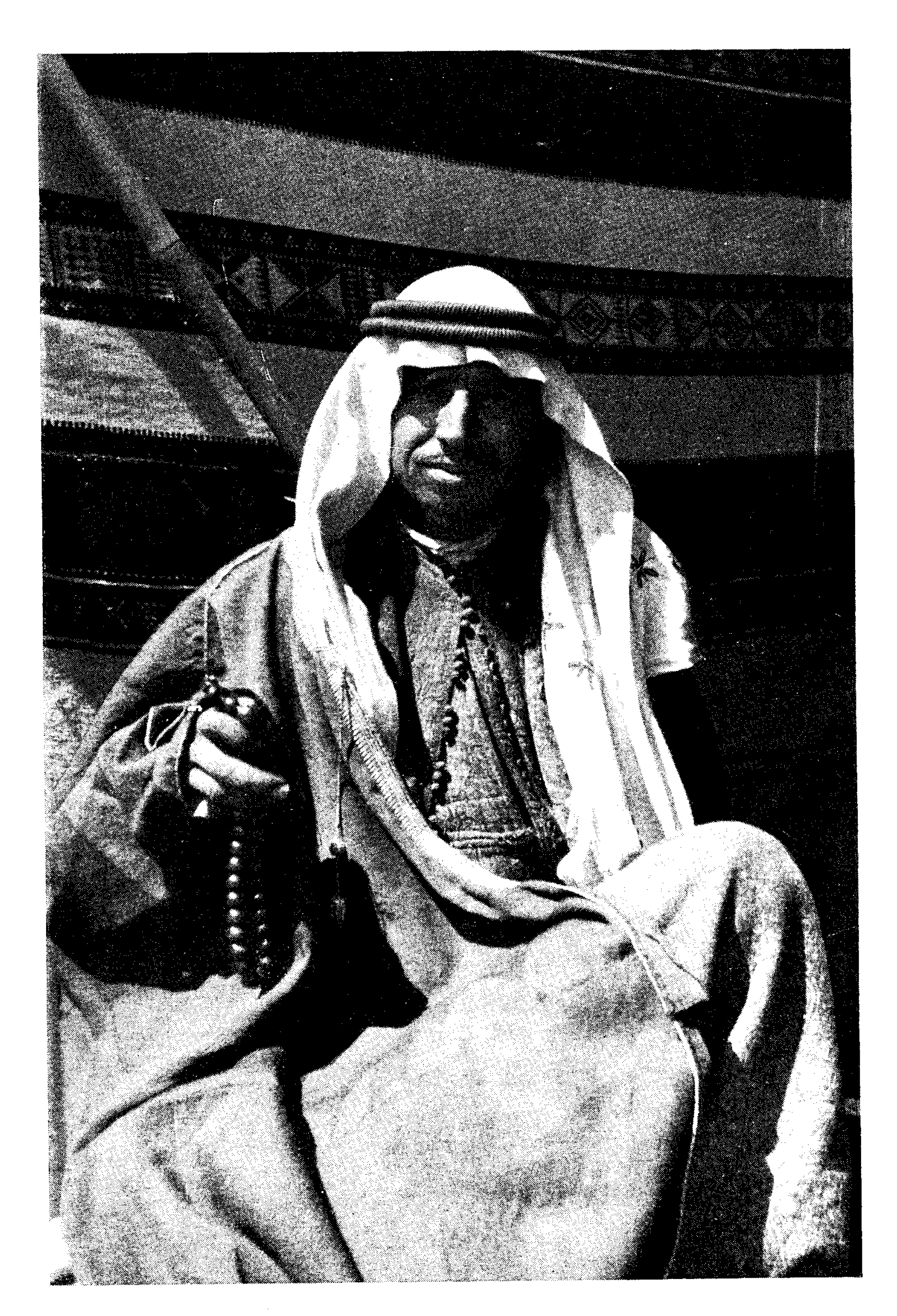
Not only, said he, is there a binding duty of the host towards his guest, but such guest, so long as his host's salt (*milah*) is in his stomach (*fi battinu*)—which is always assumed to be three days and three nights—is responsible that no harm comes to the host from the guest's tribe. For example, A was the host of B, who quite casually and as an ordinary traveller, had stopped at A's tent and spent the night (*nauwakh andhu*). Next day B left A's tent (second day) and went his way. On the third day A's tent was attacked by raiders from B's tribe, and five camels and one mare were carried off. A then had a rightful claim against B and was able through B's intervention to recover his lost camels and mare.

In practice A would follow B to his tribe, however far away, and would lay his claim before him, or if B's tribe were not on a friendly footing with A's tribe, A would send a neutral messenger to B, and demand satisfaction.

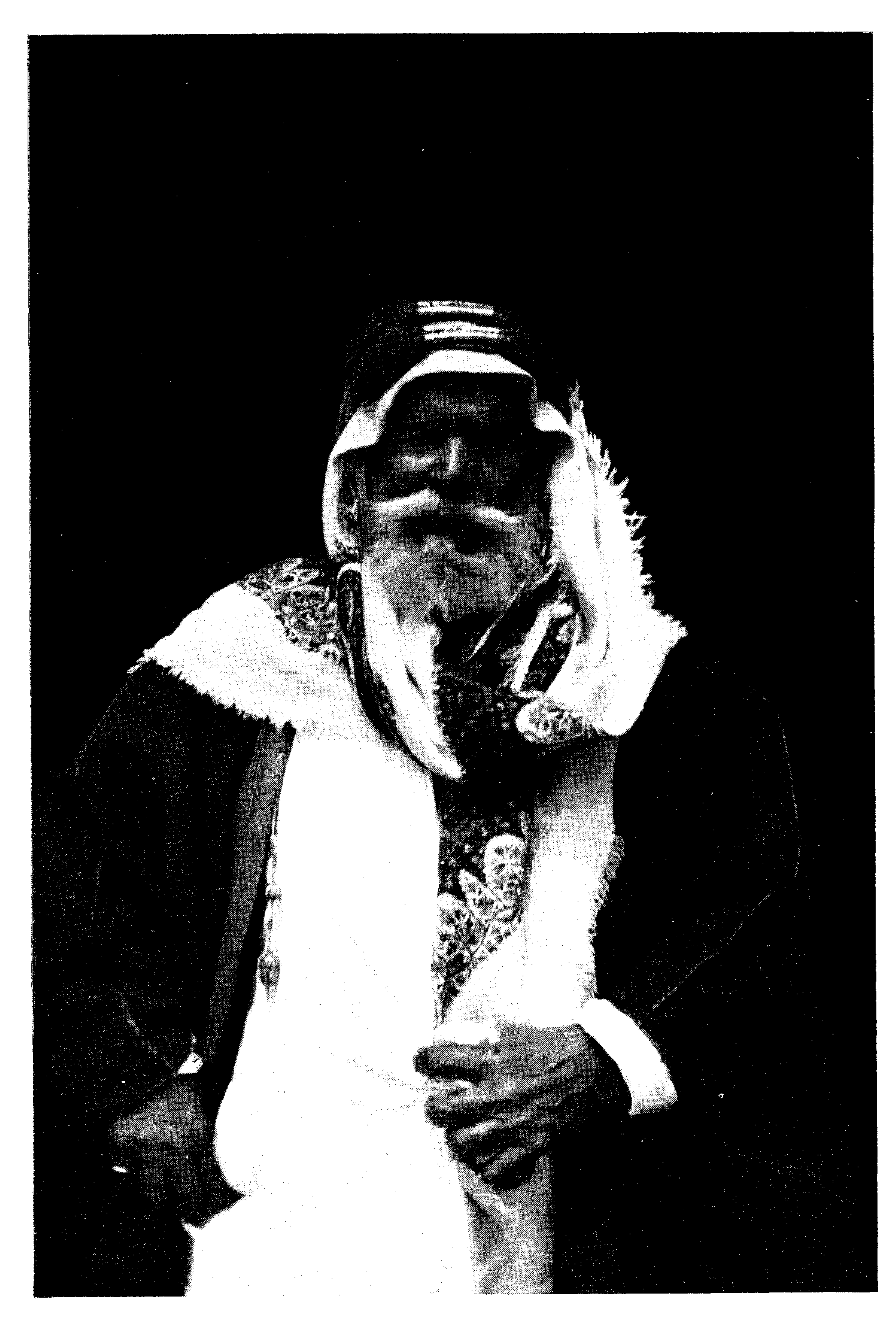
Not only would B be in honour bound to make complete restitution, but he would have the whole of his tribe behind him if it were necessary to coerce the raiders who had harmed A's camp and stolen the camels. On top of the restitution to A, "honour" money or "honour" camels, would have to be paid to B. That is, the raiders would have to give an extra camel or two to B as compensation for having, so to speak, broken the salt bond between the two men.

SANCTITY OF WOMEN

In the desert the position of women is a far freer and happier one (if we except the hard life and privation that is their lot), than that of their Arab sisters of the town. It is true that they are frequently divorced. Such divorces, however, are not over-serious. Perhaps there is incompatibility of temper, or perhaps the wife has failed to serve up a tasty dinner for her husband and lord. It matters little.



MUTLUQ AL SUR
A typical Mutairi Shaikh



THE LATE HILLÁL AL MUTAIRI
Pearl Merchant of Kuwait

If she is pretty, attractive and the daughter of So-and-So, she will easily find a dozen other men ready to marry her.

As for her children: she retains the small ones till they reach the age of eight, and then hands them over to their father's care, but they are never far from her, and are allowed to come and see her as often as they like. Nay, if she is a clever girl she will keep on quite friendly terms with her former husband, and call and see his new wife regularly. That is quite common practice.

Where the Badawin housewife has distinctive rights, is in the management of the tent; she is *um al 'aiyál* (mother of the family) as well as *raiyat al bait.* She holds the honour and good name of her husband in the hollow of her hand. Upon her falls the duty of providing for the guest, of cooking choice and tasty dishes, of turning out good *leben*, and generally bringing the good name of her husband into prominence among his fellow Arabs.

The mistress of the house never sees or mixes with stranger guests, but she knows all that is going on, for only a curtain partition separates the women's from the guest's quarters.

The personal name of the lady of the house is never mentioned by the guest, or even by the host's men friends, she is *Um al 'Aiyál* or *Raiyat al Bait* only. Should a friend wish to ask after a man's wife, he will merely say to the husband, *Kaif hal illi warrak?* or *Shlaun um al 'aiyál?* ("How is she who is behind you?" or "How is the mother of the children?"). Unpleasant badinage is taboo.

Even more carefully guarded and shielded are a man's marriageable daughters. They are never seen at all, except by those on very intimate terms.

Jokes about a man's getting married, and so forth, are quite common, and the young Lothario about to get spliced is always the butt of his companions, but never is the woman's name brought into this form of rough chaff. That would be *'aib* (a shameful thing).

The sanctity of a woman and her good name is more immediately apparent in cases of war or hostilities between two tribes.

She it is who encourages her menfolk to go forth and fight bravely for her and come back triumphant. She it is, if the tribe has to be rallied, who uncovers her face, lets down her hair, and mounts the *markab* of the tribe wildly to encourage the young and old men to

victory once more. On these occasions the men will go mad for her, and if she happens to be the shaikh's daughter they will die, but never give way.

Should a camp be suddenly raided and overrun by a horde of screaming enemy horsemen, the Badawin woman has absolutely nothing to fear for herself. The laws of the desert hold her inviolable. Her men may be killed, her sons may have to scatter and flee for safety, but the women of the tent are safe. On such occasions they sit about in their tents, moaning and crying softly, but they know that the victors will not touch a hair of their head. The carrying off of women is impossible in Arab warfare. The victorious raiders having rounded up and driven off the camels and sheep, are allowed by definite laws to seize certain articles of property, and these only, from the tents. This legitimate loot includes carpets, coffee-pots and spare tents, if a family has more than one. They may also take food-stuffs if there is a plentiful supply, but they must leave one tent over-head for the mistress of each family and sufficient food to see her provided for a definite period of time.

No part of the personal clothing which the women are wearing may be taken, and not a finger must be laid on any woman. It follows that any article of jewellery which a woman is wearing is entirely safe, and so also is her camel saddle (*maksar*).

These rules are all very explicitly and minutely laid down. To break them would be to dishonour the good name and *sharaf* of the attackers who have to-day brought their enemy low. No one can afford to risk such dishonour in the desert.

Shaikh Hzam al Mashari al Sa'adun of the Muntafiq, himself a well-known desert warrior of the old days, told me that in 1917 (in the days of the Turks) he had cut down one of his own raiders who, in the excitement of the charge and victory, so far forgot himself as to try to take a bangle off a girl's arm, she being of the Badur tribe, and of the vanquished side.

Few such cases actually happen in desert warfare, however, but those that have occurred have been most severely dealt with, and almost invariably have resulted in the death of the culprit, who forgot himself and infringed the rules of desert warfare.

This inviolability of women in war has been naturally evolved

during years and centuries of raid and counter-raid. Men always knew that to-day they might be top-dog and to-morrow the under-dog. It was but wise and natural to declare women sacred. The Badawin world valued wives and daughters above all other possessions, so the principle of "You let my womenfolk alone, and I will not harm yours" gradually became established. The rule holds good to-day all over Arabia. Unfortunately the fanatical 'Ikhwan, during the few years in which their influence was in the ascendant, a menace to both friend and foe in Najd, did much to upset this and many other excellent customs which are dear to the true Arab.

PROTECTION OF AN ENEMY WHO HAS SURRENDERED

The laws relating to surrender are dealt with in Chapter XXVI. Suffice it to here say that a Badawin surrendering to another either in battle or raid, or if pursued and overtaken, is safe and entitled to good treatment.

In surrendering a man will definitely say to one of the other side: *Ya fulan ana fi wejh ak* (O So-and-So, I place myself under your protection). If he gets the reply: *Inta fi wejh hi, sallim salâhak* (You are under my protection, hand over your arms), the matter is finished, and the person who has accepted the surrender must go bail for his captive with his life. He has given him his *wejh* (face), and it would go hard with any member of his own tribe who harmed the prisoner later, and so blackened the protector's face.

The rules regarding surrender are very similar to those of *dakhâla*. The man who surrenders is in the position of a suppliant, and an Arab dare not ignore the fact. The only difference between the two is that when the enemy asks for quarter in battle, you may or may not grant his request. Once *wejh* is granted, however, the prisoner must be protected. A man who breaks this law is liable to a very heavy fine in camels or money, and he is never forgiven by his own tribesmen.

THE RAFIQ OR KHAWI

The laws relating to the *rafiq* and *rufga* generally, are equally stringent, and are comparable to those of hospitality, only here the

honour of the tribe as a whole is at stake, not alone the honour of the individual tent-dweller.

The word *rafiq* means a friend or companion, and in the desert sense he is a man whose duty is to see you safely through his people's country (*ammamhu*), and through his tribal territory, even if it so happens that his tribe is at emnity with your own tribe or people.

The *rafiq* usually does his business for a small fee.

A man desiring to travel, say from Kuwait to the Hijaz, would usually have to take *rafiqs* from the Mutair, Harb, 'Utaiba, Qahtan and probably the Bugum or other local tribe.

If a *rafiq* cannot for any reason accompany his client, it should be sufficient for him to give him his stock or cane (*'assa*), and notch same with the tribal *wasm* (mark) of his *bani 'ám*, or tribe, as a whole.

After handing over his *'assa*, the *rafiq* will let it be known by word of mouth, and arrange for the news to be passed on, that he has given So-and-So his marked *'assa* as *rufga* or safe conduct. No one will now touch the traveller throughout the whole length and breadth of the *dírah* owned or wandered over by the *rafiq's* tribe.

Under the strong arm of Bin Sa'ud, many efforts have been made to discourage and even abolish this system of the *rafiq* as unnecessary, and likely to bring the name and prestige of the Sa'udi Government into disrepute. Nevertheless, the *rufga* system is surreptitiously kept alive, as all men feel safer under a *rafiq's* protection than when trusting themselves to the tender mercies of some of the King's frontier guards, or inland governors.

It should be understood that as soon as you have safely passed through one tribal territory, the *rafiq* who has finished his job must find a new *rafiq* from the tribe whose territory you are about to enter, and so on till the journey is finished. It would be breaking the law of *rufga* if your *rafiq*, on completing his duties, deserted you and left you stranded. You could later get heavy compensation from the man and his shaikh, when you were able to prove your claim.

THE QASÍR (pronounced *gasír*)

The laws of *qusara* embody the duty of a Badawin towards his tent-neighbour.

The Tent Neighbour

Chap. VII

The word *qasír* means a tent-neighbour, and the laws relating to the treatment of the *qasír* are held perhaps in even greater reverence than any other custom connected with an Arab's honour, not excepting even the laws of *dakhála* and *wejh* and the treatment of a guest (*thaif*).

The *qasír* is under Allah's protection, and many poems and stories have been written from earliest times dealing with the sacred rights of the *qasír*, and of the way in which an honourable Arab should treat a neighbour.

Strictly speaking, a tent-dweller is your *qasír* if he pitches his tent within the distance which you can cover when throwing your cane (*'assa*) or your camel-stick (*mishá'ab*). This was very carefully explained to me by Rashidi falconers at Araifjan in 1932 (Salim ibn Mahayus, Sa'ud bin Nimran, and Addas, the latter's cousin), who demonstrated the distance such sticks could be thrown by a strong man.

It follows, then, that anyone who pitches his tent close to a fellow Badawin's tent, becomes, *ipso facto*, his tent-neighbour, and enjoys the privileges of a *qasír*.

This is done every day where men are of the same tribe, and it means that groups so camped together can rely on each other for mutual support, and are bound to help each other, whether an enemy threatens all or one of them, or whether there is shortage of food, water or the like.

In everyday existence in the desert, a man's tent-neighbours will normally consist of his male relations (*bani 'ám*) or relations on his mother's side (*khawál*), who camp together for mutual convenience and protection. Although all are strictly speaking tent-neighbours, and come under the protection of the senior member of that particular family, the term *qusara* is not usually applied to such collection of tents, seeing that the owners are all related, and are bound, by the ties of relationship, to stand by each other in any case.

Where the laws of *qasír* specially apply is when a member of a strange tribe, or even of a hostile tribe, comes and asks if he may camp close to such and such person's tent, become his neighbour and join his tribe in their migrations. If his request is granted, and it is practically never refused, then the following code at once comes into

force, though the *qasír* will be well advised, if he can get hold of the shaikh of his protector's tribe, to kill a camel and invite him to a public meal. The shaikh will then see that everyone knows that the stranger is now under the tribe's protection.

The new tent-neighbour becomes, as it were, the guest of the particular Badawin who has given him permission to camp near him as his *qasír*. He is henceforth an *'aziz* (a dear one), and like the *rafiq* or *khawi*, he enjoys special privileges and is not subjected to the rules and regulations of the protector's tribe, and the "*qasír's* stick is now his sword" (*'assa-hu saif*).

The Badawin householder must protect the *qasír* against all comers, and in return the *qasír* must protect his benefactor against any raiders, even raiders of his own tribe.

Any cases or complaints now lodged against the *qasír* must be preferred through the person protecting him. "Sue me," says the protector, "but not my *qasír*, for I am in his place."

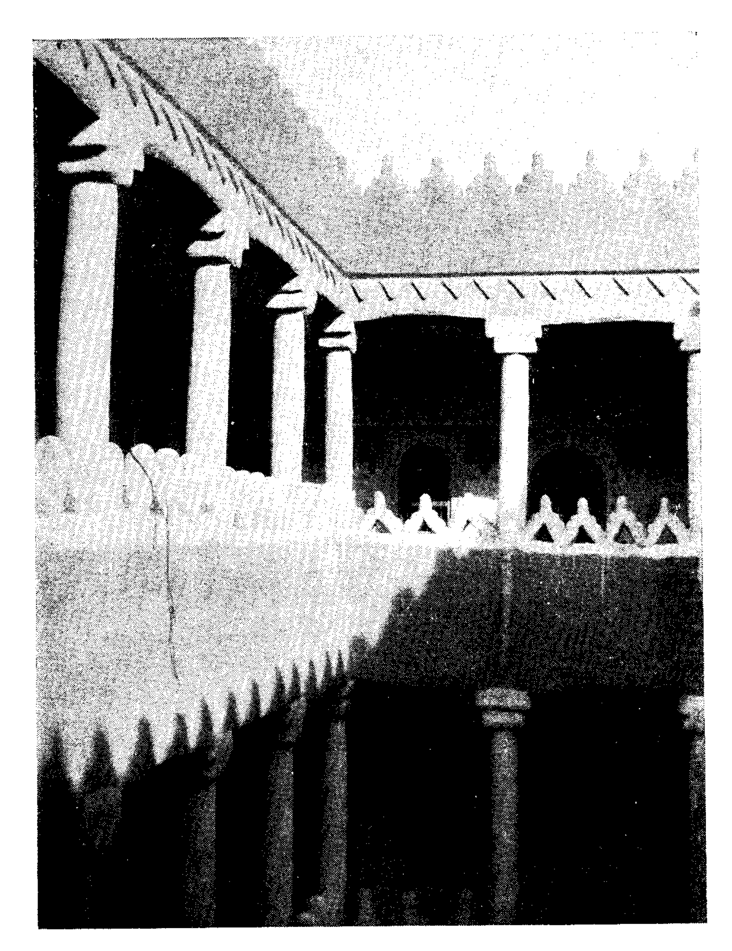
If any animal or thing is stolen from the *qasír's* tent, and the latter complains to his protector, the protector must either find the stolen animal or article, or make it good.

Should a stranger, or even one of his own relatives or tribesmen, insult a woman of his *qasír's* tent and she cries out for help, the protector must immediately respond and come to aid her, whether her husband is with her or not. If the protector happens to kill the person insulting or harming the woman, he is not liable to pay blood money (*'idiyah*), nor is he exposed to any penalties from the slain man's relatives. On the contrary, the murdered man's kin must themselves pay any blood money due, as it was one of them who outraged the tent of a *qasír*. Public opinion in the desert will always make an offender pay up.

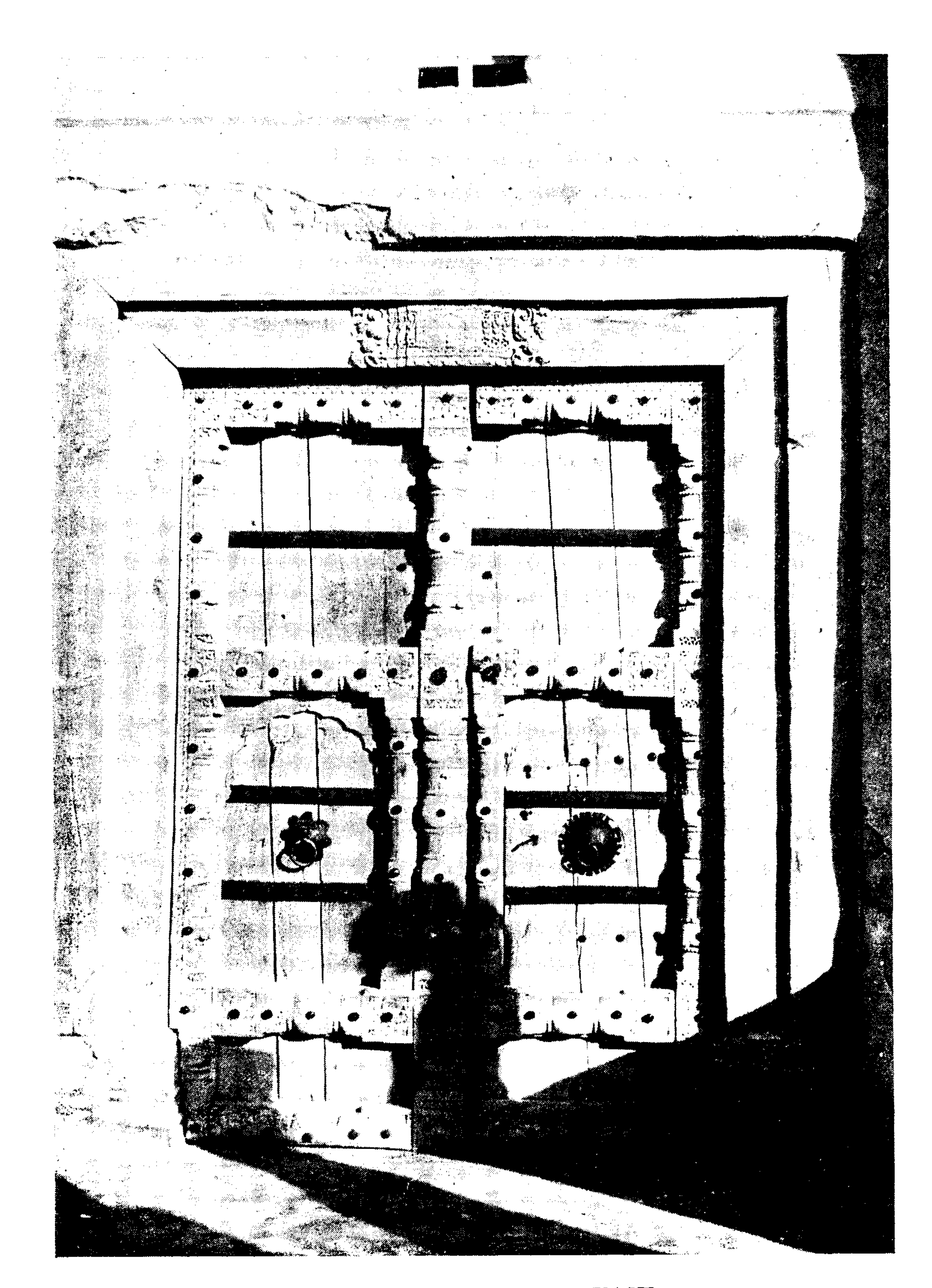
If raiders attack a man's *qasír* and carry off camels and mares, the protector must make these good from booty he himself will capture in the next successful raid he engages in.

If the camels are stolen by camel thieves and a neighbouring tribe is suspected, the protector must himself join in the search and hire men to spy them out (*bil asa*) at his own expense.

If a *qasír* happens to kill a man of his protector's tribe, and then comes to his protector's tent and asks his help, the latter must help



OUR ABODE IN RIYADH
"The King's Guest House"



A DOORWAY IN KUWAIT

him to make his escape to safety, if necessary calling in all his own family for the purpose. Or if the *qasír* says he will pay blood money in settlement, then the protector must protect him until the negotiations are put through.

If a *qasír's* tribe declares war on his protector's tribe, and later the *qasír's* camels are captured by raiders belonging to the protector's tribe, then the latter is absolved from returning the camels and vice versa, unless both protector and his *qasír* make public declaration before their respective shaikhs that they are tent-neighbours (*qusara*) and each will make good any damage suffered by the other party. If, then, the tribe of either party accidentally or purposely captures camels or mares from either of the men, they must return the loot when asked to do so.

The protector must make this public declaration to his own shaikh in person, and if the *qasír* cannot get through himself he must send neutral messengers to his own shaikh and people and do likewise.

Should the protector have in his employ a strange Badawin to herd his camels or sheep, and raiders of the herdsman's tribe suddenly appear and carry off the herd, then because the man in charge is their own fellow-tribesman the raiders must restore three she-camels to the herdsman, one for riding on and two for milking.

Certain desert tribes, notably the Dhafir, are particularly proud of the name they have won for protecting their tent-neighbours. They have become famous in this respect, as the following stories will show. (The chief actors in both cases were well known to me, though Hamud al Suwait has now been dead some years.)

The uncle of Hamud al Suwait, the Shaikh of all the Dhafir tribe, once threatened in public *majlis*, to impale himself on his sword which he had drawn for the purpose, unless *his own son* were brought before him and slain in his presence, because the son had killed his tent-neighbour in the heat of a foolish quarrel. The various members of the family tried hard to shield the youth, but realising that the old shaikh was in deadly earnest, Hamud al Suwait (he became shaikh after his uncle's death two years later) himself seized the boy and with his own hand cut him down before the eyes of his father. Thus was tribal honour satisfied. This incident happened in 1912, and was told

me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vouched for by the Shaikh of Kuwait on 9th September, 1932.

Shaikh Jada'an al Suwait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Athaiba and Ruhail on the Kuwait–Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutairi tribesman who was his *qasír* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin honour, became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Bin Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and untarnished.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain it is that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hautush al Suwait, cousin of Jada'an.

I myself have only once been appealed to by a person who was my *qasír*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory. It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the hot month of July 1932, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

A Midnight Appeal

Chap. VII

Next door and behind the Agency premises resided the divorced tribal wife of a well-known pearl merchant. She was a pure-bred tribal lady of the Wasil sept of the Mutair, and had been put away by her husband because he wanted to marry again. With the lady lived her daughter, a girl of about fifteen. The daughter was all the mother had in the world and was the pride and apple of her eye.

The roof on which I slept at night abutted on to the house of the lady in question, her roof was only some eight feet higher than mine and owing to its proximity to mine she herself never utilised her roof for sleeping.

Apparently, although I did not know it at the time, my neighbour's daughter had a male cousin who aspired to her hand. He had custom and the *Shari'a* law on his side, and asked to marry the girl. The mother had steadfastly refused, on the plea that she had only her daughter to work for her, and without her she would starve. After much pressure the mother had apparently agreed to let her daughter marry if sufficient money compensation was paid her for the years of trouble and expense which she had incurred in bringing her daughter up.

Actually she wanted sufficient money to enable her to live. The young man and his people refused her demands and complained to the shaikh. The latter decided that the young man was within his rights, and ordered the girl to be removed to some distant relative's house, whence after due ceremony and regard for convention she would be married. Four times the shaikh's *fidawiyah*, or guards, came round to the mother's house, and each time she refused them entry. The law did not permit them to enter forcibly, but they vowed that law or no law her position as a woman would not prevent them next time breaking open her door and forcibly abducting the girl.

It was then that the incident happened. I was asleep on my roof and the night was hot without moon. It was about twelve midnight when I awoke to hear my name called, "Ya Abu Sa'ud—Ya Abu Sa'ud," came the voice out of the darkness, "Wake up and listen". Wide-awake now, I realised that someone was addressing me in a low whisper from my neighbour's roof, only a few yards away. "What is it?" I said. "Who are you that startles me like this at dead of night?" "I am your *qasír*," replied the voice with a moan, "I am daughter of

So-and-So, and I appeal to you to listen to me." Realising then who was speaking to me over the wall, I learned her whole tale. At the end she said, "Ya Abu Sa'ud, I am in the deepest distress, I entreat you to help, I, your *qasír*, your neighbour, your tent *jár*" (another word for neighbour). "What wouldst thou that I do for thee, my sister?" I replied. "Go to-morrow morning," she said, "and tell Shaikh Ahmad of my plight, and fight for me and my daughter, for verily if they take her away I shall die." To all my pleading that she was not under my jurisdiction, she merely replied, "I know nothing about that. All I know is that you are my neighbour and the law makes it incumbent on you to come to my assistance."

The end of it was that I promised to do as she asked, and on the next day I went and saw the Ruler, apologised for butting in where I was not concerned, but pointed out that my *qasír* had appealed in such and such manner to me, and that as I understood the importance of such an appeal, I in turn begged his intervention on her behalf. The shaikh was so struck with my tale, and so delighted that I pleaded with him for one of his Muslim subjects against his own decision, that he turned round and said very charmingly, "Colonel Dickson, this law of the *qasír* is a very sacred one for us Arabs; that you know and understand the depth of its meaning is patent to me, else you would never have acted as you have done. The girl is yours, give her back to her mother and say I, Ahmad, revoke my orders previously given. Even as you listened to the woman who appealed to you as *qasír*, so likewise I will listen to you and grant your request, to prove to you how deeply I feel you have been honoured by one of my country-women, and how deeply I also honour the law of *qusara*." I was much impressed by the shaikh's words, and it will be long before I forget his remarkable reply. His orders were duly passed on to my neighbour, and to this day the poor woman shows her gratitude in little kindnesses to my servants. I never again saw her to speak to.

SHIMA

The Arab's idea of *shíma* is much the same as our conception of honour, and I shall illustrate it only by the story given below.

Othman al Rashid of Buraida (an ex-horse-dealer of Kuwait) on

12th August, 1933, told the following story of Arab *shíma*. He vouched for its truth.

Many years ago, in the time of Muhammad al Rashid, there lived in Buraida a prominent member of the family of Al Ribádi. This man had seen great days and prosperous, but through bad trade had fallen on evil days. Of all his herds of camels, and he had had many, he possessed only one *nágá* (she-camel). This camel he one day decided to sell, as being old and worn she was no longer of use to him. He therefore asked a passing Shammari Badawin who had come in from the Jabal if he would take the animal away with him and would sell her when in due time he visited Hail. The money he could hand over at his leisure when next he visited Qasim. The Shammari agreed and took the camel off with him. As luck would have it the journey to Hail was too much for her, she sickened and died on the way. The worthy Shammari decided that as the skin was of some value he would realise something on it for the owner, so he took the camel's skin, salted it, and departed to his own country. Then came the great wars between the Rashid and Sa'ud dynasties and for years the Buraida merchant heard nothing of his camel. He had forgotten all about it, and became an old man, for it was thirty years since the incident took place. One day forty-two beautiful new and strong camels were driven up. One old and two young men were asking the way to his home. It turned out to be the Shammari of thirty years back. He came to give the Buraida merchant his *haq* (right). "Your she-camel died, but her skin enabled me to get a few rials, with these I traded, still I got enough to buy you a new *nágá*. The new *nágá* bore a daughter, and these camels you see are all her descendants. They are all yours. I had no opportunity before to bring you what I owed you."

THE LAW OF DAKHÁLA AND WEJH

Dakhála, from the root *'udkhul*—to enter—means the law of entering into a person's protection as a suppliant.

This most honoured and sacred of Arab customs exists all over Arabia and in Iraq, and finds strongest support perhaps among the Badawin, as opposed to the settled tribes and townsmen. An Arab claims *dakhála* by saying, *ana dakhilak* or *ana dakhil 'a l'Allah wa*

'alaik (I am your suppliant, I enter upon God's pardon and yours). The person so addressed is bound to protect the suppliant, with his own life if necessary, and is bound always to fight for him, or get him to a place of safety if he is being pursued or is in immediate danger.

HOW DAKHÁLA IS CLAIMED

A man being followed by enemies meets a Badawin girl cutting firewood in the desert, or her mother spinning outside her tent alone, and begs *dakhála*. The girl or her mother is bound to offer protection, and if the danger is near, she will call out for help (*tasih*). Immediaately the whole community will rush (*faza'a*) to her aid. The man will be sent to a place of safety. He will not be surrendered.*

A man may enter the house of the brother of a man he has just killed. If he demands *dakhála* he is safe for three days, after that time he must say where he wants to go, and he will be seen safely to his destination. This done, the brother of the man he has killed is free to resume his just blood feud.

HOW DAKHÁLA WORKS

A man is chased for a crime, he rushes into a tent (or house) and begs *dakhála*. The owner of the tent is bound not only to grant sanctuary, but, after feeding the visitor and clothing him, must see him safely to the house, tent or tribe where the suppliant thinks he will be safe. After that the protector's responsibility ends.

So strict is the law of *dakhála* among the Badawin that a man carrying the "cane" (marked with his *wasm*) of a shaikh with whom he has taken sanctuary, may safely travel through the length and breadth of a tribe's territory, even though there may be persons there who have a blood feud with him.

In countries like modern Sa'udi Arabia, and in the new Iraq where the authorities, following the Persian example, are unfortunately, and I think mistakenly, trying to break down tribal customs, the practice of *dakhála* is unpopular with those who rule, and the police con-

* Jaal the Kenite of Bible fame broke the law of *dakhála* when she slew the sleeping Sisera, who clearly believed himself safe in her tent. She also broke all laws of hospitality, as Sisera had come to her tent and partaken of her food.

stantly find themselves thwarted by it. This is a pity, for if properly understood there is nothing shameful or anti-social in the system. It would be wiser for the law to recognise its existence and make use of it and of other time-honoured Arab customs.

In 1933 my friend, Shaikh Lafi ibn Ma'allath of the Mutair (Braih) tribe, a faithful warrior and servant of Bin Sa'ud, was forced to flee to Iraq, because a man pursued by Bin Sa'ud's blockade-police took refuge in his tent, and invoked the law of *dakhála*. When the police threatened to search for the fugitive the stout-hearted shaikh signalled to his followers and fellow tent-dwellers to close around, and said he would resist the man's arrest by force of arms if necessary. Baulked of their prey the police (all townsmen) went away angry and sullen, and reported the incident to Ibn Jiluwi, their master. Lafi, feeling that he had got a breathing-space, and knowing that he would never be forgiven, fled across the border with his cousins, relatives, women, children, thirty tents in all, never to come back. Had the police bided their time, three days, they could probably have followed and made an arrest. Instead, they drove a faithful and loyal servant of the King into exile.

Cases of a similar nature are legion, and do almost more than anything else to promote bad feeling between the tribal elements of Arabia and the local governments.

The root trouble is, of course, the desire of upstart kings and princes, eager to ape the West, to break down all tribal systems, because they think these mark a backward state of society.

Akin to *dakhála* is the conception of *wejh* or *tisyar*. This literally means "face". *Be wejh fulan* (lit. "In So-and-So's face") means under the protection or safe conduct of So-and-So, and is a phrase very commonly heard in the desert. The penalties for outraging a person's *dakhála*, *wejh* or *tisyar* (as the Iraq tribesmen call *wejh*) are very severe indeed; a heavy fine is exacted from any person purposely defying the custom. This fine is called *hashm* or "honour money" in Iraq. A man surrendering to the police another who has claimed *dakhála* will be relentlessly pursued by the suppliant's relations and will be slain unless he compounds the case by paying *hashm* to the tribe.

The following anecdote of how a British officer was saved by

seeking sanctuary with Hasan Agha and his womenfolk near Samawa on the Euphrates, provides a good illustration of the working of *dakhála.*

In 1919 Hasan Agha, a married man with family, was a small farmer living a little way above the iron railway bridge at Samawa. He dealt with the tribes of Rumaitha, bought their grain and knew everyone in that region. He was a popular figure and the English esteemed him highly as a good farmer and one interested in his lands. Then came the Arab revolt of 1920–21. It broke out like a lightning flash first in Rumaitha, and the tribes of that place opened the ball by rushing the Political Officer's Headquarters and releasing prisoners from gaol. It so happened that a young British officer in civil employ was away from Rumaitha the day the storm broke. He had been riding out towards the south-west in the direction of the Euphrates and knew nothing of what had taken place, but as he neared Rumaitha again he heard shots, and saw some horsemen detach themselves from the town and come rapidly towards him. At first he thought them friends, but as they came galloping towards him shouting and firing as they rode, he realised that something serious was amiss. He turned south again to make for Samawa. The horsemen, seeing his intention, gave tongue, and the young Englishman set spurs to his horse. He gained on his pursuers, but owing to floods near the railway bridge upstream of Samawa, was forced to turn in a south-westerly direction. He bethought him of Hasan Agha's farm near the river and reached it a bare couple of miles ahead of his pursuers. Arriving at the large semicircular *muthif* built of mats and reeds that was Hasan Agha's house, he called out his name several times. For a while there was no reply, then out came a woman who said her husband, Hasan, was away, and enquired what the caller wanted. The young Englishman, exhausted with his hard ride, pointed to the oncoming horsemen, and begged shelter and protection. The woman called out her two daughters and told them quickly to join her in her women's quarters and bring out their *'abbas*. The women took the Englishman into their innermost room and covered him with his hostess's own cloak. She herself and her two daughters sat in front of him sewing. Suddenly the horsemen rode up, and in loud voices asked for Hasan Agha. Getting no response the leader dismounted, and putting his head in the women's room

demanded that the Englishman, whom they had seen entering, should be surrendered. They had caught his horse, they said, as it galloped away, so it was clear he was hiding here. The lady pretended to be indignant at her privacy being invaded, and set up screams and cries, calling upon God to bear witness that So-and-So had violated lonely women's private quarters with evil intent. She added that her husband, Hasan Agha, would have something to say when he returned. The two daughters joined their mother's outcry, and so bitter were the women's words, and so fierce their demeanour, that the horsemen finally abandoned the search. They drew off, baffled, but kept guard at some distance. Seeing the danger temporarily over, the women gave the exhausted Englishman tea and hot milk. While one stood on guard by the entrance of the hut, the others produced women's garments and made him put them on.

At last the sun set, and the master of the house returned. He had been up to Najaf in his small *balam*, and brought back great and serious news. The whole countryside of the Euphrates was up, and the tribes were fighting the *hukúmah* (government). Rumaitha, he said, had been captured, Samawa was invested and the fall of Hilla, Kufa and Diwaniyah would soon follow. He then learned, with astonishment, of the young Englishman's presence, and praised the conduct of the brave women. To the young man he promised safety, but said he could arrange his escape only under cover of darkness. Hiding him once more in a better place than before, he went out to the horsemen and rated them soundly for having frightened and ill-treated his women. In vain they explained, in vain they argued. Hasan played the outraged husband and father whom nothing would appease. That night he filled his boat with lucerne grass and placing the disguised Englishman in the bow he seated himself at the stern, and slipped down stream. Three hours later, just below the great Samawa bridge, they were challenged in English, and narrowly escaped being shot. Drawing in to the bank, Hasan made himself and his companion known to the British picket, and after handing over his charge left again silently. The Englishman was saved. For this gallant act I was later privileged, as Political Officer to the Middle Euphrates, to secure from Government a substantial reward for Hasan Agha and his wives, which included frocks for the women and a water-pumping

machine for Hasan. He did not possess it long, for when full independence was granted to Iraq, the leaders of the new Arab Government deprived Hasan Agha of his pump.

(NOTE.—The above story was told me in this form by Hasan Agha himself. It differs very considerably from the account published in *Blackwood's Magazine* of August 1921 by the chief actor in the drama.)

Before closing this chapter I must quote one more example of Arab chivalry. It was told me on 10th March, 1937, by Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah and next day confirmed by the hero of it, ibn Khazar himself, who later became a great friend of mine.

About thirty years before, when 'Abdul Muhsin ibn Khazar, Shaikh of the Bani Khalid, was a young man, he was famed far and wide as a raider. Many and great were his deeds of endurance and bravery. One day he carried out a distant foray against the U'taiba, in course of which he killed a well-known shaikh, galloping after him and single-handed shooting him in the back with his carbine. On his return from the raid he was sitting round his camp-fire regaling his friends with the story when there entered the son of the Shaikh of the Za'ab tribe (*bani 'ám* to the 'Adwan). He must be told the story over again, and coming to the part of how he dropped the 'Utaiba leader from his horse with one flying shot, 'Abdul Muhsin pointed his weapon at the Za'ab lad and fired. He never dreamed that his carbine was loaded as it unfortunately was. The son of the Za'ab Shaikh was killed.

In horror, he was for a time at a loss what to do. His Bani Khalid people tried to persuade him to report that the youth had been killed in a nearby raid, but ibn Khazar held that this would be contrary to Arab honour. He rode off to the boy's father and told him exactly what had happened. At the end of his recital he loaded his carbine handed it to the Shaikh of the Za'ab and begged him to avenge his son's blood. The shaikh generously refused. Not to be outdone, 'Abdul Muhsin declared that he would be a second son to the bereaved father till he died. He kept his word, giving his adopted father half of his sheep and camels, half of any loot (*chessib*) which he ever gained in a raid, and half of any presents that he ever received from ibn Sa'ud or the Shaikhs of Bahrain. He continued to do this until the old man died.

NOTE ON DAKHÁLA

In discussing the law of *dakhála* with Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra, head of the Rukhman section of the Mutair on 6.2.39, the latter told me that in the matter of *dakhála*, the Mutair, Qahtan and 'Utaiba granted *dakhála* to any member of their own tribe who asked for it, for a set period of twelve months, and the *dakhil* could wander about with entire safety in his particular tribe for this period and could go anywhere without danger of molestation provided he did not go beyond the confines of the tribal *dírah*.

The 'Ajman, he said, had the same rule, but the *dakhil* must not leave the vicinity of the tents or tent of the person affording him *dakhála* and should camp alongside him as his *qasír* or tent neighbour, thus getting double protection.

The Shammar, Dhafir, Harb and 'Awazim tribes on the other hand granted *dakhála* only for three days and three nights, and then were obliged to help the *dakhil* make good his escape to a safe place or person indicated by himself. This rule, he said, was also followed by nearly all the riverain tribes in Iraq.

He asserted that a woman had no *wejh*, and so could not grant *dakhála* to any person unless her husband was absent from his tents. In such circumstances she could give refuge to a man making his *dakhála* to her.

Lastly he told me that a Mutairi breaking another Mutairi's *dakhála* (i.e. harming his *dakhil* in any way) entitled the man giving the *dakhála* to raid the aggressor's tents seven times, kill as many men as he could of the aggressor's family, and kill as many camels as he could with full impunity and with no ill consequences to himself. (*Illu il haq i sabbahu saba marrat.*)

A point to note here is that he may not carry off camels, but must kill them, lest he be accused of cupidity when just vengeance is what he seeks.

CHAPTER VIII

Marriage and Divorce

MARRIAGE

A Badawin is not allowed to marry:

The divorced wife of his son.
His son's widow.
His wife's mother.
His brother's daughter.
His sister's daughter.
His foster sister.
A girl of a tribe that is considered inferior to his own, such as 'Awazim, Sana, Sulubba. (See Chapter VI and Appendix XIII.)

Inferior Badawin, of course, intermarry at will with other inferior tribes.

The marriage laws among the Badawin tribes of Arabia are simple in the extreme and effectually settle the problem, so acute in the West, of what to do with the excess female population. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in Arabia, owing to the interminable wars and intertribal hatreds that exist, women are and have always been greatly in excess of the men.

In the first place, marriage and divorce are extremely easy. Every youth on first reaching the age of manhood expects his parents to find a mate for him. Similarly a husband must be found for a girl the moment she reaches puberty.

First-cousin marriage is the invariable rule. A girl belongs of right to the son of her father's brother (*ibn 'ám*) unless he expressly renounces his right to marry her. Even in this case she may not marry without his permission. If the girl breaks this rule or her parents prevail on her to marry someone else, her rightful lord will murder her if he can. This is the cause of most of the tribal killings of women, especially in Iraq.

RIGHTS OF IBN 'ÁM

If a girl refuses to be wedded to her *ibn 'ám*, he may slay her without becoming liable to pay blood money in compensation.

If the *ibn 'ám* knows that his cousin does not want him, being already in love with someone else, he can forbid (*haiyyir 'alaiha*) the marriage, and the girl may die a spinster.

If a girl loves another and her father dies, she has a chance of getting her freedom from her *ibn 'ám* who is *haiyyiring* her ("hajjir" is the correct technical term for keeping her to himself), if she goes and begs her freedom immediately after her father's death: "My father has died, I want thee to release me in return for my father who has passed away", she says. In such case the *hajjir* is expected to be generous and release her—but he is not bound to do so. If he refuses her only remedy is to elope. She then flees with her lover to a distant land or tribe, and there marries him after putting herself and her husband under the protection of a shaikh. She remains in constant danger from her cousin, however. Her husband is considered as guilty as a murderer and can only secure his life by the payment of blood money.

Should a Badawin elope with and marry a "white slave girl" (e.g. Circassian, Georgian or Armenian) or a girl of inferior tribe (he can on no account marry a slave and defile the tribe's blood), he can never return again to his kin; they will kill him.

It is the duty of every Badawin to marry and procreate. The more children he possesses, the more powerful his kinsmen. He would be expelled the tribe were he to refuse to do his duty in this respect. Without his kin a Badawin would be the most miserable of outcasts. Musil brings this out clearly in his book, *Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*.

There are, of course, cases where a man sees a girl, not his cousin, and falls madly in love with her. If she herself is not bound to her *ibn 'ám* a regular courtship follows, the man finding opportunity of meeting when she is looking after the camels or the sheep, much as our own youths and maidens do. I have known very violent love affairs of this type, and the Badawin loses his head over his lass quite as much as the ordinary English youth, if not more.

When a man wants to marry, he pays the girl so much money down. Her price runs from about Rs.70* to Rs.500, according as the man is a commoner or a shaikh. (I am not of course here referring to alliances and customs ruling among the great princely houses of Arabia, such as the Al Sa'ud, Al Khalifah or Al Subah.)†

The man also has to provide the bride with a frock or two (*kiswah*) and a "bed" to lie on (*frásh*), usually consisting of a red cotton quilt (*laháf*) for spreading on the ground. This provision of the marriage-bed by the prospective husband is essential.

The gift to the bride of money, clothes and marriage-bed is called the *jeház*, and is a universal custom. The *jeház*‡ having been presented, the marriage ceremony is carried out by the local *muta'awah*, or man learned in religion. Among shaikhs, etc., this person is usually an *alim* or priest, but among the poorer Badawin the *muta'awah* may be any person who can lead the prayers and has what they call *'ilm* or learning.

In every community, however small, there will always be found some person qualified to solemnise marriage, if only the local blind man.

The marriage ceremony is very simple indeed: the priest merely asks the man if he will take the girl and the bridegroom replies "yes" in front of witnesses. He then asks the girl's representative (her father or brother) if she agrees to have this man for husband, and when the reply "yes" is given, the ceremony is over. Occasionally the bride is seated behind the tent partition, and hears everything that goes on, but this is rare.

The bride has, of course, snatched glimpses of her prospective husband and at least knows what he looks like. Unless the girl is his cousin and has been brought up with him, the bridegroom on the other hand has not as a rule seen his prospective wife. Of course, if he is clever he has ways and means of getting a peep beforehand, and the girl willingly helps him to satisfy his curiosity.

According to accepted custom, a man may not propose to an unmarried girl, even if he finds and courts her among the camels. It is

* A rupee is normally equal to 1s. 4d.

† Among the Al Subah the marriage sum is about Rs.1500 to Rs.2000.

‡ See also trousseau at the end of this chapter.

not done. He must approach her through her father. He can and does, however, propose in person to a widow or a divorced woman.

After marriage the Badawin takes his bride to the tent he has previously pitched for her, close to that of her father, and consummation takes place. Many are the curious eyes and ears which are concentrated on the bridal tent.

As with us, those chiefly interested in the marriage ceremony are the other women of the camp.

Slaves marrying go through the same ceremonies as the freeborn, the master and mistress of the slave acting the part of the parents of the bridegroom: and as much interest is evinced in the marriage of one of their slaves as in that of one of the family.

The Badawin's love for cohabitation is well known, and as I have said elsewhere, sex is to him the supreme joy of life. Both bride and bridegroom indulge riotously in this honeymoon period. So wildly passionate is their love-making that I have known of a man breaking two of his wife's ribs on the first night of their marriage. As soon as the wife finds herself with child, she lets the other women know about it, and it becomes the occasion for much rejoicing. She continues cohabiting with her husband as a matter of course till just before the baby's birth.

DIVORCE

Divorce procedure is simplicity itself. The man need only say to his wife before witnesses that he does not want her any more. He has to make the statement *three times* for it to be valid: *Ma arid ich, ma arid ich, ma arid ich.* No disgrace attaches to the woman, who takes the matter quite philosophically, and proceeds to look for another husband.

If the man divorces the woman, she keeps the *jeház* he has given her, which is sufficient provision for her for a considerable time, or till she gets a second husband. It must not be forgotten that she has nearly always invested her *jeház* in buying a camel or some sheep and has thus become an owner of livestock.

The point to emphasise is that no disgrace whatsoever clings to divorce, and if the girl is fair, or was the wife of a big shaikh, there is

keen competition among the other young men to marry her. This especially is the case if the girl has character and is famed among men.

Al Jazi, sister of Khalid al Hithlain (Zib Sahman), paramount Shaikh of the 'Ajman in 1935, is a case in point. She was good-looking, young and very desirable, but she above all had a will of her own, and was a veritable "Shaikhah". She thought nothing of giving away a camel to one of her poorer 'Ajman brethren who needed one, and kept open *mudhíf* when her brother was away. She married the following well-known personages in the order mentioned, and be it noted she was three times the wife of His Majesty 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, who on each occasion got her then husband to divorce her in return for a handsome camel present, on the excuse that *Khatri ma tab min her* (I have not got over my love for her):

(1) 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (King).
(2) Sa'ud al Arafa al Sa'ud (King's brother-in-law).
(3) 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (King).
(4) Rakan al Hithlain, son of Dhaidan al Hithlain ('Ajman).
(5) 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (King).
(6) Bandar al Duwish, paramount Shaikh of Mutair 1930.
(7) Mutlug al Jaba'a, a Shaikh of Mutair.

She had a child by each husband except al Hithlain.

The system means that pretty nearly every woman, by the time she is thirty years old, has had two or three husbands, some as many as seven or eight. Hence there is no spinsterhood among Badawins, and every woman at one time or another experiences the joys of married life. Thus there is no unmarried woman problem, and no prostitution. Adultery or running away with a lover is extremely rare, and ends usually in the death of the woman at the hands of relatives.

Should a wife get angry (*tasír ẓ'alána*) with her husband, she goes back to her parents and refuses to return to him. He perforce has then to divorce* her; in this case the woman returns her *jeháẓ*. This is the woman's method of getting rid of a husband who is not wanted; the West could profitably learn a lesson from the Badawin method of marriage and divorce.

If a wife finds she loves another man and no longer desires her

* Unless he can persuade her to return by giving her a *kiswa* or nice present of clothes, a camel, sheep or the like.



AMSHA

husband, she usually tells him so and asks for a divorce. If the husband has any decency (*shíma*), he will grant her request, provided the other man repays him his *jeház*, i.e. money he has spent on his wife. This rule does not apply to a first-cousin wife, *bint 'ám*.

In Kuwait town they have the pretty custom, that a bridegroom must, when he gets married, spend seven days with his wife in her parents' house. This applies also to the Kuwait tribes proper. The idea is to make things easy for the wife, who usually is filled with shame and nervousness. Among the Kuwait 'Arabdar or local tribesmen, a marriage is arranged and settled as follows:

"A" wants to marry. He expresses his desire to his womenfolk, who look round and suggest a likely bride in such and such a tent. "A" then sends them over to see the girl's mother, and to discuss the matter. If the mother is willing, she sends the women off to the girl's father, and to him they propound the idea also. The father then says what he is willing to accept as his daughter's *jeház* and the money is paid over. Haggling does not take place in such matters, for if "A"s deputies do not agree to the amount of the *jeház* they simply say "nothing doing", and go back to their tent.

Things having been settled and the prospective bridegroom informed, "A" sends for a *muta'awah* (priest) and also summons the girl's father. The marriage is then solemnised, the father of the girl being her proxy. The priest gets Rs.2 as his fee.

Up to this time the girl quite possibly, in fact usually, knows nothing of what is going on or being arranged for her. The first news she gets is from her mother, who tells her to prepare for the marriage-bed that night. Great excitement ensues and often much reluctance. When the girl is ready and everything properly arranged, usually by the same evening, the bridegroom is escorted to the bride's tent, or more usually to a small tent set apart near that of the parents. He is made to sit down and receive his men friends for about an hour. When they have all gone, his own women relatives and those of the bride bring the girl to the tent, clustering round her to prevent her escaping, as she must pretend to want to do. Having put her into the tent, whose sides (*ruag*) are all closed, they shout out to "A" to seize and take possession of the girl of his choice, and then discreetly retire. The girl usually attempts to bolt after the women, or get out by

creeping under the flap of the tent. The man literally has to seize her and hold her fast unless he wants to lose her. Slowly but surely he then woos her, and makes her take off her *'abba* and show her face and hair, etc. (*kasshāfa wa yajbarha*).

The next morning when he gets up to go from her, he has to leave a present of money equal to one-tenth the value of the *jehāz*, under his bride's mattress. Thus if he has paid Rs.300 for his wife, he leaves Rs.30 under her mattress. The custom is universal, and the gift so made is known as *al subāha* (or the "morning gift").

When a shaikh or big man wants to marry a lowly maiden, it is not customary for her father to name his daughter's price. This is left to the chivalry of the shaikh, who is supposed to know what to give, and to add a little more. He gives not only money but must send the *kiswah* as well, i.e. marriage bed, rugs, mattress, new frocks and undergarments, etc., according to his means.

The husband's entering the wife's presence preparatory to consummation of marriage is known as *al midkhal*, or the "entering in".

Among non-Kuwait tribes the bride is always brought to the bridegroom's tent. This is the same in the towns of inner Najd. Some tribes, notably the Dhafir, go in for a great deal of horseplay, and try by means of coarse pranks and tricks to embarrass the bride and bridegroom. They surround the bridal tent and peep inside in a most embarrassing manner, and as often as not try and throw water over them through the back curtains. Among the 'Awazim, the girl is not brought to the man nor the man to the tent of the girl's parents; all he is told is that he must go and find and capture his bride, who is hiding among the women. The search and chase then begins, and woe betide the man who cannot catch his lady.

In Kuwait town a curious custom exists among the common people. If a female child passes a little blood after birth, the event is carefully remembered by her mother, and when the day arrives that her daughter (now grown up) is to be married, the mother informs the relatives and the ceremony called *natāra* or "watching" is gone through. The bride's female relatives surround the bride and bridegroom in the bride chamber from *sundown till dawn*, and by music, dancing, laughter, etc., prevent consummation of marriage. At about midnight they place the bridegroom's bare feet against the bride's, and then pour water

over the four feet, etc. Only at dawn do these women "spoil-sports" withdraw to the outer room, after locking the bride and bridegroom up in one stifling room together. Later, when the bridegroom craves to come out, they open the door and go in and wash the bride all over, change her clothes, and redress her for a fresh visit of the bridegroom. This takes place a couple of hours after (see Hamda's sister's marriage in Kuwait on 4th July, 1935).

Amsha, the pretty married daughter of Ibrahim al Muzaiyin of Riyadh, told me on 12th July, 1935, that the Arabs had a saying that: "A woman was like a *jirba* (leather bag) of dates; when full, she was useful in more ways than one, when empty she was of no further use and could be thrown away", referring to the uselessness of a woman who could no longer bear children. In throwing her away the husband casually said, *hafathti wa nafathti*, i.e. "You can go, but I keep any children you have had".*

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG IRAQ TRIBES

A bride's trousseau consists entirely of household effects: cooking utensils, pillows, cushions, blankets, *izars*, *laháf*, bridal-bed and, of course, new clothing for herself. The bride never brings such things as a horse or mare to her husband, though I have heard Europeans say she does. Her purchase money is usually sent to her father by the prospective bridegroom a fortnight or month before the marriage. Among the Iraq tribes this money is almost invariably handed over to the daughter, with an additional sum from the father himself. Aided, of course, by her mother and female relatives, the daughter then converts the money into jewellery. The cost of an Iraq tribal girl is usually in the vicinity of Rs.200; the price of a shaikh's daughter varies, but does not as a rule run to more than Rs.1,000. As in the desert, a man if he possibly can always marries his cousin. She is supposed to be his from the day she is born. The Sa'adun Shaikhs of the Muntafiq (Euphrates) often keep their female cousins single till the day of their death, in order to keep property in the family. It is an unpleasant habit, and is widely condemned by other Arabs.

* A woman who has been divorced may not re-marry till after three lunar months —or, as the Badawin put it, *Min ba'ad thalath hamrat wa thalath gamrat*. This is to insure that she is not with child by the man who divorces her.

Again, as in the desert, immorality is practically unknown among unmarried girls. Married women on the contrary often indulge in clandestine intrigue. The penalty for immorality is death to the woman if she is found out. The woman's brothers and cousins always appear more concerned about their sister's honour than the father is, and if vengeance is to be carried out it is usually the brothers and cousins who track the woman down. As excuse they plead that they could not hold their heads up in tribal *majlis* if they had a sister living in dishonour. Marriage with the man who has led her astray is the only method that will save the girl's life. Even then the seducer must pay *hashm* or honour-money to satisfy the girl's relatives. A strange man sometimes takes the place of the seducer and can get the girl off punishment by marrying her, but this is not common. *Fasl* or *'idiyah* is the term given to blood money. Among the Iraq *Ma'addn* (marsh) tribes a girl-relative of a murderer is nearly always given to the brother or son of the murdered person, the idea being that a child from the union of two enemy houses allays any hatred that might remain.

Among the Arab tribes of Iraq, as opposed to the *Ma'addn* (marsh-men), a man sets up a special tent or mat shelter called a *haufa* for his wife to be taken to immediately after marriage. This is close to his house or tent as the case may be, and corresponds to a honeymoon tent. After the bride is taken to this *haufa* by her women, the husband, arrayed in his best garments, is conveyed there by his men friends and consummates the marriage. The woman remains a prisoner in the *haufa* for seven days. The man, on the contrary, may come out and receive visitors in his *mudhif* or nearby guest-tent. On the eighth day the woman comes out of her *haufa*, goes into her new home and takes charge of the household duties. The custom of setting up the *haufa* tent applies only if the girl has never been married before. If she be a widow she goes straight to her husband's tent.

LOVE

I have often been asked if love, as we know it, exists among the Badawin. I have unhesitatingly replied that it does. The fact that a man is permitted to take more than a single wife has nothing to do with the matter. Indeed, it is rare to see a Badawin with more than

one wife. He simply cannot afford such luxury. The majority marry, of course, two or three times in their lives, either because the wife has a temper, is lazy, is unreasonable, cannot have children, or gets sick and dies; but I have known a large number who have been faithful to one woman all their lives and regard the woman of their choice with affection and trust, even when she is old and decrepit. This proves constancy at any rate, which is not far removed from love.

In spite of their religion permitting men to take more than one wife, and in spite of easy and sensible divorce laws, the standard of morality among the dwellers in hair tents is one of the highest in the world: this naturally tends towards a high standard in family life, and results in mutual admiration, companionship and trust between man and wife.

A Badawin marries primarily because he wants a helpmeet: someone to cook for him, to look after, mend and renew his tent. He must have someone to prepare his *leben*, to collect his firewood and to draw water for him and his camels. Above all, he must have children, and is only half a man until he has. Nevertheless, though he looks to the woman to be useful before everything else, there is always room for love and affection. Many cases of youths and maidens falling in love, and almost going crazed about each other, have come under my notice. It would take too long to relate them all. I shall confine myself to two. Both are stories of love gone wrong, of everything eventually coming right, and the parties living happily ever afterwards. From these examples my readers must form their own conclusions, and decide whether the desert man differs greatly from his Western brother. In both cases I knew the young actors intimately.

(*a*) *The love-story of Mutlug ibn Majid al A'sga of the Al Shuqair section of the Mutair.*

Young Mutlug was a shaikh's son of eighteen, well bred, good-looking, debonair, wiry and with a pair of long plaits (*gurun*) hanging down along both cheeks, that might have been the envy of any woman. He was an extraordinarily bright and happy lad, and on the last occasion when he came up to Kuwait, he had asked to be shown all over my house. His remark when he saw my wife's and my bedroom was characteristic, "*Wallah*" (by God) he said, "this sleeping

chamber is better than that of 'Abdul 'Aziz himself (meaning the King), and Nura his sister has got nothing so nice, *wallah* I speak truth for I have seen them both".

Well, young Mutlug spent a week in Kuwait, while his father was being medically treated in the American Mission hospital. He left with my blessing and some useful gifts from my wife: little did we know what was in store for him. Six months later his father and uncle, one Turki ibn Shuqair, came up to Kuwait and visited me. "Where is Mutlug and why have you not brought him with you?" were my first words. "Alas," they said, "he has gone mad" (*mukhabal*). "How! mad?" said I, "a strong healthy lad like that doesn't go mad—it surely cannot be." "Yes, he has gone stark, staring mad," was the reply, "and all for the love of a young Mutairi maiden whom he met among the camels." "Then why not let him marry her if he is in such a bad case?" said I. "Alas, it cannot be," chorused both father and uncle, "she is the young wife of the terrible 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi, Amir of Hasa, he married her a year ago and now allows her to live with her parents in the tribe: were he even now to hear that our Mutlug had fallen in love with his wife, his rage would know no bounds."

In reply to my many questions as to the degree of madness that had overcome the boy, I was told that he would not eat, nor talk, nor recognise anyone. It was said by some in the tribe that it was not the love of the woman that had caused his madness, but that he had walked over a grave during the night by accident, and that a *jinn* from the grave had seized upon him and possessed him. They had therefore tried branding him on the head, neck and back, but all without success, and at that moment he was in charge of a wise old woman who had promised to get rid of the spell from him for a sum of money, by reading over him certain passages from the Qur'an by day and night. I ventured the opinion that the matter was one of wild and frantic love pure and simple, and that they must get the boy properly married, or he might really go mad. "*Yimkin*" (perhaps) they said, and refused to pursue the subject further. My advice was indeed taken later, but in a somewhat strange way. They married the love-sick and now lightheaded boy to the sister of his lady love. Turki later told me that she was very like her younger sister in tem-

perament, and almost her double in looks, so the boy surely ought to be entirely satisfied. After all, being mad, he would not know the difference. The boy meekly obeyed his parents, and did show some improvement, but he was not really satisfied—far from it. Turki came and told me the details with undisguised pleasure two months later —but I knew that the boy Mutlug still pined grievously for his maiden of the camels.

I heard this from the women. Later I heard that, seized by a strange determination, he in a sane moment gave out that he was going to Hufuf to tell Ibn Jiluwi of his love. In vain they tried to prevent him, and only fate stepped in and saved him. In the autumn of 1935, just as Mutlug was setting out, the Amir of Hasa died very suddenly. I have not seen young Mutlug again, but they tell me he went wild with delight at the news, repaired to Riyadh and at once begged a boon from the King. "Give me, O King, the hand of 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi's young Mutairi wife," he cried. "I have loved and wanted her for three years, and I shall die, O 'Abdul 'Aziz, if thou give her not to me." The King with his usual acumen realised how matters stood, and acted both generously and promptly. He told the boy he could have the young widow to wife, after the prescribed number of mourning days, and the marriage was consummated in due course.

Mutlug to-day is a happy man once more. May he keep his wife for many a long year.*

(*b*) *The Wooing of Shaikh Mutlug al Sur*

Mutlug al Sur was a poor but famous 'Ikhwan leader of the Mutair. A young, fiery man and entirely absorbed in his religion, he never thought to be so foolish as to be carried away by a pretty face or a pair of dark eyes. These he hoped to get in the next world and in plenty. The present life was to be devoted to converting the heathen and the infidel and bringing them into the right way. His zeal had brought him to the notice of the great Faisal al Duwish and of the King himself. He was given many independent commands, and entrusted with such tasks as the attack on Busaiya post. He carried out his work so well, that at the time this story begins, he had become

* Later, Mutlug came to Kuwait in 1936, and now is attached to H.H. the Shaikh's staff. Note made on 8.5.37.

the right-hand man of Al Duwish, and his confidential friend and adviser.

One day about 1920, he met his fate: a happy and merry-eyed lass of his section of the Mutair, the Bura'asa. He too found her among the camels and loved her at first sight. She had no father but a very business-like and obstructive mother. Mutlug had of course heard many times of the beauty of the girl, but had paid no heed. He was a warrior of warriors and love-foolishness was not for him.

Cupid's dart had struck home, however, and he was not slow to act. He applied to the girl's mother for her hand—but she refused. He tried every subterfuge without success. The mother was full of avarice. She insisted on five she-camels and five hundred rials as her daughter's price. This he couldn't produce. He next tried sending other women direct to the girl herself, hoping to win her with gifts of nose-rings, bangles, necklaces, etc., such as Badawin girls love. All to no purpose, the miserable mother persuaded her daughter to think as she did. It was the money and five she-camels or nothing. In vain he sent her pretty frocks, veils, '*abbas*, etc., all to no purpose.

The maid's laughing eyes haunted him, he could not sleep, his warrior instincts were being undermined, he was becoming soft. At length, with a "To hell with all women and their bewitching ways", he took himself away, and went off to do battle with al Rashid near Hail. "Let me die," he said, "at least a warrior, rather than become the slave of a silly maiden."

Fight and war as he would, however, he could not forget Merry-eyes. Two years went by and he visited his home again. To his undoing he met the girl early one morning in the desert with the camels. He drew near with a welcome cry. She cast her eyes down, and to his enquiry if she had no words for him, she said in a half whisper—"Hast thou come with the money and the five she-camels?—if thou hast I am thine for the asking".

"Thou cruel tantaliser, no," he replied. "Nor shalt thou ever have thy accursed camels." Again he went away, this time for four long years, determined to forget his little Merry-eyes. Alas, he could not. At last, thin, weary and broken with hardships he decided to go to 'Abdul 'Aziz the King and tell him of his heartache. "Give me, O 'Abdul 'Aziz, the wherewithal to buy me this temptress for, *wallah*,

she is hurting me sore, and I grow old before my time. Was not woman made for man? Give me what thou wilt, but help me to attain my desire." The understanding Bin Sa'ud, than whom no man knows woman better, gave Mutlug a very valuable *'umaniyah dhalúl* (thoroughbred riding camel from Oman), one of his very best. The camel even had a silver ring in her nose to prove her worth. He gave him also a present of Rs.200 and several extra-gaudy woman's garments. "Go now, my son, and win the lady," said the King, "and tell her 'Abdul 'Aziz himself begs this favour of her, and has sent her of his best." Mutlug duly repaired to the tents of his lady love in the Summán, and behold as he drew near her tent she saw him coming from far, and her heart went out to him. Did he not deserve to win her after all these years! Yet where were the five she-camels? Nearer he approached and nearer, and then the understanding girl saw and recognised the beautifully caparisoned *dhalúl* he was riding. There was the King's own brand on her, and the silver ring in her nose. She rushed forth crying "Mutlug has come for me, Mutlug has come". Oblivious of everything she fell softly into his arms. No one was looking, and they were hidden behind the *qáta*. Her mother no longer counted. Mutlug told me afterwards that their long embrace lasted a whole half-hour, and during that time he never once removed his lips from hers! It was his final homecoming. He had won the fairest rose in Arabia. They married shortly afterwards and she bore him a child, but to his unspeakable sorrow she died a year later. He will never love again, says Mutlug bitterly.

CHAPTER IX

Women's Secrets

THE BADAWIN WOMEN'S CLOTHES

Like her sisters the world over, the Badawin lass is vain and loves above everything to deck herself out in fine clothes. Though she has not the same opportunity as her town sister of showing off her finery, she still manages to attract in her modest way. Let me enumerate her various garments and give a short description of each.

Thaub—The black cotton overgarment.

Dishdásha—Long-sleeved dress of coloured cotton, flannelette or silk worn under the *thaub*.

Sirwál—The long coloured cotton trousers, tied with a cord round the waist and fitting close above the ankle.

'Abba—Black woollen cloak, generally bound round the edge with black silk, which is worn by every Badawin woman outside her tent if men are in the vicinity. *'Abbas* sewn with gold thread are only worn on *'Id* days or when calling on important women.

Umm Raugella—The black cotton cloth worn over the hair and hanging down over the neck of the *thaub*, consisting of four pieces joined together.

Milfa—A straight piece of transparent black cotton cloth used to cover the face of town women, and worn by Badawins in the north to hide the lower part of their face.

*Burqa** (locally pronounced Burga)—The black *jezz* (coarse silk) mask with slits for the eyes worn by all Badawin women south of Kuwait and in Najd proper. It hangs down over the mouth and neck, and is kept in place by three cords, two round the head and one round the neck. A well-made *burqa* is very becoming and shows the eyes off to great advantage.

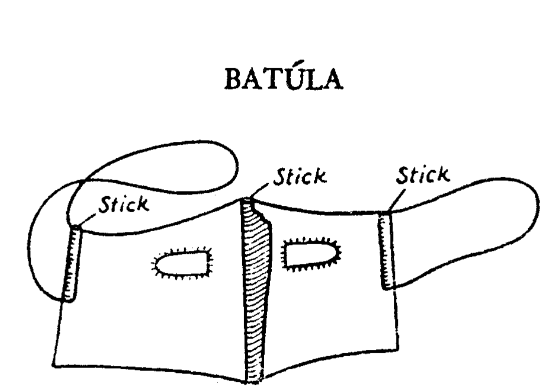
A somewhat long form of *burqa* is worn by Mutair, Harb, 'Utaiba, Sbei, Rashaida, Bani Khalid, Beni Hajir and 'Awazim women. (Speak-

* On the island of Failaika the women wear a stiff cloth mask known as *batúla*. The same is also seen on the Trucial Coast of Oman (see sketch).

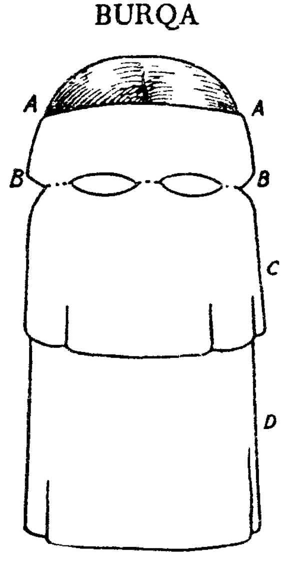
ing generally, by tribal women of east and central Arabia.) The 'Ajman women, on the other hand, wear a shorter form which ends just below the chin: some sections also sew a tiny stick, vertical fashion, into it on the centre of the forehead. The 'Ajman usually make their *burqas* of a sort of black mercerised cotton or shiny silk. The 'Ajman fashion is followed by the Murra, the Manasir and to a modified extent by the Badawin women of the Trucial Coast.

The northern Badawin never cover their women's faces with the *burqa* (or double cloth mask with eye-holes) as is done further south. All that is required is that a thin black veil (*milfa*) be drawn across the

BATÚLA



BURQA



The Burqa is bound round the head by continuous cords at A and B. C gives a double thickness to veil D which stretches up under C as far as eye-line.

lower features and mouth. Speaking very generally, Badawin women south of a line Akaba–Kuwait wear the *burqa*, those north* of that line cover the lower part of their faces only.

Zibún—A long coat opening right down the front. (Worn only by wealthy women of the town).

Bukhnug—A black cotton head-dress worn by girl children on holidays and festivals up to the age of twelve or thirteen years. It fits tightly under the chin and has its edge embroidered in gold thread round

* This statement is not quite correct as the Shammar, some of the Hijaz tribes, the 'Utaiba, south of the line do not wear *burqas*, and I understand that certain tribes in the North-West, notably the Bani Sakhr, Hawaitat, Bani Attiya, do not even wear the *milfa*.

The Sulubba of course never wear the *burqa*, but at most the *milfa*; more often than not their faces are wholly unveiled.

the face and down the front, or sometimes with a cheaper gold braid which is sewn on.

Women in the desert make most of their own clothes; they possess no scissors or thread, but tear up the cloth (using teeth) and sew with thread taken out of the cloth. Their usual scale of measurement is from thumb to first finger extended and from eye corner to eye corner (outer edge).

The year 1935 saw the fashion introduced among town ladies of Kuwait only of *saujar* or short knickers in place of the *sirwál* trouser for women. The word is a corruption from our word "soldier", and the pattern of the *saujar* is based on the khaki shorts worn by our troops in tropical countries.

WOMEN'S JEWELLERY

The list given below includes articles of jewellery worn by both town ladies and Badawin women. Wahhabi influence inhibits the use of gold among the Badawin. Their ornaments therefore are of silver only. Those articles marked with an asterisk (*) are not worn among the Badawin. *See coloured plates between pp.* 640–641.

Ring for little finger is known as *khamzar* } silver (or gold) ring set with large
Ring for third finger is known as *wasat* } square or oval turquoise stone.

Rings, thin, in silver or plain gold (three in number) for second finger are known as *al marámi.*

One silver ring on forefinger with large square turquoise setting called *al shâhid,* is worn only by well-to-do women.

Bracelets of large amber beads—*khasir*—are universally worn. Mixed coloured bead bracelets are known as *dalag.*

Bracelets of large red coral lumps—*mirján*—are particularly fashionable among Dhafir women.

A collar of small coloured beads with five chain metal drops in front—*ma'ainna*—is very popular with 'Ajman, Mutair and Dhafir women.

Nose-ring—*khazáma,* small gold, or silver with two pearls and two turquoise.

Nose-ring—*fraida,* large-size universally fashionable among the Badawin. It also has pearl and turquoise mountings like the smaller nose-ring.

**Zarár*—Gold medallion picked out in turquoise worn in middle of neck. (Very common among Muntafiq women.)

**Khashil*—Necklace made of gold coins of varying sizes called *sankh* in Kuwait.

**Hijjil*—(plural: *hijjál*) massive anklet of gold or silver (worn above ankle).

**Háma*—Gold cap for head, from which hangs a chain down either side of face known as *tallal.* Used by brides.

**Kitbát*—Gold drop-like ornaments hanging on strings which are woven into the plaits of hair, at back of head. (These are worn by wealthy people only.)

**Mathdyid*—Plain straight gold bangles. If they are wavy they are known as *mathayid al haiya.*

**Hazzám*—Gold waistband worn over *dera'ah* or frock.

**Khuwaisat*—Thick handsome bracelets of gold, studded with turquoise.

**Gub-gub*—Gold cap worn by brides and little girls in Kuwait on festive days. It is made of small jointed squares of solid gold, each square being studded with a single turquoise. The cap is kept in place by the hair, which is threaded through loops at the back, and then braided.

Dalag—Badawin bracelet of coloured beads.

WOMEN'S HAIR

The Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Rashaida and 'Awazim women, and women of Central and Eastern Arabia generally, do their hair in nine plaits. These are divided as follows, two on either side of the face which show down the side of the *burqa*, six thinner ones at the back, starting from the middle of the top of the head, and one below them at the neck. The hair is washed every month, and usually redressed once a week when *dehen* (local hair oil) is put on it: sometimes a mixture of herbs—*rashúsh* or henna is also put on after. Camel's urine is a favourite Badawin hair wash, as it bleaches the hair and kills insects. The Shammar and some Mutair women use the dried leaves of *nifl* (sometimes called *hangresse*) (*Trigonella stellata*) in place of *rashúsh.* A comb (made of wood) only is used, and is called a *misht.* The townswomen use the dried and pounded leaves of the sidr tree as a hair wash after applications of henna paste.

When Badawin women dance they undo all their plaits and allow the hair to fall entirely loose.

Sim as simach (a poison used for killing fish) is also used to kill lice on the head. (Arsenic?)

To clean their teeth, women use a piece of the bark of a tree called *darum.* This cleans remarkably well, and adds to the beauty

effect by turning the lips saffron-red. This is more commonly used by townswomen than by their Badawin sisters.

DRESS FOR THE HAJ

Just as the man wears the *'ihrám*, a white loin cloth and white shoulder wrap when performing the pilgrimage, all Arab women must wear a special costume* when they enter the precincts of Mecca on pilgrimage. This consists of

(*a*) Green *sirwál* (pantaloons).
(*b*) Green *thaub* (muslin over-dress).
(*c*) Green *dishdásha* (frock).
(*d*) Black *'abba.*
(*e*) *Milfa* (veil).

When a woman, especially a townswoman, is in mourning she also wears green clothes.

HENNA AND ITS USES

The use of black henna (*saumar*) for the soles of the feet and hands, and red henna (*hinna*) for the tips of the fingers and toes is universal among *hadhar* townswomen. The Badawin girls use only red henna and then only to decorate their hands, finger nails and toe nails. They do not decorate the rest of their feet. Usually the henna is applied three times, so as to get the right shade. The henna is powdered and mixed with water till a fairly liquid paste is made. It is then applied very thickly and carefully, with a wooden stick, on the hands or feet in accordance with the pattern desired. It is then allowed to dry quickly in front of a fire until the paste cracks and falls or is picked off. This is done three times, or four if a very dark colour is required.

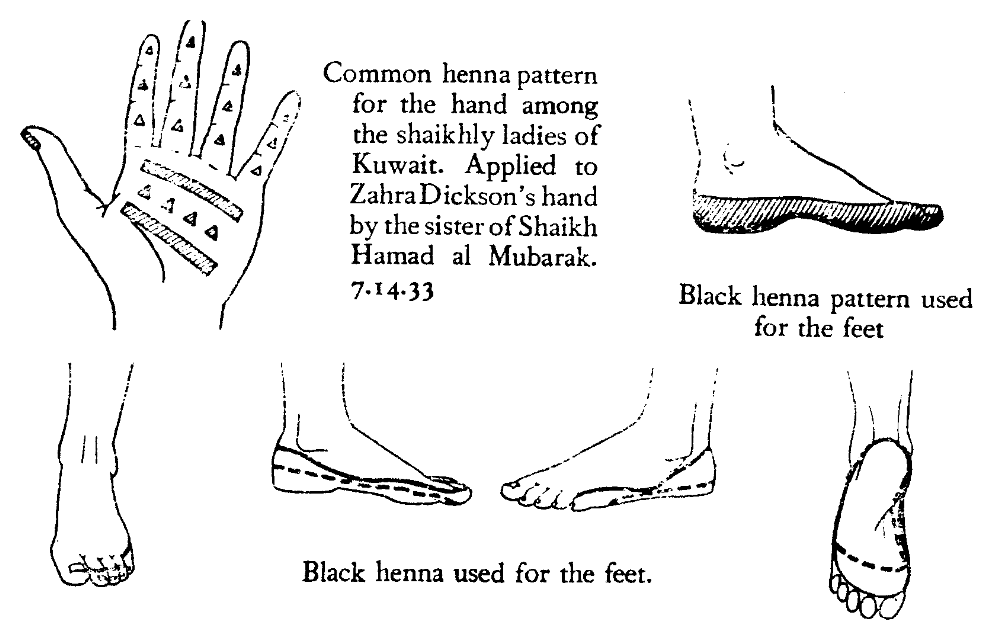
Some women prefer that the henna markings should be black, especially for the feet. To arrange this, another paste is made from powdered lime (*núra*) and powdered crystal ammonia (*shanada*) and is applied over the orange henna markings. At once the orange mark-

* If a woman has her period when she enters the sacred precinct of Mecca to perform the Haj, then her pilgrimage is null and void, as she is considered unclean. Several Arab ladies of Kuwait have enquired from the lady doctor when about to go on the Haj, if she could give them medicine to delay periods when due.

ings turn black and remain so for about twenty days or a month. To wash the mixture off, no soap is used, only water.

The use of henna is primarily a form of beauty culture, but for the feet especially it is recognised as hardening the surface of the skin, and rendering the soles immune to cuts and scratches.

Men employed in pearl fishing always henna the palms of their



Common henna pattern for the hand among the shaikhly ladies of Kuwait. Applied to Zahra Dickson's hand by the sister of Shaikh Hamad al Mubarak. 7.14.33

Black henna pattern used for the feet

Black henna used for the feet.

hands to make the skin hard, and less liable to blister when rowing and hauling up the divers.

In Kuwait (1935) a German black hair dye recently made its appearance. This has come into use as a quick method of applying dye to feet and hands. It is not, however, nearly as satisfactory as the vegetable product, and only lasts four or five days. The best henna comes from Mecca, and the next best from Basra.

BADAWIN MEDICINES AND CURES

Camel's urine—The urine of the she-camel is widely used as a purgative, also as an eye-wash and a wash for wounds. It is the common hair-wash and general tonic among the Badawin. It kills head vermin instantly.

Kahal or *kuhl*—An antimony paste which is normally used for blackening and beautifying the eyes, is applied also to the inside of the eyelids as a remedy for conjunctivitis, etc. It is supposed to keep off the sun's glare.

Girmiz—A pink dye, used a good deal in towns for sore eyes among children and grown-ups.

Branding—Is universally used for aches, pains in the stomach and tuberculosis. The operation is usually done with red-hot tent pins (*khillal*).

Ramrám—A wild flowering plant. Used for sore mouth, tender gums, mouth blisters in children and mouths sore from scurvy (contracted on the pearl banks in the Persian Gulf).

For grown-ups, the plant is boiled with water, and the resulting thin soup is used as a mouth-wash when cool. For children the *ramrám* is crushed into a paste with pestle and mortar, mixed with *girmiz*, and applied to the sore place with the finger.

Al Ja'ada—A wild bush. Boiled in water gives a very useful purgative. The Badawin consider it also a cure for "Basra fever" (presumably malaria).

Fish soup—Is commonly drunk by women living near the sea to increase their milk. Sun-dried sprats are given to cows for the same reason throughout the Persian Gulf.

Shark's meat—Among the *hadhar* is said to cure impotency in man.

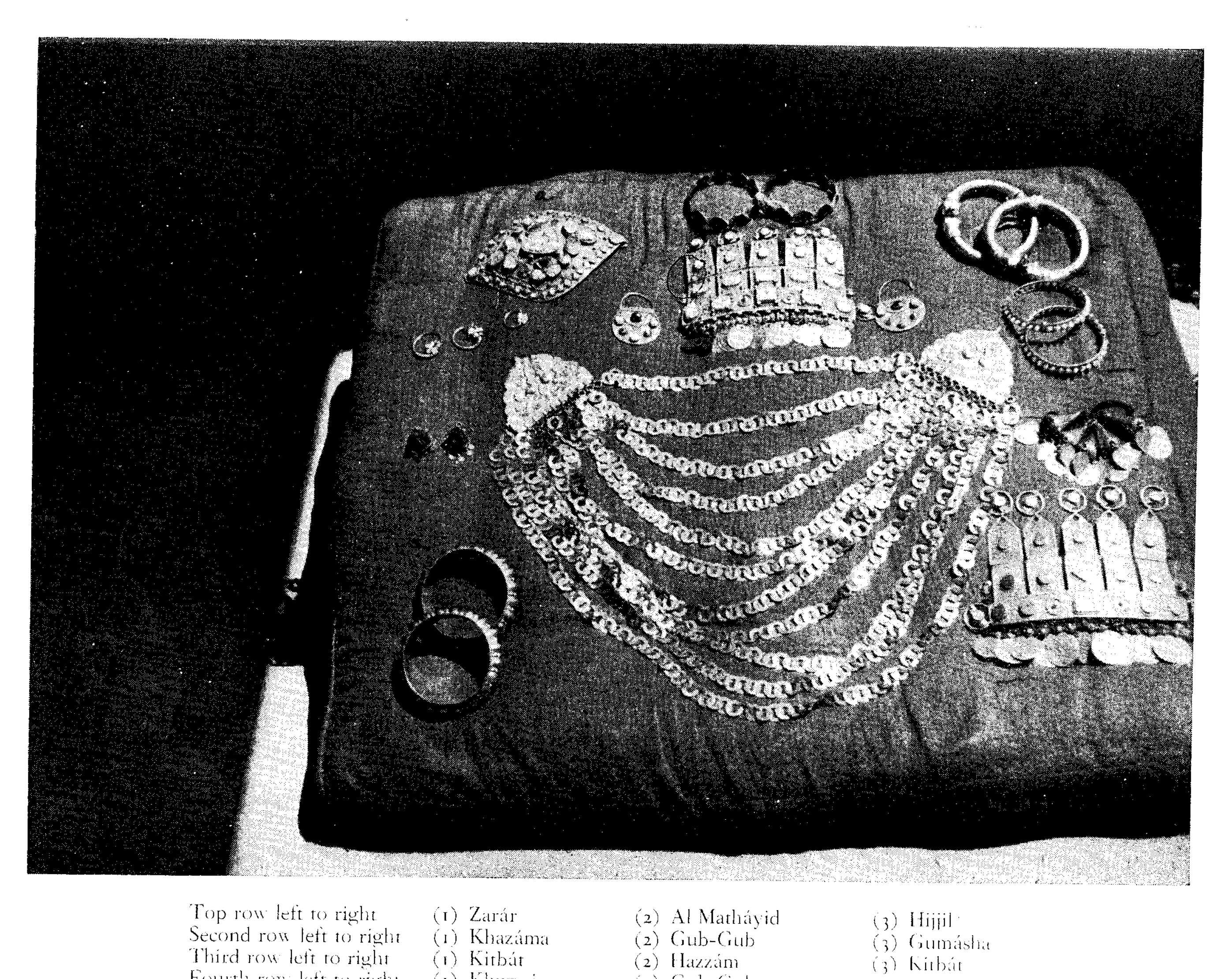
Cure for the Evil Eye—A man or woman upon whom the evil eye is supposed to have fallen is commonly treated as follows:

A bowl of cold water is obtained, and in the water is placed a pair of scissors (*mugas*) bought from the town, a woman's comb (*misht*), the head of a woodcutter's chopper (*tabbar*), a small needle (*ibra*), a large sailmaker's bodkin (*makhait*) and a round yellow pebble (*kharza ma al nigat*).

The bowl is then placed on the patient's head and ½ *waggiyah* (1½ lb. approximately) of molten lead is then poured into the cold water. The bowl is held on the head for a few seconds, and removed. The evil eye is said to go straight out of the patient into the bowl and the various articles it contains.

Among the Badawin every new-born child must have a piece of steel placed close to its side when it sleeps or lies in its cot. This nearly always consists of a naked dagger stuck upright in the ground close to its head, or laid alongside its body if in a cot.

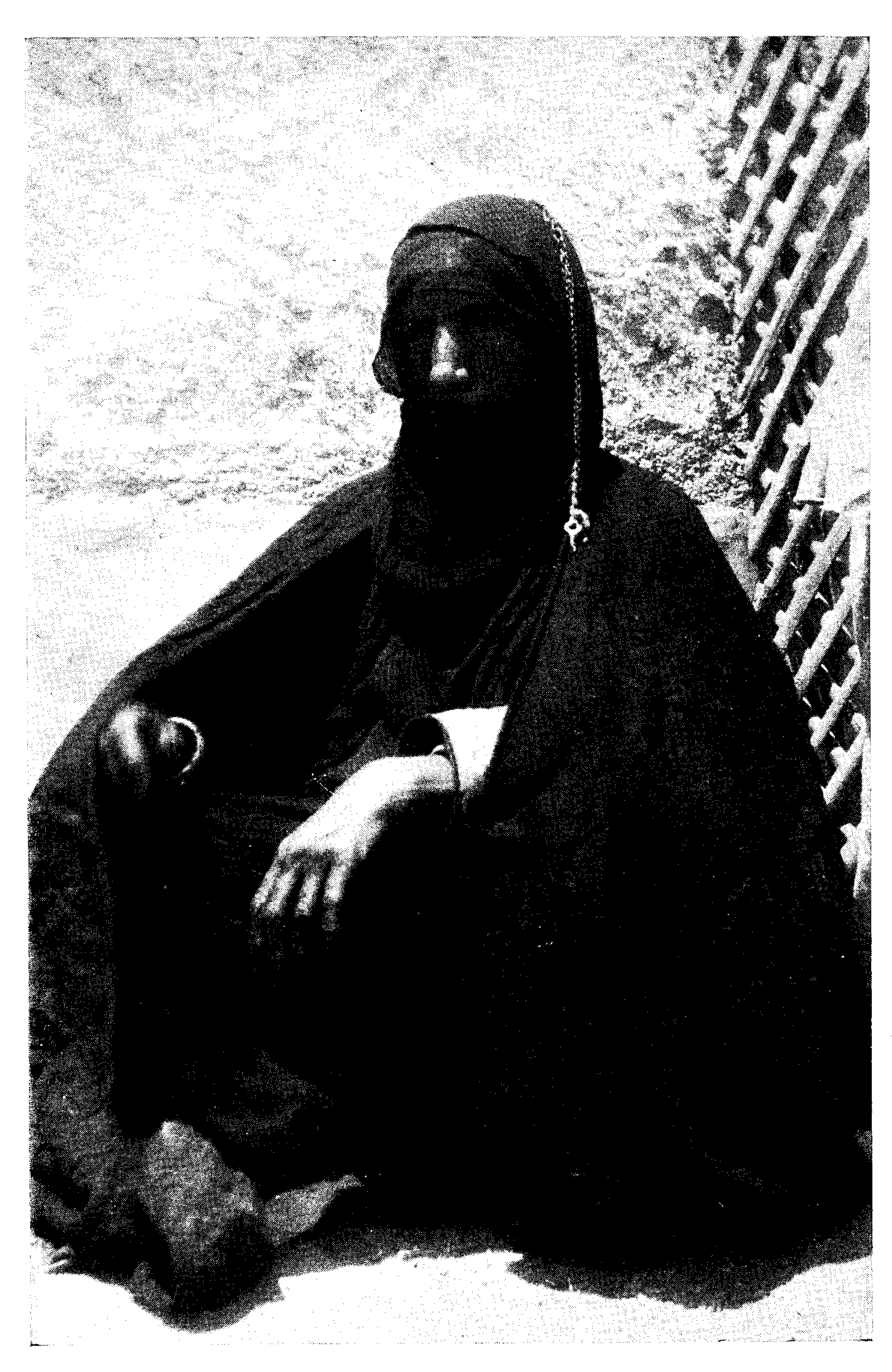
Donkey's caul—The caul of a baby donkey is much valued for its medicinal virtues. It is taken and dried, and has properties such as the healing of wounds, or the bringing of boils to a head. A piece of the caul is cut off, soaked in water and salt and applied to the wound or boil, and kept in position by a bandage. Excellent results are reported.



Top row left to right	(1) Zarár	(2) Al Matháyid	(3) Hijjil
Second row left to right	(1) Khazáma	(2) Gub-Gub	(3) Gumásha
Third row left to right	(1) Kitbát	(2) Hazzám	(3) Kitbát
Fourth row left to right	(1) Khuwaisar	(2) Gub-Gub	

In second row, earrings are known as Tarachi

KUWAIT WOMEN'S JEWELLERY



THE SISTER OF SHAIKH FAISAL AL DUWÍSH
OF THE MUTAIR

PRETTY CUSTOMS AND EXPRESSIONS AMONG WOMEN

(*a*) *Expressions of astonishment* (at seeing or hearing something startling).

Ya kabdi kabda—Oh! my liver. (Especially 'Ajman women.)
Ya galbi galba—My heart of hearts. ('Ajman women.)
Yummah!—Oh Mother!
Ybbah!—Oh Father!

> Men have one very common expression, "'Alláh" pronounced with a long drawl on the final "a". This when they have seen or heard something really surprising or wonderful.

(*b*) *Expressions of affection.*

Ba'ad aini aini—Oh my eyes, my eyes.
Ba'ad galbi galbi—My heart, my heart.
Ba'ad ruhi ruhi—My soul, my soul.

(*c*) *Woman's expression of impatience.*

Ya waili waila—E.g. "Come here Nura, the English lady wants to speak to you, why don't you hurry you foolish one, *ya waili waila*, what is the matter with you!"

(*d*) When the head of the house, or a son, returns from a long journey or from the pearl-banks, the woman of the house hangs up on a pole, with a cross-piece to it, one of her best and most brilliantly coloured *thaubs*. Among townswomen, this is hung up on the roof of the house, for the world to see. In the case of Badawin women in the desert the pole is placed in front of the tent. This custom is almost similar to that observed when an important shaikh or personage is expected to arrive at or pass a camp, and the Badawin ladies desire to show him welcome.

The custom is known as *raiyat*.

(*e*) Another pretty custom is to show to a guest at a tent, or big man passing by and staying for coffee, a baby that is just born, when for luck he gives into its little hand a rupee or riyal.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The statement often made that a bride never shows her face to her Arab husband is not exactly correct. As often as not the husband forcibly

removes the *burqa* or mask from his bride's face on the first night. She invariably tries to keep it on for about ten days or so out of modesty. His Majesty Bin Sa'ud, however, told the writer that he had had, he supposed, some four hundred wives during his life, but had never seen the face of any one of them. He presumably referred to his many Badawin brides, whom he married usually for a night or two, and then divorced them. This is a custom common among important shaikhs, and involves no disgrace at all to the girl or to the man. Should a child result from these one-or-two-night marriages, the shaikh or big man gives the mother a salary till the child is four or five years old, and then the child is taken away from the mother and placed in the father's house. During this nursing period the mother must not marry. If she does, the child is at once taken away and given to a wet nurse. The Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, Al Khalifah princes regularly go in for such alliances among their Badawin subjects, but usually take away at an early age any children that may be born.

Both man and woman must have a complete bath after sexual intercourse. This is a precept of religion, and the wildest Badawin must conform to this rule. Even though only a small bowl of water may be available, the whole body must be washed all over. *

During her monthly periods a woman is forbidden to have intercourse with her husband for full seven days. When the menstrual period is over, a woman is unclean until she washes all over; this is called "washing her hair" (*ghussal al ras*).†

During Ramadhan (the annual thirty-day fast) sexual intercourse is forbidden by day, but not by night.

It is no exaggeration to say that sexual intercourse is loved by the ordinary Arab above all pleasures in the world. It is the one great pleasure common to rich and poor alike, and the one moment of forgetfulness in his daily round of troubles and hardships that Badawin or townsman can enjoy. Men and women equally love the act, which is said to keep man young, "just like riding a mare".

The Arab seems to possess strength above the average for sexual

* Prayer of a woman after sexual intercourse when performing ablutions: *A sali ala Muhammad wa ali Muhammad nuwaid aghsil an il janabi fi hadha al ma al jari kurbit 'Illah ta'ali.*

† When a girl reaches womanhood, she is said to be "Now washing her head".

purposes, as can be seen from the large number of men of eighty years and over who still continue to marry and produce children. Haji Hillal bin Faja'an al Mutairi, the famous Kuwait pearl merchant, married the last of his thirty-two wives at eighty-five, and got two boys and three girls by her. His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud told Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim al Subah (according to the latter's statement to me), that the most wonderful experience of his life and that above all things worth living for had always been "To put his lips to the woman's lips, his body on her body and his feet on her feet".

A Badawin bride will show great modesty on "the first night", and will make no effort to uncover her face, head or body. The husband must not ask her to do this, for such an act would be most immodest, and might lay her open to the suspicion in her husband's eyes of previous immoral leanings.

The man's role is to plead with her first, and when she refuses, gives a negative shake of her head, or hangs her head in silence, he is entitled to use force, and himself to remove her *burqa* and various parts of her clothes. She does not resent her husband's doing this but she must show proper modesty by pretending to resist with all her might.

A woman who suckles two children of opposite sexes, one her own and the other the child of another, makes those children blood brother and sister. They can never marry each other, and the boy throughout his life can look upon the face of the girl so nursed with him. They have become foster brother and sister. For example, 'Abdullah al Mubarak al Subah is foster brother of the daughter of a Rashaida woman, the wife of one of the shaikh's *fidáwis*, by name Abu Hadída. I know both personally, and though 'Abdullah is the son of the late Ruler of Kuwait, he treats the Rashaida girl in true foster-brother fashion, quite charming to see, and often goes in spring to camp with her father and mother, and is on the friendliest of terms with his foster sister.

A woman's breast is known as *daid* (plu. *diúd*, dual *daidain*).

A maiden's breast is *nuhaid* (two breasts are *nuhaidain*).

TATTOOING OF WOMEN

Tattooing is an extremely common practice especially among the Iraq tribal women. It is less common among the Badawin tribes and rarest among those who have come under Wahhabi influence. The only tribe in Arabia proper which, as far as I am aware, never tattoos its women are the 'Ajman. They look upon the custom as disgraceful and dishonouring. The Mutair practise the custom. A whole book could be written on the subject of tattooing, for quite apart from mere beauty tattooing, every single tribe in Iraq has special tattoo marks to denote the tribe which a woman belongs to.

I recommend the study of tribal tattoo marks in Iraq to any woman who is keen to advance the cause of knowledge. She will, of course, have to examine in detail the bodies of the various young women she comes across, but with tact she should not find the task insurmountable. As an example the famous 'Abuda tribe of Shatra (Muntafiq) insist on every one of their women having one round small spot tattooed on the right cheek 1½ inches under the eye.

The following are a few tribal tattoo marks, collected by my wife in Iraq. They belong to the Ma'adan or Marsh Arab tribes of the Euphrates and to Muntafiq shepherd tribes:

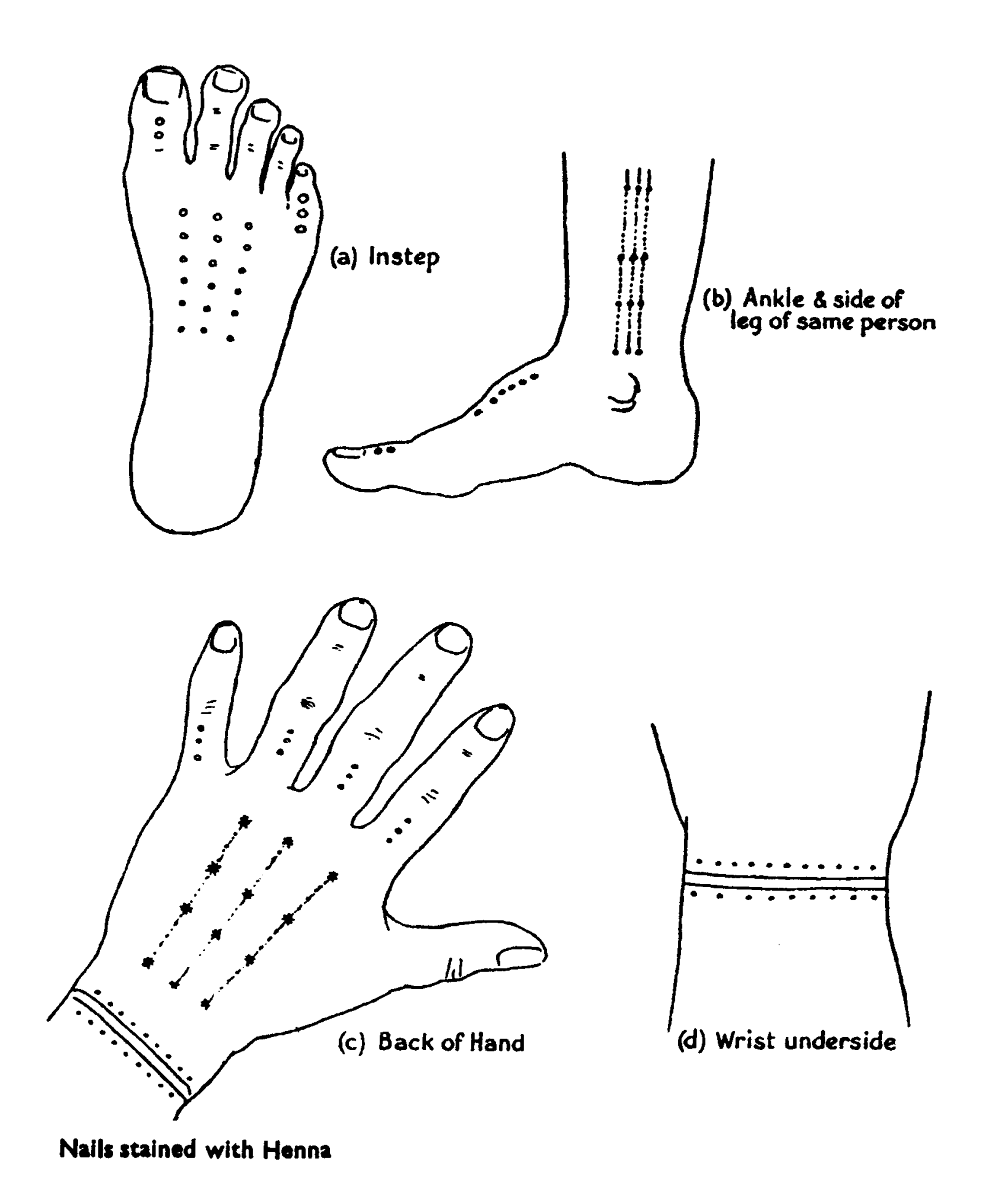
A man never tattoos himself. It is *'aib*, a shameful thing.

The northern Badawin, 'Anizah and its branches (the Ruwala Fida'an, Amarat, Sb'aa, Dahamsha, etc.), also the great Dhafir tribe, tattoo their women much more than those nearer Wahhabi land.

The Ma'adan or Marsh Arab tribes seem to go in for tattooing to a far greater extent than any desert Badawin, and they uncover their faces altogether.

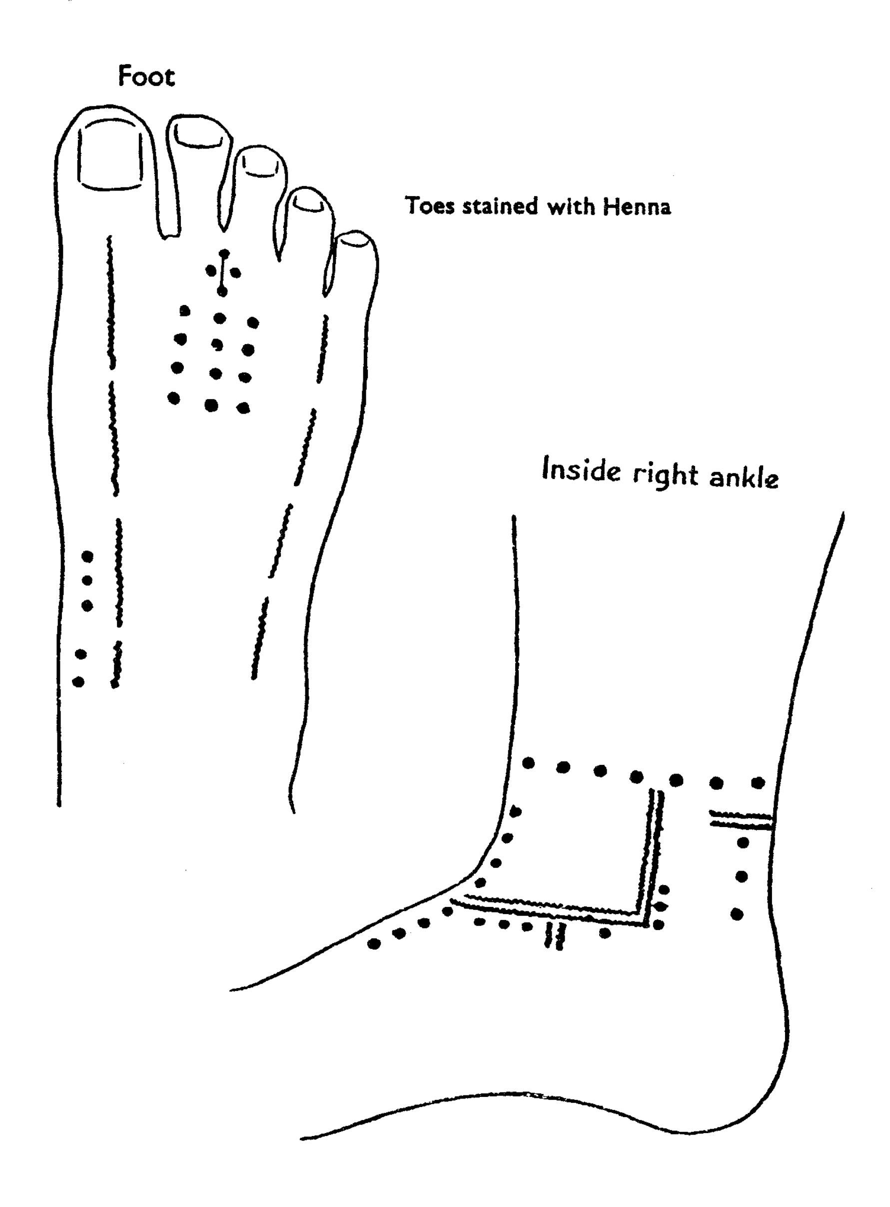
The Ma'adan are found roughly in the triangle formed by the towns of Kerbela (on the Euphrates) and Amara (on the Tigris), and Basra, the best examples being the tribes encircling the Hamar lake. This is their home *par excellence*. In ancient days the marshes stretched from Kufa on the Euphrates down to the junction of the latter with the Tigris. To-day, even though the Northern Ma'adan have lost their marsh lands, they still retain their ancient customs, and their old name of Ma'adan, e.g. Fatla, Bani Hassan, etc., round Kufa.

A FATLA (MA'ADAN) TRIBAL GIRL OF THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES
(Habitat Abu Sukhair, Iraq)



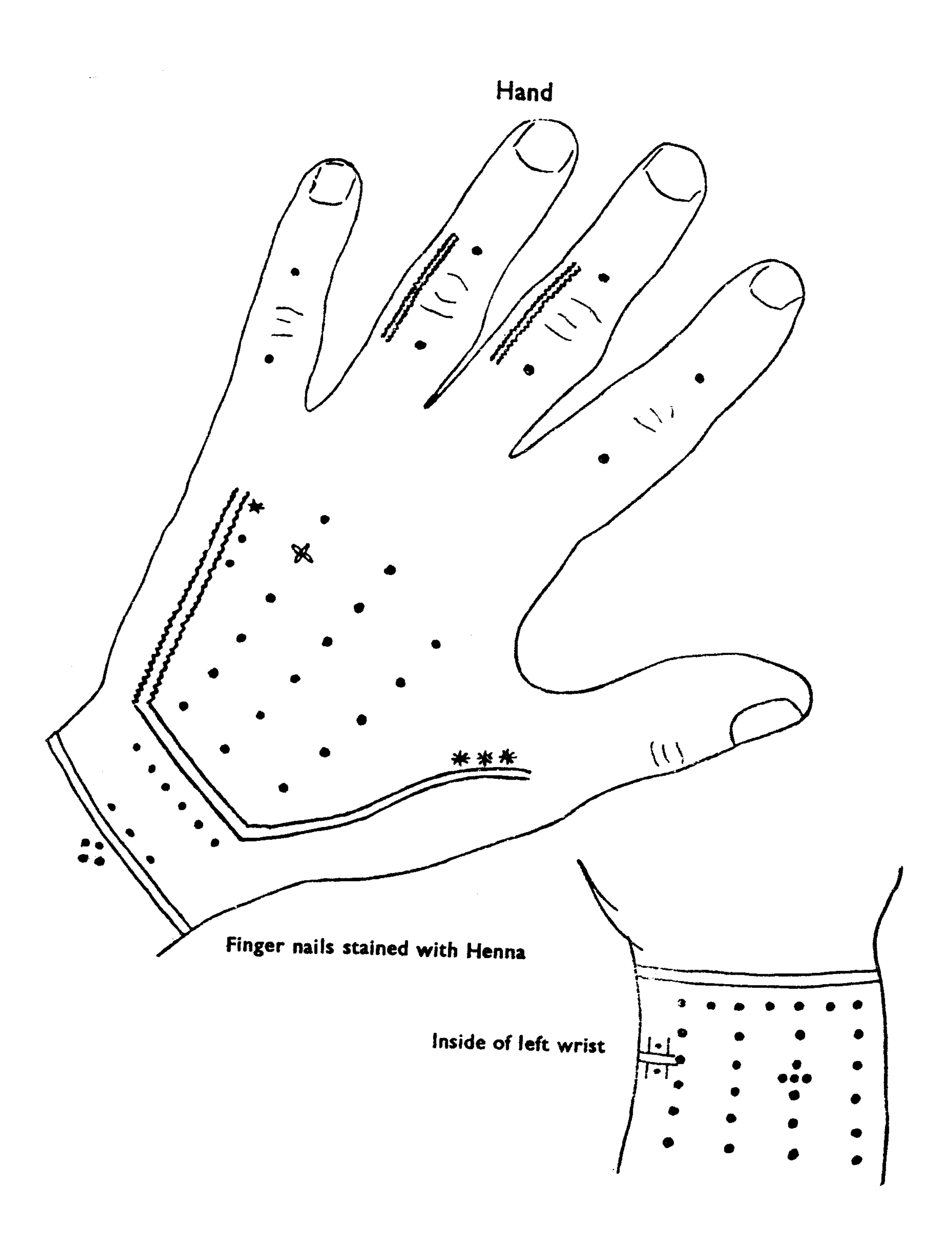
[From life, 10.9.23]

ANOTHER FATLA GIRL OF MIDDLE EUPHRATES



[From life, 15.9.23]

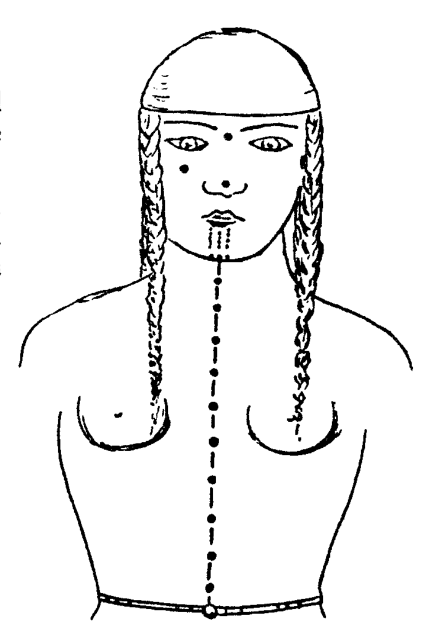
SAME GIRL

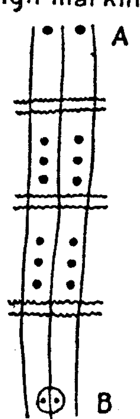


GIRL OF THE MA'AMERAH TRIBE (MA'ADAN)
(Habitat near Hilla, Iraq)

Eyebrows plucked and replaced by one line of tattoo

Centre line from chin to navel, then round waist in form of a belt



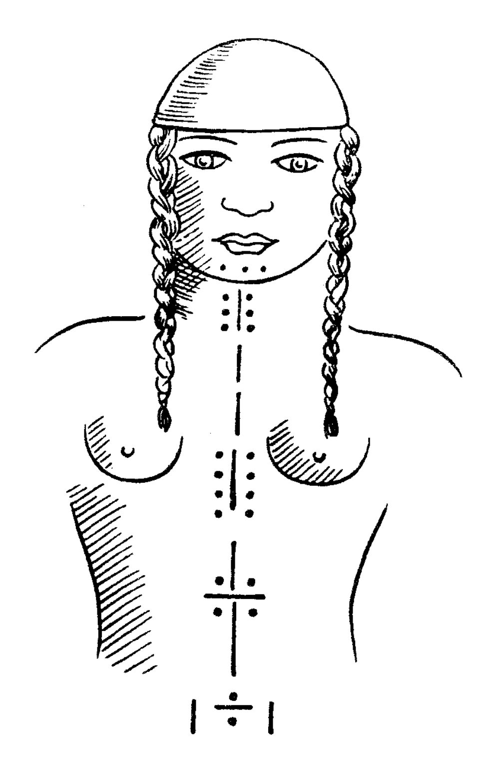


Three-line marking down the outside of both thighs (common to everyone)

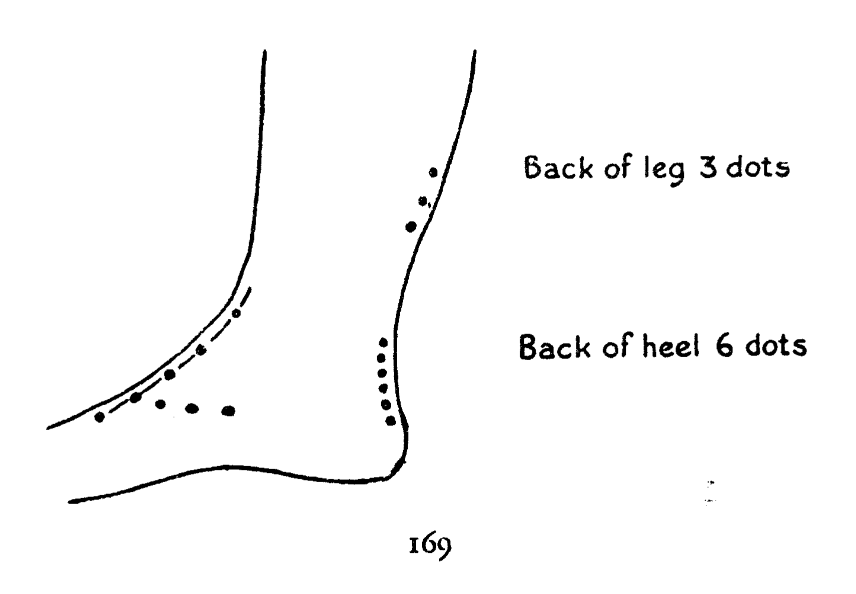
A joins belt at waist.

B ends 6 in. above knee.

GIRL OF THE AZAIRIJ TRIBE OF THE MUNTAFIQ
(Habitat, Nasriyah, Iraq)

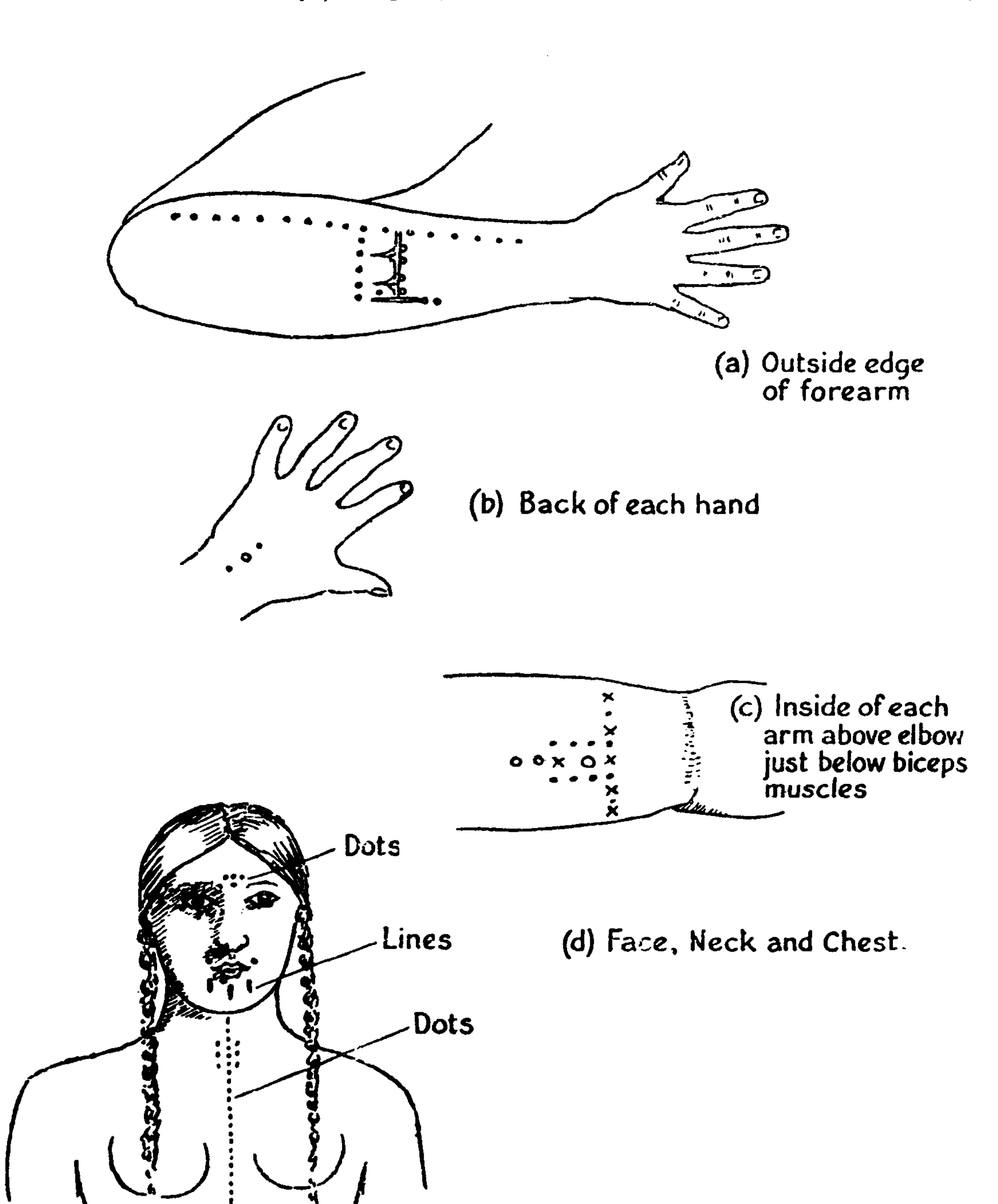


Variation of the chin-navel tatooing



UNMARRIED GIRL OF THE BADÚR TRIBE OF THE FAWÁZ SECTION, A SHEPHERD TRIBE OF THE MUNTAFIQ

(Ajwad group, Middle Euphrates)



[Taken from life at Kuwait, 13.3.37]

I myself incline to the theory that the Ma'adan are the direct descendants of the ancient Sumerians and have inherited their wonderful tattoo markings from that ancient race. The study of this subject would therefore be of antiquarian as well as of general interest.

CHAPTER X

Children

BIRTH

Every Arab woman's greatest desire in life is to have a child. She is brought up with this idea from childhood. The natural desire to become a mother is reinforced by the reproach attached to childlessness and by a woman's knowledge that she will be divorced if she does not produce a son and heir for her husband.

If she does not conceive soon after marriage, she often resorts to various herb concoctions made from the grasses of the field, and drinks these: frequently with ill result. The "wise" old women of every tribe are adepts in compounding draughts to stimulate fertility and also in preparing of "love philtres", for those who need them. They also claim to be able to interpret dreams. Most old women go in for this form of helping their younger sisters.

Fortune-telling is not uncommonly also practised by these old cronies, though in Wahhabi land it is considered sinful and is not openly pursued.

The average girl's strength at the birth of her first and subsequent children is quite phenomenal. I knew of a Mutairi girl, for instance, who came into hospital at Kuwait one evening to have her baby. The child was born at 2 a.m. and two hours later the girl wrapped up her child, slung it over her back, and in the momentary absence of the lady doctor, departed on foot to her people camped twenty miles away.

Among the shepherd tribes of Iraq women produce children while the tribe is on the march. Migration, of course, cannot stop. The woman drops behind, has her baby, at times with only one woman to assist her, and after washing it herself in clean sand, picks it up and follows the tribe. She knows she will be left behind, perhaps to die, unless she keeps up with the others. The recognised birth congratulation formula is *mubárakín fi hal maulud al Sa'aid.*

Chap. X

A man cohabits with his wife until close on the birth of their child. As soon as the baby is born, however, the mother becomes "unclean" (*nagis* or *najis*) and the husband cannot go near her for forty days. This rule is carefully observed among all classes.

After a child is born, a very common method of treating the womb is to pack it with common salt. This is a very painful operation, and results in great suffering later, for a thickening of certain tissues supervenes, with disastrous consequences. The Mission hospital authorities in Kuwait and Bahrain are never tired of preaching the evil of the practice, but with little result.

After the birth of a child Badawin women, and more especially Arab townswomen, resort to various drugs, etc., to reduce the size of the vagina to normal, or less than normal. This "pleases the husband", they say. Alum is the basic principal of the drugs employed. Zahwa, Shammari wife of 'Abdullah bin Mau'ad of the Abda,* told me this in April 1931 on one of my wife's and my many visits.

Many women, having had two or three children, dread to have more, and my wife has frequently been asked both in the town and in the desert of Kuwait how they can prevent further conception. It is universally believed among them that European women know many methods of contraception, but are unwilling to divulge their secrets. Among Badawin generally, if a woman has difficulty in bearing her child, a mare is brought in to her apartment or the portion of tent set apart for her; barley is then placed in her lap, and the mare is induced to eat. If the animal whinnies and eats, all is well, two or three rifle shots are fired at the same time, and the woman is thus given strength to bring forth.

It sometimes happens that immediately after birth the mother becomes what the Badawin call *mukhabbal* (mad), and unable to speak.† This is considered a very dangerous state, and according to them will result in death unless she can be induced to speak. In such situations also, a mare is hastily sent for and brought to the woman's side and offered barley from her lap. If the mare eats, the woman's tongue is loosed and her reason returns. If not, according to the common belief, the woman is sure to die.

On 20th February, 1933, in Kuwait, my own mare was borrowed

* Shammar tribe.

† This aphasia is probably a form of hysteria.

for the purpose. The mother lived, and her father personally thanked me for lending the mare and saving his daughter. In the absence of my mare a similar request for the loan of my horse was made (25th August, 1937). Unfortunately in this case the patient died.

The rights of a Badawin father over his children are absolute; the mother has practically no rights. Should a man divorce his wife, the sons usually go with the father and the girls with the mother. Should the children be infants, the mother keeps them until they can fend for themselves, and then the father comes and takes them away. (The age in the case of boys is eight.) This removal of a son by his father is the cause of much heartrending grief at times, but is universally practised.

The children thus taken away from their mother live with their father and are brought up by their stepmother. They have the right of visiting their own mother's tent at stated intervals, usually once a week. In a tribe camped together the hardship is not great, but when a man has married a woman from another tribe, the rule causes much unhappiness, as the woman usually goes back to her people, who may be several hundreds of miles away; and she rarely sees her children again.

Among the Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, etc., it is a common custom to have as wives two or three Badawin lasses at a time, who always remain camped with their own people. When a child is born to one of these desert-dwelling wives it is usually taken right away and brought up in the shaikh's household in Kuwait or Riyadh. It is not considered fitting that the offspring of one of the ruling family, even if the mother is of noble tribal birth, should be left to grow up in tribal surroundings. This feeling is particularly strong if the child is a boy.* As a matter of fact, in such alliances the wife is early divorced and pensioned off with a handsome present. This marrying of tribal girls in addition to the "Queen", who is always a lady of the ruling family, is a normal and accepted practice among the ruling classes in Arabia. It is a method of showing honour to a tribe, and brings useful alliances in its train. Tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually content themselves

* This does not run counter to the age-long custom among the nobility of Arabia of sending their sons into the desert to be brought up by the Badawin in order that they may acquire hardihood.

with one wife. In Kuwait, for instance, the ruler's Queen is a lady of the Al Subah. She is never divorced—such a thing would be a disgrace to the family as a whole. She remains the Shaikhah always. She magnanimously, however, allows the Shaikh Ibn Subah to take three other tribal wives, to amuse himself with, and to change them as often as he likes, provided he does not bring them into the town of Kuwait itself. They must remain in the desert. In this way her pride is satisfied. She remains the Queen. Here is an object lesson to the West.

At the birth of a child to a Badawin mother, a dagger, piece of steel, or even a needle or bodkin, must be placed in the cot or attached to the clothes of the baby. The mother cannot move the child without this piece of metal going with it. Iron or steel, is the thing that counts. Gold, etc., will not do. The idea is that it wards off the Evil Eye. The custom is universal among the Mutair, Dhafir, Shammar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, and probably will be found to exist among all the desert tribes.

A woman is said to be *hámila* or *habla* when she is pregnant. She is said to have *waládat* or *thiná'at* when the child is born. The term *thina* is always used for the unborn child.

CIRCUMCISION

Among the Badawin circumcision is performed when the boy is between three and a half and seven years.

The operation is usually done by one who has had previous practice. The day is looked upon as a family holiday, and according to a man's means, guests and neighbours are invited to a meal, best clothes are donned, and the womenfolk dance among themselves till a late hour, except the mother, who runs away (*tinhash*) and hides herself. The boy is now a "proper Muslim".

The season for the circumcision ceremony is nearly always June (*al Sifári*) when the *bárih* or dry north-west wind is blowing. The wound is supposed to heal quickly then. If the sea is near by, the boy is encouraged to bathe, the salty nature of the water acting as an antiseptic.

Among some Badawin the feasting of guests and neighbours goes on for the number of days that the boy has years, i.e. if he is six years

old, feasting goes on for six days, if three years then three days, and so on.

Among Najd town-dwellers and in Kuwait city the ceremony is gone through with much more elaboration. Feasting and festivity continue for a full seven days before the actual ceremony. Women and girls seem to look upon the occasion as their particular feast. Every evening about 4 p.m. the women and children of the neighbourhood are invited by the mother and relatives of the boy to their house. Here refreshments, sherbet, coffee and sweetmeats are handed round, whilst singing, dancing and ululating go on. There are no men present, and any woman may dance as the spirit moves her. In Kuwait a band of some twenty-five negress minstrels, young and old, usually offer their services free, the entertainment being looked upon as a religious duty which brings luck in its train.

It is also not uncommon for half a dozen professional prostitutes to band together and come to the party unasked, to sing and dance and entertain the guests. Here again no fees are charged. The prostitutes believe that on such occasions they gain merit and favour from the Almighty by entertaining free of charge. The negress band and the gaily dressed prostitutes certainly give a dash of colour and gaiety to the proceedings and on these occasions no one, not even the most modest maiden, is shocked by the presence of her fallen sisters.

For seven days the entertainment and rejoicing continue, as a rule from about 4 p.m. to about 8 p.m. Then on the eighth day in the presence of the family circle only, the operator (in Kuwait he is known as *al Hindi*) arrives on the scene and with an ordinary razor cuts off the child's foreskin. His assistants are of course males, the father and one or two members of the family being the actual helpers. These assistants encourage the small boy to be brave and be "a man", and try to keep him cheerful to the end.

The mother as a rule goes off to a neighbour's house, as she cannot bear to see her son suffer. Apart from the mother, sisters, aunts and female slaves can be present, and one woman in particular acts as the child's comforter, as soon as the operation is over.

In 1933, whilst I was living in Kuwait, I was allowed to visit the house of our Muhammadan serving girl, on two occasions when the preliminary rejoicing and dancing were in full swing. It was very

interesting. I was also able to insist—though friend *al Hindi* did not like my interference—on the razor being sterilised in boiling water with a permanganate solution, before the actual operation was done. After the operation, and until the wound was healed, I provided the mother with lint, bandages, boric ointment and was able to advise on the daily dressing of the wound. The patient got well inside eight days. Among the Arabs, the convalescence after the operation is often attended by most painful and unfortunate results. The wound turns septic and refuses to heal, and much inflammation with consequent agony to the child is the result.

Dr. Mylrea of the American Mission told me in 1931 that each year he had dozens of cases brought him of male children, whose organ, as a result of circumcision, was in a dreadful state of neglect and inflammation. In 1935 he again told me that better-class Arabs were more and more learning to bring their boys to him for the operation and that this was most encouraging. He was able as a rule to return the child cured in about five or six days.

Any neighbours whose children have to be circumcised bring them to the house where *al Hindi* is operating, and so five or six little boys are usually operated on at the same time.

Among the Badawins of North-East Arabia and Najd, and among the people of Kuwait, girls do not go through any form of circumcision ceremony. I am told, however, on very good authority that further south, and also in Basra, the little girls go through a corresponding operation. I had this from Muthi, our very dear friend the Mutairi wife of Faleh bin 'Aamir of the Mu'aha, and also from an 'Anizah woman on 22nd August, 1933. A Shammari lady on the other hand told us on 28th August, 1933, that among certain Shammar families, the operation was done quietly and without fuss. No one but the female members of the family, she said, were told, and the neighbours knew nothing about it. The operation was done by a woman well versed in her job, who was paid for it.

All three women said that the Muntafiq settled tribes, and the Muntafiq shepherd tribes, as well as the gypsies* of Iraq, circumcised their girls, and that the woman who operated among other communities as a rule came from these tribes. The mode of operation was,

* Known as "Kauliyah".

I gathered, for a needle and thread to be passed through the clitoris, which was pulled outwards to its full length by means of the thread. When so extended it was cut off close to the body.

According to Haji 'Abdullah al Fathil, Musulmani (Mr. Williamson) 28th March, 1933, the circumcision of females was advised by the Islamic religion, but was in no way ordained as necessary. He also added that the reason why the Sunnis of Basra generally, and especially their leading families, went in for the custom, was because of the town's Bani Tamim ancestry. The old Bani Tamim always practised female circumcision. My friend Haji 'Abdullah went further, and made the rather surprising statement that the circumcision of Islamic males was not definitely laid down as necessary in Islam. It was conceivable that an adult convert who objected to or feared the operation might evade it, though ordinary custom demanded the ceremony in almost every case. I leave my readers to discuss this last statement. I prefer not to commit myself.

WOMEN'S NAMES

(Among Mutair, Dhafir, Shammar, 'Ajman, 'Awazim, 'Anizah and other great tribes.)

'Adda
'Afra
Al 'Aati
Al Jázi
Al Jidá'a—Given to a girl who has had part of her ear cut off and eaten by her mother. If a woman has lost several children the mother seeks by this procedure to save her latest. ['Ajman and other tribes.]
'Amsha
'Asheba
'Athaiya
'Atsha
'Aysha
'Azíza
Daghaima
Dahmeliya
Dhiba
Dhira—Given to a girl whose mother was frightened by bad news before her birth.
Faiha
Fátima
Filwa
Ghanima
Ghazaiyil—little gazelle ['Ajman.]
Gwai'a
Hajaja
Haiyya
Hathla
Hussa
Huwaiya
'Iyda
Jahaira
Khasna

Chap. X

Latífa
Lulua
Mahara
Maneira
Mastura
Maziuna
Múdhi
Muzni
Nassara
Naufa
Nejela
Nejma
Núra
Nuríyah
Radífa
Sa'ada
Sabícha
Sanwa
Shagha—['Ajman] Janaifer's grand-daughter
Shaikha
Sidha
Síta—('Ajman)
Sukort
Tufala
Ubdida
Wadha
Wasmíyah
Zahwa—[Shammar]

UPBRINGING OF BABIES

The birth of a Badawin baby is attended with as little fuss as the birth of a baby-camel. The infant is first and foremost bathed in a female camel's urine. As soon as possible afterwards, its eyes are rubbed over with antimony, to make them strong. All day long the baby is kept wrapped up in swaddling clothes, the arms being folded across the chest and bound there, and the legs tied close together at the knees and ankles. Before being swaddled the baby is laid flat on a square piece of black cloth covered with dry, powdered camel dung (formed into a dust). The baby is then wrapped up, and a little piece of black cloth is wound round its head to be replaced when it is about a month old by a cap which comes right down over both ears.

When the baby is being nursed, it is invariably placed on a circular piece of leather (*nattah*).

When the mother moves about on her various duties, or if cutting brushwood, she carries her baby slung across her back in a leather hammock (*mizbáh*)*, the end-thongs of which are either passed round her forehead, or more often over one shoulder, the baby hanging down under her arm for warmth. On the march, the baby and hammock are placed with the mother in the *maksar* (or woman's litter).

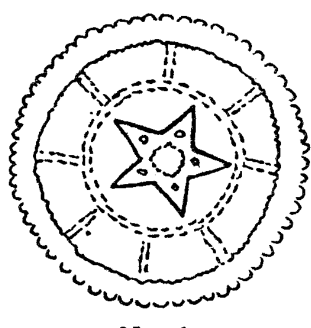
When the child is a few months old it is often slung in one of the

* Only 'Ajman, Bani Hajir, Bani Khalid, 'Awazim, Zaab, Murra, Manasir, Muntafiq ('Ajwad) do this. Other tribes do not carry babies in leather hammocks.

saddle bags with its head out. After this age the baby is practically never washed; and it is taken out of its swaddling clothes only at night and then for only short periods.

The idea underlying the swaddling clothes is firstly, to keep the baby quiet, and secondly, to make it grow strong and straight.

The baby is fed at any hour of the day and night, or whenever it cries. It is not immodest for a Badawin woman to feed her baby in



Nattah.

the presence of her menfolk, or even of strange men; and I have often seen women to whom I have been talking, open their front garment and bring out a breast to suckle their infant.

BADAWIN NAMES

The Badawin frequently name men and places after parts of the human body. Some of the best-known examples are given below.

Places.

Al Sirra—"The Navel"; a hill near Kuwait.

Al Diúd—"The woman's breasts"; a hill in the Neutral Zone south of Kuwait.

Al Nuhaidain—"The maiden's breasts"; two small twin hills in Kuwait.

Kashm al Afri—"The gazelle's nose"; a hill 40 miles north-west of Kuwait.

Dhala'at al Dhaba—"The Hyena's Mounds"; a group of low hills 25 miles south-west of Kuwait.

Men.

Zib Sahman—"Dog's penis"; cognomen of Khalid al Hithlain, present Shaikh of the 'Ajman.

Ab 'al Kilab—"Father of Dogs"; cognomen given to Naif al Hithlain, late Shaikh of the 'Ajman.

CHAPTER XI

Faith and Prayer

The Badawin proper are all Sunnis, either of the Hanbali or Maliki schools, as opposed to the Shi'ahs of Iraq, the Zaidis of Yaman and the Biyathiyahs of Oman and adjacent country.

Though fierce in battle and ever ready to raid and kill, the Badawin has one of the strictest codes of honour in the world. His belief in the One Great Almighty God, Indivisible, All-seeing and Ever-present, is impressive.

Throughout his life the name of God is constantly on his lips, and heard in almost every sentence he uses. Recurrent phrases are:

(*a*) *Wallah*, *Billah*, *Eh Billah Wallahi* (all meaning "By God") to emphasise that he speaks the truth.

(*b*) *Fi'aman Illah*—In the peace of God.
Hafath-kum Allah—God guard you.
Fida'at Allah—In the custody of God.
To speed a parting friend or guest, and as general terms of farewell.

(*c*) *Tawaqal al Allah*—Put your trust in God.
Tawaqal-na al Allah—We put trust in God.
At the commencement of an undertaking, or journey, etc.

(*d*) *Allah Karim*—God is merciful.
To express resignation, or hope, when things seem to be going wrong, etc.

(*e*) *Sa'ad-kum Allah*—God assist you.
Gauwak Allah abbreviated to *Al Guwa*—God strengthen you. Used by way of greeting and to encourage a person doing some special work.

(*f*) *La haula wa la quwata illa b'Illah al 'aali w'al athim.*—There is no might nor majesty except in God the most High and Wonderful.
To express astonishment at some strange sight, etc.

(*g*) *Stakhfar Allah*—God forbid.
La-ila-il-l'Allah—There is no God but God.
To ward off evil, etc.

The Badawin, like every Arab or true Muslim, believes that every-

thing comes from God, both good and evil. This belief permeates his whole life; hence his stoical calm and resignation when he is faced suddenly with death, loss or ruin.

"God gave, God has been pleased to take away", is an expression continually on his lips.

This piety and resignation to the will of God is one of the most striking traits in the desert man's make-up, and I confess has affected me deeply on more than one occasion, as the following little story will show.

My wife and I became very friendly with a certain 'Ajman family in 1930. They roamed about the hinterland of Kuwait and North Hasa, and camped almost every summer on the wells of Abu Halaifa, thirty miles south of Kuwait, or alternatively at Shu'aiba, another ten miles further south. The head of the tent was of the Al Mahfuth branch of the 'Ajman, and was a fine handsome old man of rugged countenance, about sixty years of age. He had four grown-up sons* and one daughter. The daughter, Sarah, was one of the most charming and attractive Badawin girls we had ever met in the Kuwait desert. She was married to a shaikh, Fahad al Fa'aran, a member of the Hithlain or ruling clan of the 'Ajman.

Her husband, a rebel against Bin Sa'ud, had fled to Iraq as a fugitive in 1929, and little Sarah kept house for her father. We often used to visit Sarah's tent, and when no strange men were about, she invariably spread her scarlet bedding or *laháf* in the women's portion of the tent for us to sit on. She, her father and we, used to discuss desert affairs over a cup of coffee which Sarah invariably handed round herself. Her brothers we rarely saw, as they spent most of their time with the camels.

Sarah had an only boy called 'Abdullah, a pretty trusting little child of two. One day, during the absence of my wife in England, 'Abdullah fell sick with a deadly sickness. I used to go and see him almost daily and did what I could for him, but the child grew worse. When he was fighting for his life it was wonderful to see the love, care and anxiety that both grandfather and mother showered on the child. He was the world to them both, and Sarah used silently to weep as I stood by trying to persuade the boy to drink some soothing medicine

* Two of these died in 1934 and 1935 respectively.

which would alleviate the fever. As the child's strength declined, the silent grief of the mother was a sore thing to see. I tried hard to persuade her to take him to the doctor in Kuwait, but in vain. One morning according to my custom I came to visit the sick child. As I approached Sarah's tent, Sarah came out to greet me dressed in her best festive garments. Smiling and dry-eyed, she invited me as usual into her portion of the tent. Her father was away. I sat down, suspecting something, I knew not what, but I said nothing. Sarah made coffee and brought it to me to drink. She even joked and told an amusing story. Presently I said "Where is little 'Abdullah? How is he?" Poor Sarah with a great effort choked down a sob and pointed to a small heap of earth not twenty yards from the tent. "There he lies," said she, "half an hour ago I laid him to rest; God gave him to me, and God has taken him, thanks be to God."

Just then Sarah's father came up, and when I expressed my sorrow and sympathy to him, he laughed loud and gruffly and said, *Al hamd ul'Illah* (the praise be to God). "He will give us another, and perhaps many more. We 'Ajman are fighting men, and God in his mercy does as he pleases, we must always laugh at death, whether it comes by sickness, or by bullet." The whole picture left an indelible mark on my mind and it will be long before I forget the dry-eyed sorrowing Sarah.

The poor girl lost her husband a year later—he divorced her because he couldn't return from Iraq. Little Sarah eventually went to Najd and Riyadh, and there married one of Bin Sa'ud's principal *fidáwis* or guards. She wrote and told me a year after, that she had got another little boy. My diary records also that in October 1933 she presented her husband with a little girl. In 1936 I heard through her father that smallpox had carried off one of the children. Poor Sarah.*

PRAYER

The Badawin is very punctilious about his prayers. Whether in camp or on the march, he solemnly prays five times a day according

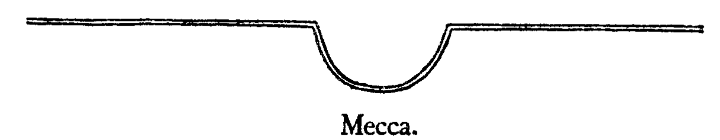
* Sarah came up to Kuwait from Riyadh in February 1938, and once again we saw our old friend. She came with her father and showed us her new baby-boy. She said she had a girl of four also, whom she had left in her tent in the desert.

to Muslim rule. If possible he prays in company, as there is more virtue in this than praying alone. The times for prayer are:

(*a*) Before dawn (*al fajar*) when a single hair if held before his eyes can be seen by the person praying.
(*b*) At Noon (*dhuhur*).
(*c*) Afternoon (*'asar*) calculated at three and a half hours after Noon prayers.
(*d*) Sunset (*maghrab*). This is always twelve o'clock to the Arab.
(*e*) After dining (*al 'asha*) this is calculated to be one and a half hours after sunset.

Almost invariably one of the party first gives the regulation prayer-call, and all hurriedly prepare by ablutions if water is near, or by going through the washing motions in sand, if no water is at hand. The sight is a simple and inspiring one, and I for one always remove my European head-dress when in the presence of the Badawin at prayer. Everything gives way to this prayer hour, and often in the midst of the chase or hunting gazelle or *hubara* there is a halt for prayer, and for a time everything is forgotten except man's duty to God.

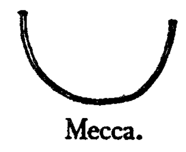
Every Badawin camp or tent has near it the following mark scored on the surface of the ground:



Mecca.

It indicates the *masjid* or communal prayer ground. The leader of the prayer stands in front of the loop, the bulge of which faces Mecca, and the others stand behind him and parallel to the side lines.

Occasionally one also finds in odd places in the desert the following plain looped figure, which is the mark made by a man praying alone.



Mecca.

Badawin women pray regularly also, but apart from their menfolk and usually in the privacy of their tents.

Little Hussa bint Salim al Muzaiyin learnt her prayers at the age of twelve, and at thirteen and a half prayed regularly five times a day. Her mother Amsha was equally careful about her prayers, and even went so far (when I was once alone in camp) as to visit me privately and try to convert me. When my wife went to England later, she repeated her talks in this connection, naïvely promising to find me one, two or even three little Badawiyah girls as wives if I joined the Faithful. "You are one of us now," she said, "become a Muslim and be happy, our girls are good, and it is pleasant to live in the desert and have your own children for ever around you." When I said to her "What would Mrs. Dickson say?" the answer came back swiftly, "She will never mind, provided you let her remain the Shaikhah and put the little Badawin brides under her orders. We all do it and understand our place, and the greatest happiness in the world is for man to possess woman."

THE ORIGIN OF THE "CALL TO PRAYER"

My old friend Haji 'Abdullah al Fadhil told me the following story at Kuwait on 9th January, 1934. He said he had got it from the *hadith* (tradition) of Muslim and Bukhari, and that I could therefore accept it as true.

In the early days of the Prophet, and when Islam had just begun to take hold, no one had yet thought how to gather the people to prayer, and there was no method laid down for calling the people together. The problem, however, had to be faced, and the leaders began to talk about it. At an important meeting on the subject, some suggested a bell such as the Christians used, others suggested the blowing of a horn as was the custom among the Jews. Yet others suggested the gong, in vogue among Hindus and others.

Just then Omar came in and said he had had a dream, and in his dream he had been told that the best plan was for a man to get up, take up his post in a prominent position, and call the faithful to prayer in the words "'Allah-u-Akbar", etc. His suggestion was listened to with interest, and was being discussed from every point of view, when 'Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet came in and said he had had a dream similar to Omar's.

The coincidence was so remarkable that the elders present decided that Omar's suggestion was quite the best one they had heard. They accordingly referred the matter to the Prophet, who decided in favour of Omar's and 'Ali's method.

The Prophet then called Billal, his freed slave, and having instructed him how to call the Faithful to prayer, Billal mounted a house-top and gave the first call to prayer that was ever sounded. The '*adhan* has remained unchanged from that day.

Part Two

CHAPTER XII

Food and Hospitality

The well-to-do Badawin, such as our man Salim al Muzaiyin or the shaikh of a tribe, has one square meal a day, usually in the evening. This consists of plain rice cooked in *semen* (ghi), a few dates dipped in butter, some *leben* (butter-milk), finishing up with coffee. In the early morning he starts the day with some *leben* and dates, also coffee. He does not often eat meat himself, because he cannot afford to do so. Should a guest of standing arrive, the host will always kill a sheep or lamb for him, which goes the round of the family after the guest has had his share.

The poor Badawin, and the great majority of Badawin are poor get one meal a day consisting of dates and camel's milk, with a very occasional dish of plain rice or a piece of bread.

The very poor Badawin, such as the herdsman (*sháwi*) who tends the sheep or camels of the more fortunate, gets nothing but camel's milk. Very rarely he gets some dates also, and still more rarely a bit of rice and meat when his shaikh or employer has a guest, his share being the entrails of the sheep that has been killed.

Speaking generally, in the province of Hasa rice is eaten where possible in preference to bread. The opposite is the case in inner Najd, Qasim, etc. The reason is obvious: wheat is grown in Najd and rice has to be transported there. The Badawin, like all other Muslims, eats with his right hand only and gives it a cursory wash before starting his meal. He is always hungry, and as a result if he can get such things as locusts, edible monitors (*dhub*), game of any sort and even foxes, he will eat them with relish. Speaking generally, the Badawin proper will eat anything that comes his way, especially if no one is looking, though he must always ceremonially cut the throat of any animal or bird he snares or shoots, saying as he does this: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" (*b'ismi'llah al Rahman al Rahim*).

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After the meal is over, though he ought to wash his hands, he rarely does so, owing to shortage of water. He prefers to wipe his hands on the tent and later in his beard. The 'Ajman tribe pride themselves in being able to show grease hand-marks on their tents; these indicate "hospitality". Bread is rarely eaten except among the well-to-do Badawin, though of course if bread is available any man will eat it with pleasure.

Mushrooms (*ftur*) and truffles (*fagah*) are eagerly sought for and eaten in the rainy season, but these are a luxury.

On special occasions the Badawin gets camel's meat, if for instance his shaikh is entertaining. The "hump" especially is considered a great delicacy in the cold weather. I have not infrequently eaten camel's meat myself and found it rather coarse and leathery, but the Badawin loves it.

In Kuwait town and among the town-dwellers of Najd, camel's meat and beef are regularly eaten during the winter months. Both are said to keep a person warm, and the former to make him strong.

Every Badawin, whether rich or poor, must entertain and feed a stranger who asks for a night's lodging.

If such guest be a big man and his host is fairly well to do, a sheep is invariably killed and served up with rice, sprinkled with sultanas, almonds and a few onion shavings.

If the guest is a poor nomad Badawin, the guest will be given a dinner of plainly cooked rice and some dates and *leben*. Should the host himself be very poor, he will still take the traveller in, and do the very best he can for him, even if he has only a few dates to offer; but entertain him he must, that is, give him food and a night's shelter.

Should a shaikh or well-to-do person visit a poor man's tent and ask for hospitality, he is expected to reward his host, either on leaving or on reaching home, with either a money present or a *kiswah* (present of clothing). This is the invariable custom.

Should a traveller pass a tent with only women in it, the head of the tent being away, say tending sheep or camels, the principal woman of the tent will come out, and stand in front of her tent with a bowl of *leben*, a signal to the passer-by to come and refresh himself. If an important cavalcade passes by, and the lady of the tent desires to attract their attention and get them to come and partake of her bounty,

she will seize a light pole, usually one of the tent side-supports, and hang one of her holiday orange, red or black garments on it, and stick it into the ground in front of her tent as a signal. This is her silent way of inviting the stranger to come and partake. I have been thus invited on several occasions, especially by membersof the 'Ajman tribe and the Muntafiq.

If a man and his wife are both at home and a guest arrives, of whatever status, he is welcomed by the man and placed in the *díwániyah* portion of the tent, that is, the end furthest away from the women's quarters. There he is given his coffee, food and a place to sleep. The women do not come near him or attempt to talk to him, unless he happens to remain two or three days, on account perhaps of heavy rains. The women then thaw somewhat, and when they do address him it is as "my brother".

When Badawins are encamped singly, they always endeavour to hide their tents in hollows and in such positions as to escape notice. This is partly due to a natural desire to escape attention in case an enemy is about, but more often to escape being seen by a traveller. The latter must be attended to if he begs for food and a night's shelter, and this entertaining of strange guests often bears very heavily on the tent-dweller. These remarks apply to the Badawin of the desert proper and do not include tribes such as the settled ones of Iraq, who are very wealthy and normally entertain on a most lavish scale.

Some tribes, especially the Muntafiq of the Euphrates, are so scrupulous in exercising hospitality that they often almost ruin themselves rather than be thought stingy to guests. A man having only a single sheep in the world will go and kill it to feed a strange guest. The Braih (Wasil) section of the desert Mutair have a similar reputation for entertaining, and are looked up to in consequence. The Birzan subsection of this tribe, having been blessed by the Prophet himself for their kindness and hospitality, were rewarded by being told that their blood even was blessed—hence it is believed that to drink a Birzani's blood will cure a man of impotence, cause a woman to conceive and counter the poison of a mad dog.

Some tribes, notably the Dhafir, have an unpleasant custom which often annoys those sitting down to a meal. Say there are ten men dining together, if one gets up satisfied, the rest must at once all get

up also and wash their hands in token of having finished. The result is that to avoid having to leave the table hungry, guests learn to bolt their food in most harmful style.

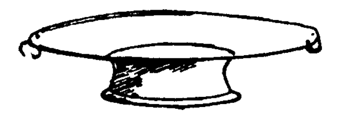
The favourite drinks among sheep-owning Badawin are *leben* (butter-milk) and *roba* (thick curdled milk). The shepherd tribes (Shawáwi) prepare their *leben* from sheep's milk, the camel tribes (Bádia) from camels' milk. The latter has to be boiled first, before it is shaken up in skins. Normally a camel-owning tribe will give a guest plain camels' milk to drink. *Leben* is not often offered.

Camels' milk has no cream on it, and no butter can be got from it. It is a purgative, and should be taken in moderation by European travellers or persons not used to it.

MEALS

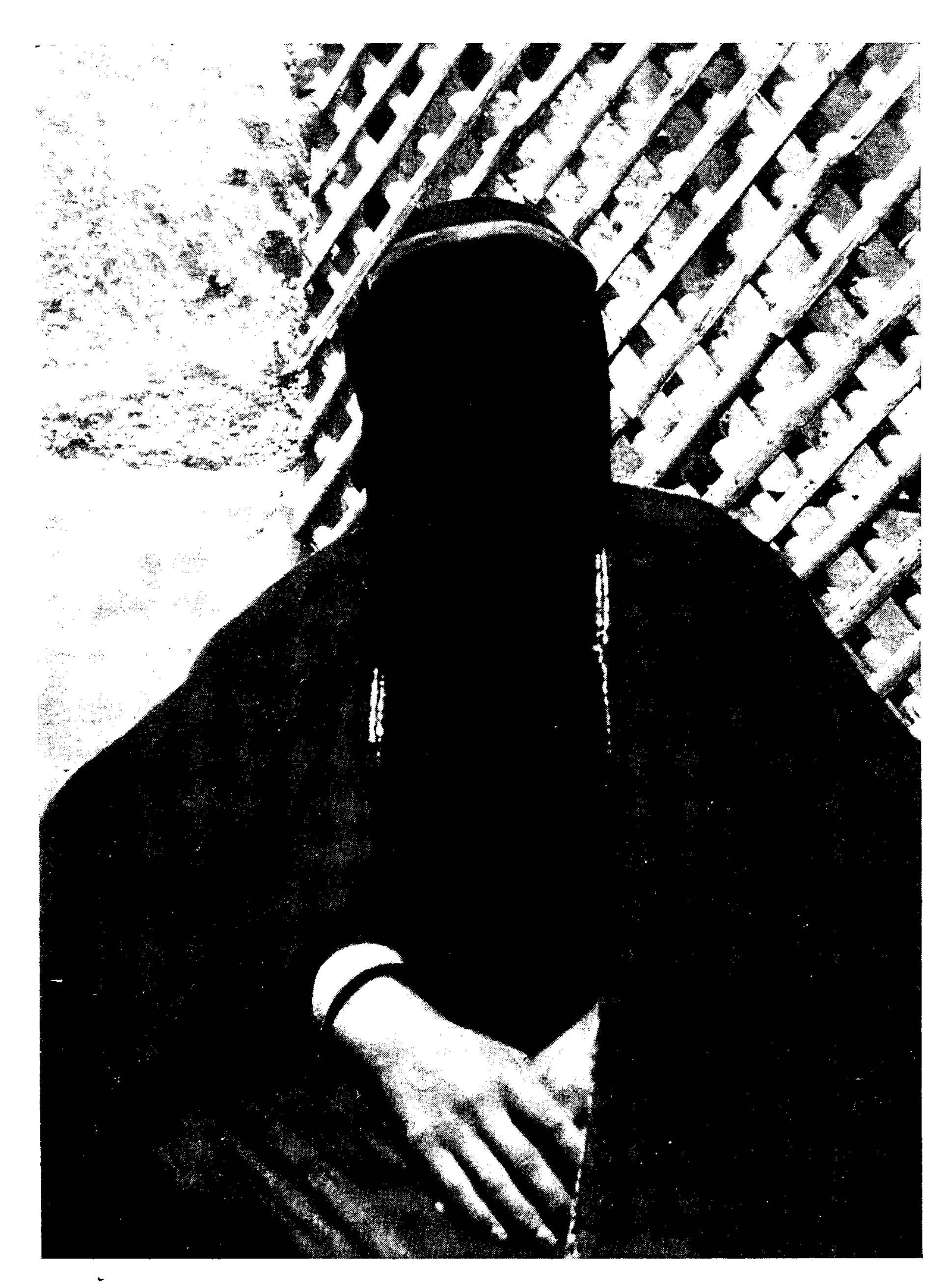
A Badawin lunch or dinner

Among the Badawin proper the banquet of a shaikh is served on a large, round, tinned copper tray (*saniya*) on which is piled up, a foot high, boiled rice covered with yellow gravy made from the fat of the sheep, and on top of all is placed a boiled young sheep or lamb (always a male). If the shaikh happens to favour Najd manners and customs, the tray will stand on a pedestal (all in one piece) called *saniya abu kursi*; this is shaped thus:

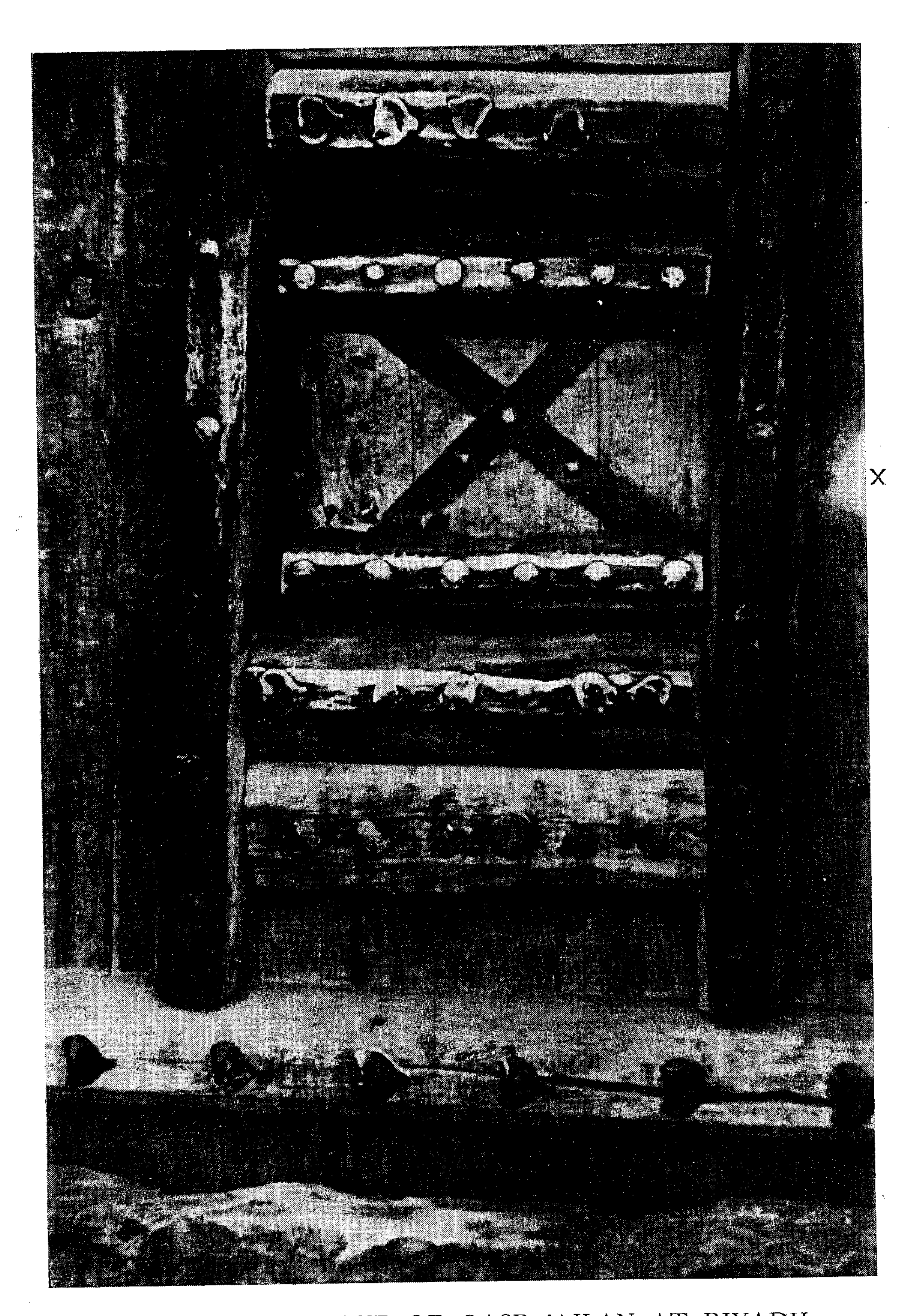


and translated means "The tray, father of the chair". The whole is now placed on a *sifra* or circular mat, corresponding to our tablecloth.

The Badawin call the cooked rice *'aysh* and the whole sheep *dhabíhah* or *tulli* (lamb). Both are cooked rather crudely and for our taste there is usually far too much *semen* or *dehen* (clarified butter) mixed with the cooking. The meat is usually rather tough, unless a young lamb happens to have been killed. Nevertheless, if you are hungry this form of banquet tastes remarkably good. The most tasty bits of meat and the tenderest are the strips along both sides of the



A MUTAIRI SHAIKH'S DAUGHTER AND FRIEND OF OURS
(A well-known beauty carefully disguised)



THE FAMOUS GATE OF QASR 'AJLAN AT RIYADH

In the small wicket entrance in centre, the fleeing Rashidite governor of Riyadh (ibn 'Ajlan) was overtaken and cut down by the present King of Sa'udi Arabia, when he recaptured his capital and recovered his Kingdom in 1901. The original spear-head hurled by Ibn Jiloui can still be seen imbedded in the woodwork (right centre of gate, marked X).

backbone, the muscles of the shoulders and the muscles of the leg near the knuckle: the tongue, the kidneys, the cheek bits and the eyes, are also well-known delicacies. The fat of the tail is always looked upon as the guest's particular right. The Arabian sheep is of the fat-tailed variety unknown in England. Round the central dish of rice and meat, the shaikh places two or three bowls of *leben*, with lumps of rather dirty butter floating in it—also a plate or two of dates. The guest, after finishing his meal, drinks *leben*, and then turns to the dates, which he eats with the butter floating in the *leben*. These dates and butter, especially if the dates are fresh (*ratab*), are delicious.

Prior to the meal, and after the meal, coffee is handed round. Among the Badawin coffee is rather a poor and watery stuff, and following the Najd fashion is made with lots of *hail* (cardamum) in it. After lunch, it is polite to thank your host with a *Allah i kathir khair ak* or a *'An'am Allah 'alaik* (God increase your good works! or God reward you!).

It is also quite correct to make pleasant remarks about the good cooking of the housewife, and if you catch a glimpse of her, as you often may behind the *qáta* or curtain dividing the women's from the men's quarters, you may say *Allah i kathir khair ich ya ma'aziba* (God give you plenty, hostess of mine!). The lady will always reply with a *hanni wa 'a'afiah* or *'alaikum al 'a'afiah* (may you be satisfied!).

Having enjoyed the shaikh's hospitality, you leave after taking coffee, and the relatives, young men, big children, etc., eat up what is left of the meal: it is always amusing to see these hang back in pretended shyness, as if to say, "You know I never came here to get a meal", when the host invites them to come forward and partake with a *Yalla ya flan, gúm*, or *Yalla ya raba'a gúmu*, or *Thafadhalu ya awlád*. He usually has to do this several times and in a rather injured voice.

The host of course does not eat with his guests, but later with the members of the family. It is always seemly for the guest, if he be a prominent person like a shaikh or Political Agent, to bring a present of rice, coffee or sugar with him for the tent. This gift he presents in casual manner before he leaves: if he wants to win more praise, he will also have brought with him materials for half a dozen frocks for the

women of the tent. This makes him their friend for life. I always made a point of trying to do this in Kuwait.

A dinner party given by a townsman (hadhari) or better-class semi-nomad tribesman ('arabdar)

This is a very much grander affair than the preceding, and the rice is usually of the *ambar bu* kind from Iraq or North Iran. After boiling, the whole sheep is browned all over by plunging it in boiling *dehen* or *semen* (clarified butter). It may be even baked in a baker's oven, when it is known as *lahm mashwi.*

Over the rice is spread a thin layer of hot sultanas, shredded onions (fried), gram and other spices. Dried pomegranate seeds are often introduced (an unpleasant habit, as grit like sand-grains seems to have got into the food). The whole dish is surrounded with plates, or small bowls, containing various meat dishes, vegetables, sweetmeats and fruit (usually cut-up melon). The number of these dishes increases with the importance and wealth of the host. The following are the names of the more important dishes thus served:

(*a*) *Marag*—a tasty brown stew containing small lumps of meat, tomatoes (*tamáta*), egg-plant (*baitan-jan*), and ladies' fingers (*bámia*).
(*b*) *Shaikh Mahshi*—Young white pumpkins, or preferably large cucumbers, stuffed with rice, nuts, and minced meat.
(*c*) *Baragh* or *Dólma*—A mash of rice and meat wrapped up in young vine leaves, and thoroughly boiled. It is delicious to the taste. (Originally from Turkey.)
(*d*) *Tamáta marag*— is like (*a*) above, but made of tomato and onion sauce.
(*e*) *Dólmat*—Stuffed onions like (*c*) above.
(*f*) *Kabáb*—Meat, rice and sultana rissoles.
(*g*) *Mahallibi*—Ground rice or arrowroot cooked in milk and flavoured with cardamum, and sometimes with chopped pistachio nuts.
(*h*) *Mahallibi wa Záfáran*—Like (*g*) mixed with saffron to colour it yellow.
(*i*) *Harís*—A kind of crushed corn-and-meat porridge, very nourishing.

Interspersed with the above are plates of dates (*tamar*), bowls of sour milk (*leben*), grapes, sections of melon (if in season), also large flat thin wafers of unleavened bread or thick round flat oven-made

bread, common to the whole East. Very modern hosts now add various coloured jellies.

COMMON EXPRESSIONS USED AT MEALS

Tafadhalu or *Sammu*—Used by a host to his guests when inviting them to start eating. The first word is also used when a person welcomes a guest to his tent or into his house in town.

B'ismi'llah—"In the name of God", spoken just before starting to eat.

Hanniyan—Said to a person who has just taken and enjoyed a long drink. The correct reply is *Allah i hannik* or *Hannakum Allah.*

Awafi—Host says to guest who has obviously enjoyed his dinner.

Allah i kathir khair ak or *ana'am Allah 'alaik*—The equivalent of "thank you". A guest formally offers thanks after a meal to his host.

Hanni wa 'a'afia or *mal Allah wa malak*—The host's formal reply to his guest's thanks.

THE RITUAL OF COFFEE MAKING

All over Arabia the elaborate ceremony of coffee making is the sign the guest is welcome and honoured above all men by his host.

From the highest to the lowest this making and offering of coffee is the first duty of a householder, whether he be a town- or tent-dweller, when entertaining a stranger or an acquaintance.

In Egypt and the north of Arabia, and especially in the towns of Syria and around Mosul, Western civilisation and Turkish influence have long ago had their effect and coffee is normally offered in small Western-made cups, full to the brim and standing in neat little saucers which are brought round on a tray, the guest helping himself. Such coffee, following the Turkish fashion, is sweetened, is purposely mixed with grounds and has a regular scum on the top. It is quite properly known as "Turkish coffee", and we see it often in London and Paris restaurants. The making of this coffee needs but a short description.

An ordinary, small-sized, brass coffee-pot is filled with cold water, about half a pint, and to it are added two tablespoonfuls of ground coffee and one and a half tablespoonfuls of castor sugar. It is then put on the fire. When the mixture comes to the boil the contents of the coffee-pot froth up and would overflow, but the coffee-maker takes the coffee-pot off the fire and, holding it by the handle, taps it three or four times sharply on the side hearth, so causing the froth to

subside again. Three times he places the coffee-pot on the fire and three times he allows it almost to froth over, and three times he taps the froth back into the coffee-pot. After the third time the coffee is ready for serving.

Only one coffee-pot is used in the above process and a special servant of the house is usually told off for the making and serving of it. He does the work with little ceremony in the kitchen, and out of sight of the guest.

The making of the true Arab coffee, as opposed to Turkish coffee, is an altogether different affair, and is attended by much ceremony, while the further south one goes, the more important is the occasion and the more detailed is the ritual, until in Arabia proper (I here include tribal Iraq), and especially in the tents of the Badawin, it becomes a solemn and important duty performed by the host himself.

Of course, in the case of an Arabian Prince, a prominent townsman or a Badawin Shaikh, such as one finds in Najd or Kuwait and the surrounding deserts, the coffee-making business is delegated to a trusty or favourite slave, who stands high in his master's estimation, and can be trusted to "whiten the face" of his lord. Sometimes the son of the host is detailed to make the coffee. Nor is this office without reward, for if there be largessse to be scattered by an important guest, the first to receive his *haq* or due is our friend the coffee-maker.

Normally, however, the small householder in a town, and the ordinary Badawin tent-dweller in the desert, makes and prepares the coffee himself in presence of his guest or guests and surrounded by an expectant crowd of relatives or other neighbours who have been attracted to the host's dwelling by the ever-welcome sound of pestle ringing on mortar, as the host crushes the cooked coffee-berries into powder immediately preparatory to the making of the coveted drink. Indeed a man famous among his fellows for his hospitality practically never allows this "ting ting" of the pestle and mortar to die down, and the Badawin who hears this music, be he ever so far off, will at once make for the joyful sound, sure of his welcome. So-and-So makes coffee from morn till night—*Fulan i dig al gahwa min al fajr illal lail*—is a nice way of saying that So-and-So is a generous and hospitable man: and no greater praise can be bestowed in Arabia on any man.

Arab coffee proper is of course not served anywhere in cups and saucers, but in minute bowls or cups without handles. Nor is the coffee sweetened in any way. It is rather a bitter "essence" and is brewed stronger in Iraq and North Arabia than in Najd proper or among the Badawin of the south. It is poured out by the host separately for each guest, and only a small quantity is given at a time, just enough in fact to cover the bottom of the cup and be drunk in two or three sips. The host holds the coffee-pot in the left hand (a most important and inviolable rule), and with three or four cups in his right hand he walks round among his seated guests (commencing with the senior), pouring them out each a small ration, and allowing each recipient to take as many cups as he likes. Good manners usually prevent the guest from taking more than three cups at a time, but a fourth or even a fifth may be pressed on him if he is an important guest. He may, however, subsequently drink round after round of coffee, as the spirit moves him or the host gets up and refills the cups. An Arab must always hold his small cup between the forefinger and thumb of his right hand when drinking coffee. When he wants to signal that he has had enough he will shake the empty cup with half a dozen rapid little shakes of the wrist. The host then takes the cup from him, fills and gives it to the next person waiting. All having had their fill, the coffee will be replaced on the edge of the fire among the ashes to keep warm. A casual visitor in Kuwait town who drops into a shaikh's or prominent merchant's morning *majlis* or reception apartment, will be given a cup of coffee on arriving, and another ten minutes after, which then is followed by the passing round of frankincense or scented wood *'udh*, placed on top of a small quantity of lighted charcoal and handed round in a *mabkhar* or hand censer. This is the signal that he should take leave. *Bakhir wa ruh*—"cense yourself and go"—is the common saying in Arabic, or better still *agub al 'udh gaud*, "after the incense it's time to go". Among the Badawin, however, a visitor or guest usually intends to stay longer than ten minutes—he normally expects a meal or a night's lodging—coffee is passed round again and again at intervals of a quarter of an hour, but *bukhúr* or sweet-scented wood or frankincense is practically never offered except by the well-equipped tent-dweller, and then only after the meal is finished and coffee has gone round.

Let us turn now to the actual preparation in a desert tent of this true Arab coffee, or essence, so inseparable a part of Arab life. We will assume that we have arrived at a well-to-do tent-dweller's home where the coffee is prepared by the host himself. We, the guests, having *nauwakhad* our camels at some distance from the women's quarters, are welcomed by the host, and seat ourselves in the men's portion of the tent (*maga'ad al ẓilim*). Small well-worn carpet-strips have been spread already round two sides, and we newcomers are leaning on one or two *shadád* (camel-saddles) placed in position close to the *qáta* separating the men's from the women's quarters, or we are sitting cross-legged awaiting the commencement of the coffee-making ceremony. After welcoming us with effusive greetings such as *ahlan wa sahlan*, *ya marhaba—Allah hai hum*, *Allah i sa'adkum*, *ya halla*, *ya marhaba* (welcome, welcome; God give you life; God assist you, greetings, welcome), our host fussily shouts to his men by name and orders them to bring *jalla* (dry camel dung used instead of charcoal in the desert), and *'arfaj* brushwood for making fire, *má* water, from the *garab* goatskin water-containers, lying near the women's end of the tent, all of which items are necessary for the coffee-making. While barking out his orders in rapid staccato, he sits down facing his guests and fires at them a series of *kaif hal kum?*—how are you?—and addressing the principal guest will repeat over and over again *kaif int*—how art thou—*ya marhaba*, *kaif int*, *kaif int*, *kaif int?* Rising again, he will fussily clean out the oblong fireplace (a shallow hole in the ground) of all old ashes, already ready in the guest part of the tent, and will start filling it with *'arfaj* and *jalla*.

Our host now gets down to things. It will no doubt be noticed that he has not yet asked about our business, whence we have come, or whither we are bound. This would savour of impoliteness, nor will the host ever ask such a question unless the guests of themselves choose to enlighten him.

Close to the empty fireplace are four coffee-pots of varying sizes, three are usually much blackened by fire and the fourth (the actual one in which the coffee is handed round to the guests) is kept bright and shining. These our host now places in a row by the fireplace and proceeds to light the fire. Next, having taken coffee-beans out of a small gaily painted gazelle-skin bag which is handed to him, he gets

ready the *mahmása* (long-handled, shallow, coffee-roasting metal basin) and the *yad al mahmása* (metal coffee-berry stirrer), and follows this action by placing in handy position the *shat finajín* (cylinder-shaped, brass-engraved case for holding coffee cups when travelling) alongside the *yad wal háwan* (brass pestle and mortar), the *mubarrad* (wooden slipper for cooling the coffee-beans after roasting), the *mukhbát* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee whilst being cooked), the *lífa* (piece of hemp or palm-tree fibre to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and lastly the *mabkhar* (incense burner) to *bukhir* the guests after the ceremony of coffee drinking (the woman of the tent has still to give the *'udh* or sweet-smelling wood for the purpose, but this can wait).

When the first flames of the fire have somewhat died down, our host fills the roasting dish or basin with a handful of coffee-beans, and holding it by the long handle places it over the fire (sometimes a crude metal tripod is brought into use) so that it does not actually touch the hot *jalla.* As the beans begin to brown, they are continously stirred to prevent them getting burnt, for once burnt the coffee-bean is spoilt. When roasted to a nice brown tint, the coffee-beans are turned out into the cooling slipper and allowed to stand. Our host now turns his attention to the coffee-pots and pours from the second largest coffee-pot into the third what is known as *sharbat*, that is to say the previous day's coffee, to which a little water has been added and put on one side. According to how much *sharbat* there is, the third pot is filled with cold water. This pot is now placed on the fire to be brought to the boil. As the *sharbat* is getting hot, the coffee-beans are poured into the mortar, and now is heard the pleasantest of all music to Badawin ears, the ringing sound of pestle striking mortar in the process of pounding up coffee.

The expert pounder—and almost every Arab is an expert—does the business with regular musical rhythm, and he varies the strokes and sounds much as a negro tambourine beater at a dance varies the sounds as he beats the parchment with the tips of his fingers or the rim of the drum with the heel of his hand.

After every few strokes and variations, our host with a rapid movement of his wrist will shake the pestle sharply from side to side, so as to strike the head of the pestle on to the sides of the mortar. This gives a sharp staccato rattle, and is intended to make the coffee col-

lected on the head of the pestle fall off. The guests are now mostly silent, drinking in the sweet metallic sounds with relish, and admiring the artistry of the performer.

The pounding process takes about five to seven minutes, and as soon as the *sharbat* is boiling, the host pours the ground coffee into the coffee-pot with the greatest care. After this he stirs it up rapidly with the long wooden *mukhbát* and puts it on the fire, taking it off at intervals when the contents threaten to bubble over. When it has boiled sufficiently he places the pot slightly off the hot ashes and gets up to whisper over the *qáta* to the womenfolk to hand him some *hail* (cardamum). A small hand on a rounded arm appears over the top of the curtain and hands him a few of the precious seeds. These he now pounds up lightly in the mortar and drops the three or four lightly crushed seeds into the brew to make it digestible.

The coffee is now taken off the fire, and the bright and shining *dalla* is brought into use. The lid is opened and the coffee is tipped into it, back again into the old black one, and yet again, after a few seconds to allow the coffee to settle, into the bright one. The piece of palm fibre or hemp is now lightly placed in the spout to act as strainer. All is now ready, and three or four cups which have already been taken out of their case and been washed in cold water by one of the host's Badawin companions, are taken in the host's right hand and the coffee-pot in his left. The host then pours a small quantity of coffee into a cup for himself and drinks it to show it is free from poison. He then pours out a small quantity for the principal guest and so on to the other guests and also to the remaining persons in the tent. He repeats the process till all have indicated that they have had enough. There is then a pause for conversation and more expressions of welcome are uttered. Finally another round of coffee and if the guests do not intend to stay for a meal or to spend the night, they prepare to depart. Before they go someone is sent quickly to the women's part of the tent to obtain some *'udh* and the *mabkhar*, or incense burner is brought into play. It is filled with burning camel dung, and a piece of *'udh* laid on it. At once a white, pleasant, scented smoke arises and the *mabkhar* is passed round by the host, the guests holding it under their noses, inside the ends of their *kaffiyahs* (headcloths) or under the folds of their *'abbas*. The guests now depart in silence.

The Poor Man's Coffee

Chap. XII

Such is the ritual observed in the tent of a well-to-do Badawin tent-dweller, but exactly the same ceremony is carried out, according to his means, by every town or desert Arab, be he never so humble. That is to say, the poor man will probably have only two worn-out coffee-pots, there will be no cardamum, coffee will be weaker and more watery, and of a poorer quality, while the guest will be given no parting incense.

The best and most expensive coffee-beans still come from Yaman, though excellent beans are nowadays imported from Kenya and Ceylon and have a wide sale amongst Arabs.

CHAPTER XIII

Morality

There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thuwairan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aha section of the Mutair, was a friend of Muthi, wife of Falah bin 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aha. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the towns, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Ruwala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Bani Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hamidda ('Utaiba)

further east and south, very strict. The whole desert world will certainly agree that the shaikhs of the tribes of Najd proper are far superior in moral behaviour to their brothers of Iraq and Syria, and for that matter of the north generally, and they never cease to deplore and at the same time boast of the fact. This is of course all good propaganda for the Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia and for Wahhabi-ism, and justifies up to the hilt His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz's policy of keeping strangers as far as possible out of his country, and in particular out of Central Arabia.

Undoubtedly the proximity to Damascus and Baghdad of the Northern 'Anizah and Shammar is slowly but surely demoralising the leaders, though not yet the rank and file. The coming of the motor car is also hastening the process. To their great credit Al Hadhal (Amarat) and notably their great chief Shaikh Mahruth have and are still keeping themselves free from the poison of the towns, but how long they will keep themselves and their people uncontaminated by the great cities is a question.

MORALITY IN THE TOWNS

Mecca is recognised as one of the most immoral towns in Arabia. If one can believe the Badawin, every form of foul vice prevails there.

In Kuwait for a woman to lapse and be found out, usually means death. Her brothers or cousins are her executioners. The husband is more tolerant.

If an unmarried girl goes astray, her lapse is punishable with stoning or "walling up" in a small room, where only one coffee-cup of water and a few dates are given her through a hole in the ceiling per day. If she survives this starvation treatment for forty days, God is supposed to have intervened and she is set free.

A man may without much disgrace indulge in strange women, provided they are public ones, and work for hire. The condition is that he behave so discreetly as not to let the world know. This is most important.

Nice Arab women have on occasion suggested to me that in the absence of my family in England it would be permissible if I occasionally patronised a gay lady's establishment of good standing,

but of course circumspectly and without the world knowing. But they have been quick to add that I must never try and persuade a nice girl to lapse. "That would be a great sin," they have said. "Thou shall not be found out" is a well-understood commandment in Kuwait.

During the absence of the pearling population, a certain amount of amateur prostitution goes on among the divers' womenfolk in Kuwait. This is not so much due to vice as to the genuine need of supplementing the family income. The advances given by the captains of boats (*naukhudas*) to the divers, and which are paid over to their families when boats go off to the banks, are so meagre that families cannot possibly live on it. These payments are known as *salaf* and *tisqám* and are received at the beginning and end of the diving season. (See Chapter XXXVIII.)

Of recent years, and in spite of every effort on the part of the local authorities, there has been, I think, an increase in vice in Kuwait, owing to the depressed pearl trade and to Bin Sa'ud's blockade (1923–36).

Great poverty exists and even young unmarried girls have been known to sell themselves for profit, though secretly, of course. In most cases these amateur prostitutes are said to practice unnatural forms of intercourse, through fear of having a child. Another unpleasant, though I am glad to say very uncommon form of vice is to be found among widows and sexually-starved women. The Arabs call it "to have a negress woman for a husband". These vile creatures get hold of an Arab girl and satisfy her desires by cohabiting and acting the part of the man in intercourse. The method is safe, the woman is satisfied, and no questions are asked. Results for the Arab girl, however, are said to be deplorable in the extreme. She develops a depraved and absorbing affection for the negress, who becomes an overbearing, jealous tyrant and gets her protégée completely into her power. The negress is known as a *sha'ák*.

Unmarried girls never shave or remove superfluous hair from any part of their bodies, but from the day she marries every woman must religiously keep her person entirely free from hair. The well-to-do ones get this done in the public bath and use a solution of zinc and arsenic. The poor ones and their Badawin sisters pluck out the hairs by hand.

Seven days before her marriage the unmarried girl is taken in hand by a special woman who is told off to wash her, clean her, attend to her hair, garments, anointing and the like. This friend's principal duty is to remove all superfluous hair from the prospective bride before the wedding night.

When the husband "goes in into his wife" (*yudkhul'alaiha*) it is considered good form among the Badawin for the young girl to struggle with her husband and try and save her virginity. She screams and cries out and fights him, sometimes for several hours. It is also considered quite the thing and not indelicate, for the female relations to listen to such struggles and screams from outside the tent (or door, in the case of townsfolk). In Basra and other big towns this custom has gone out of fashion, but it is practically universal elsewhere.

Among the middle and poor classes in Kuwait so great is the pride felt by a young wife in having preserved her virginity till the day of her marriage, that it is the custom for the husband after cohabitation to take out the bedsheet to the bride's male and female relations, and display it to them, calling out in pride and pleasure *bayath Allah wejhkum, hafathtu bintkum tammam* or "God whiten your faces, you have indeed kept your daughter pure".

If a young wife should have already lost her virginity, whether innocently and naturally, or by artificial means, there is great trouble for her at marriage. It means that she can show no bloodstained sheet. Her husband is filled with deep suspicion and jealousy and may hand her back to her parents, saying "I do not want your daughter, she is no virgin. Look at the white sheet". This rather gruesome test of a girl's innocence leads, of course, to many subterfuges, such as her cutting herself, or smearing a little chicken's blood on the sheet to satisfy the husband. The danger of such a trick is obvious, however, as husbands are on the look out. An unfortunate girl who fails to pass the test is often taken away and killed by her male relatives to vindicate the honour of the family. Sometimes a young husband who has decent feelings and a good heart will himself save his bride even though he has been deceived, and will devise some stratagem. This is especially the case when the girl pleads the law of *dakhála*: *Dakhílak hafathni ya fulan.* I have known personally of one such case, the man

being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen.

Before the act of consummation, and after the husband has gone in unto his wife, he takes the bride's *'abba* or cloak, lays it down on the ground, and says his prayers on it, using it as a prayer mat. This is a universal custom in Kuwait and among the tribes.

CHAPTER XIV

Death, Burial and the Hereafter

If conditions permit, and water is available, a dead person is always washed, clothed in new linen, and then buried. If, as commonly occurs among the Badawin, these preliminaries are not possible, a hole is dug near the tent and the corpse buried with all speed.

Women wash the bodies of women, and men those of men, never otherwise.

After a desert battle, the victors endeavour to bury their own dead but never those of the enemy, which are left to be eaten by the birds of the air and hyenas, as occurred in the battle of Ingair in 1929. The defeated party may, if they can, come and bury their dead at a later date—but this is of rare occurrence.

Among the Badawin, mourning continues for three or four days, the women weeping and the men receiving guests who come to offer condolence.

On the evening of the death, a dinner must be given to the mourning guests, according to the means of the family.

Among Muslim townspeople generally (but not in Najd or Kuwait), a regular burial service, led by an *'alim* or priest, is held at the time of the burial, after which members of the family come to the grave every Friday and recite prayers or verses from the Qur'an.

Those holding the Wahhabi doctrines and more especially the 'Ikhwan, bury simply and quickly, believing that once a man is dead his body is of no further account. A tomb is therefore anathema to the Wahhabis and they tolerate no monuments of any sort.

Among Kuwait Shi'ahs, and also in Iraq, a death is followed by a period of three days' mourning of an official family nature (*fathiha*). Crowds gather daily to pay condolences and mourn, and on the third night a priest recites prayers and recitations. A well-to-do person gives free lunches to his neighbours each day, and a big dinner on the third night to relatives and special mourners.

When a man dies, the widow has to seclude herself from all for a period of four months and ten days. Well-to-do families confine the wife to the house for this period while Badawin women hide themselves as much as practicable in their tents. The townswoman of Kuwait actually shuts herself in a room, devoid of comforts such as carpets, etc., and can only be attended by another woman who brings her food and water. She must not see a man, or male relative, or hear a male voice.

Among the lower classes the belief about this *'ada* or custom of shutting the widow up is, that as soon as a man dies and goes to the other world, he is chained by an iron chain round his neck. This chain can only be removed by his widow's observing a proper course of mourning, for four months and ten days.

The very poor classes in Kuwait do not pay much attention to the above rule, and forty days' seclusion generally meets the case with them.

Graveyards are always looked upon as places of ill-omen and must be avoided, especially at night, as *jinns* or spirits are believed to be moving about them.

The great western graveyard at Kuwait, where the shaikhs bury their dead, is especially notorious for *jinns*, and many an eerie tale is told of people who have dared to go too near the place and have been pursued and even attacked by these evil spirits.

It is particularly bad to put your foot on a grave, and to do so after dark often results in so-called "madness". When young Mutlug ibn Majid al A'sga of the Mutair at Jariya went mad for the love of a lady (see page 149) many said, and he himself is supposed to have believed, that he had accidentally set foot on a Badawin grave when he went out of his tent after dark to attend to nature.

Among the Badawin the person dying usually passes away peaceably in grave and dignified manner; this especially applies to the old. I was present at the death of one of Shaikh Hillal bin Faja'an al Mutairi's Badawin relatives, a poor man of over eighty. I was camped at Araifjan among my Badawin friends Salim al Muzaiyin's family, and the old man's tent was close by. Salim was away in Najd when the old man suddenly collapsed and gave out that his time had come. There were only women and children about and the Dhafiri camel

herdsmen. These and me the old man called around him, and after making the women prop him up in a sitting posture, he began to bid each person farewell in simple and quiet manner. He then addressed himself to me and asked me to give his salaams to Salim, Hillal al Mutairi, Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim, and others whom I did not know; he also sent messages to my wife and to my son Sa'ud. He then asked for a cup of coffee. After drinking it he lay down, closed his eyes and just ceased to breathe. His farewells, *balagh salami 'ala Hillal, wa 'ala Ahmad al Jabir*, etc., were simple and fine.

After his death Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim, who was camped a mile off, sent his servants to wash and bury the old man. This was considered a good and generous act, for of course the women could not do this.

I was not a little moved by this simple death-bed scene of the desert, which reminded me of the Old Testament. No doubt Abraham died thus, sending messages to all and sundry up to the very last.

In Kuwait and in other Muslim towns, when a corpse is being carried to the cemetery for burial, any person lending a hand and assisting in shouldering the bier, a sort of open stretcher affair,



BIER

derives great merit. So at a funeral procession it is usual to see men changing places rapidly and often, each anxious to shoulder the bier for a short time.

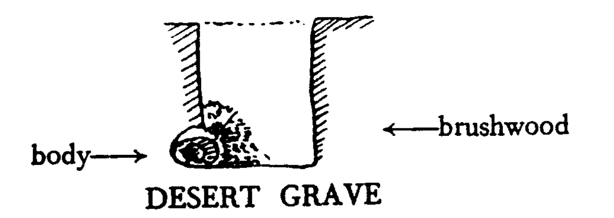
Townswomen go off the deep end in truly alarming style when a relative dies. They tear their hair, beat their heads and breasts and rend their garments in a manner which is quite incomprehensible to us. This is partly due to the more emotional nature of the Arab woman, and partly because it is considered the right thing to do.

I have seen some women fall down and have to be carried away apparently bereft of all sense and reason, so grief-stricken have they been. When her brother-in-law was killed in a well whose sides fell in and crushed him (September 1933) our servant-girl Hamda even tore out her gold earrings and broke her gold bracelets and flung

them away without knowing that she had done so. The neighbours' and onlookers' opinion of the bereaved woman rises in proportion to the amount of grief and emotion she displays.

The women of the desert, and especially those living in or on the borderland of Wahhabi-land (Sa'udi Arabia), act in exactly the reverse manner. I have already described the scene when Sárah bint Junaifir, who had just lost her small boy, greeted us with a laugh and smile as she pointed to the newly dug grave thirty feet away. It was not because she did not feel—she did keenly—but it was against the strict Wahhabi tenets to mourn her dead.

In the desert the grave is dug usually to a depth of four feet, not more. At the bottom a nook is hollowed out in the side of the grave to take the body, the idea being not to crush it with earth as the grave is filled in. The body having been placed in the nook, brushwood is next filled in up against the body, after which the grave is filled in with sand.



DESERT GRAVE

Should the Badawin family be able to afford it, they will, as I have said, wash the body and clothe it in a new piece of white cotton cloth. Should they be far from water, and unable to afford the shroud, they will just bury it unwashed or unshrouded. If a Mutawa'a (priest) is at hand, they will request him to hold a simple service over the dead; if not, no service is said.

No monuments nor even headstones are placed on graves in the desert, only a slight heap of earth, eight inches above the level of the ground. In Kuwait, and in Najd towns and villages generally, a rough piece of stone is placed at the head and feet, usually a piece of uncut coral or lump of lava. This not so much to mark the grave as to prevent other persons being buried on the same spot; for wind and rain rapidly wear away the low mounds of earth which mark a grave.

Once a person is buried in the desert, relatives never visit the grave. Wahhabi influence is so strong in Kuwait that no one ever goes to

visit the grave of a dead relative once he has been buried. Even the shaikhs' graves suffer like neglect, and in the great cemetery between the Naif gate and the Jahrah gate inside the wall, few can point out the graves of Shaikhs Mubarak, Jabir and Salim, the last three Rulers of the principality. There is nothing at all to distinguish their tombs from those of any man and woman who has been buried in the same place. It is interesting to know that Shaikhs Muhammad and Jarrah, slain by Shaikh Mubarak, lie in the *Safát* or Market Square of Kuwait with nothing to indicate their burial place but a few stones flush with the ground.

The washing of dead bodies in Kuwait is carried out by a regular body-washer (*ghassál*), male or female as the case may be, who is immediately sent for on a death taking place. This person is very business-like and gets to work at once. Persian (Shi'ah) men are washed in a room adjoining the mosque, while women are taken to special buildings provided for this purpose. The body-washer places the nude body on a large wooden table and pours water over it in quantities. Then with a gauntlet of coarse wool which he puts on his hands, he scrubs the corpse all over with soap and water, sousing it over and over again with copious douches of water. After this procedure he dries the body well, and dresses it up in its new white cotton shroud, or perhaps assists members of the family to do this. For preference the washing is done after dark, but this is not obligatory.

Among the Badawin when a woman's husband dies, the widow keeps herself shut up in her tent, and wears a green undergarment. She goes out only when all strange men are out of sight; she must cover her hands and feet with a sort of glove and sock when she moves with her family; this is known as *háddad* or *háchim* (*taháddád* or *taháchim*—she is mourning).

OTHER INTERESTING POINTS CONNECTED WITH A BADAWIN DEATH

(*a*) In the desert water is usually dropped into the mouth of a person about to die.
(*b*) The eyes of the dead person are not closed as in the West.
(*c*) The Badawin greatly dislikes having to bury his own dead. If he can, he will get some non-Badawin, a settled Arab for instance, if one is

at hand, to do the work for him. Similarly, to touch a dead body is revolting to him.

(*d*) A woman's grave must be deep enough to hide her breasts if she were placed upright.

(*e*) A man's grave need be only 4 feet deep, i.e. up to a man's middle, or his knees, if there is no time to bury him properly.

(*f*) No woman ever accompanies a dead man's funeral procession, and as few persons as possible attend any actual burial. This is unlike the *hadhar* (town) custom, when friends all go to see a man buried, and vie with each other to carry the body, if only for a few seconds.

(*g*) Up to the third day after a man's death his friends visit his son and console with him by quoting various regular forms of comforting phrases,* such as: "He was a good man, and this has happened from Allah." "It happens to all men and to all people born of woman." "May Allah replace him who has passed away." If a man has lost his son the words "may Allah grant you another son in his place", etc., *Allah yikhlif 'alaikum* are used. The man condoled with will reply, "Thanks be to Allah, Allah is omnipotent".

The Badawin's idea of Heaven or Paradise is simple and pleasing and I have often discussed this subject with him.

Paradise means to him a land where it is always spring (*rabi'*), with plentiful and permanent green grazing (*'ashib*), water flowing in abundance from springs and small rivulets, a place where no unpleasant things are met with such as are prevalent in this world (hunger, lack of water, dried-up pasture, camel disease, etc.).

In Paradise all a man's tribe live together in pastures green, he meets all his friends and relations. No one grows old—all live for ever. They marry and give in marriage, and every person has an extra large tent, large herds of camels and sheep and many children. Should a person have lost children in this world, he or she will meet them in Paradise, grown to the age they would have been if they had lived, and the children will welcome and greet their parents as at the end of a journey.

I once asked Amsha, wife of Salim al Muzaiyin, if she would be Salim's wife in heaven, as she was here. She replied that she would know him and her children, and live close to him, and visit her children

* Such formulae of condolence are: (1) *Allah i 'aatham ajarkum* (when grown up has died, such as a son); (2) *Allah yahsin ajarkum* (for child's death); (3) *Allah i 'aatham ajarich* (for women).

by him, and be supremely happy, only she could not cohabit with him, as in Heaven Salim would have to live with his first wife, who died long ago, and before he took her. This seemed no hardship to her, however, and was taken for granted.

The Badawin idea of Hell is equally satisfactory. A man going to hell will meet with, and find there as his constant companions, everything he hated in this world, and every natural difficulty that made life a curse for him in this world.

There will be perpetual hot and blistering summer, his camels and sheep will always be short of grazing, he will never see green grass or springs of water, and he must for ever and ever break his back drawing water for his thirsty flocks and family from wells which are deeper than anything in this world. He will be a bondman all his existence and servant to an "inferior" tribe, without *sharaf*, *ism* or *'ashíra* (honour, name or tribe). He will have no decent herds or flocks.

In Heaven the sun, moon and stars always shine; in hell never. Allah the One and the Almighty keeps close touch with the inhabitants of both Paradise and Hell, and sometimes allows them out to visit in dreams their loved ones still on earth.

DEATH AND BURIAL IN KUWAIT TOWN

In Kuwait when the body of a man or woman has been washed (*mughassil*) by the professional washers, it is clothed in a long sort of nightgown (*thaub*) extra liberally cut, of fine new white cloth sewn together. A hole is torn for the head to pass through, and it is thus prepared for burial. A dead woman's forehead is bound round with a white piece of cloth (*assaba*) such as women wear when they are sick, and a headcloth is placed over the head and sewn under the neck and down the front as in a child's *bukhnug*, and a piece of cotton wool with camphor is placed under each armpit. A dead man is treated in the same way except that a white headcloth (*kaffiyah*) is put over his head and tied under his chin. In both cases the finger-nails (*adhafír*) are then carefully cleaned by the washers—this is most important—and arms are folded across his or her chest. Lastly, a white shroud (*chifan*) is placed over the body and the corpse (*jindza*) is carried off by men to the burial place (*maqbarah*). There the grave (*gabr*) is got

ready and the body is let down to the bottom by men. If the dead person is a woman a sheet is held round the grave so that men's eyes do not see her, and a woman, or man neighbour if she has no sons or brother, goes down into the grave itself to prepare the dead person for her last resting place. This woman removes the covering from ears and breast, turns the corpse on to her side, face towards Mecca, and places her right hand under her right cheek. The body now rests in the hollowed-out nook facing the open grave.

This operation done, the cavity (*al lahad*) containing the corpse is closed by mud, bricks, stones and mud (not by *'arfaj* as among the Badawin) so that earth will not enter therein. Lastly, the grave is filled in and everyone goes home.

An important point to realise is that a husband must not under any circumstances see his wife's face after death. This is considered a grievous sin in the same way as if she had been divorced from him. Hence the uncovering of the dead woman's face must be done by another woman, or by her brother or son. Should a very poor man or woman die without relatives then it is incumbent on the next-door neighbour (*jár*) to arrange the washing and burial. This I understand is laid down in the Qur'an. Nothing is done by way of combing or plaiting the hair, but the person washing the body must go through the ceremony of *talqín* while doing so, that is, she or he must sing the praises of the dead person, the good works he or she did in this life, how he or she fasted and prayed, and call on God to give the dead peace in everlasting heaven. It is commonly believed that a person who has lived a good life, has not spoken evil of his neighbours, and has been generous with this world's goods, will after death remain soft and pliant as if still alive up to the hour of burial. If the opposite has been the case, the body, arms and feet will become immediately stiff. Hence, when it is found easy to bend the right arm and place the right hand under the right cheek of the dead person, all men know that the deceased has lived a good and virtuous life; if the operation is done with difficulty then that person is known to have been a non-virtuous person, and God will know how to reward him or her hereafter.

The sight of a dead person has not the frightening effect on Arab children that it may have on their Western brothers and sisters.

Children regularly see the faces of dead persons in Arabia, and before they are many years old they become quite callous in this respect. This way may be the best after all. It certainly makes for easy dying when the final call comes to man and woman, and it is rare to find an Arab man or woman showing fear of the future as the end draws near.

CHAPTER XV

Smoking

Speaking generally, the Badawin of Central and North-East Arabia do not smoke. This is mainly due to the Wahhabi influence of Najd, but partly also because the rank and file cannot afford the luxury of a smoke. In a country where life is so hard, and 90 per cent of the population are permanently hungry, this is to be expected.

From 1919 to 1929 and during the revival of Wahhabi-ism under the name of 'Ikhwanism, the tribes of Najd who all became good members of the Brotherhood, eschewed smoking as a direct temptation from Satan. (I am not here referring to the Iraq desert tribes or the various septs of the 'Anizah or northern Shammar), and for a man to be seen smoking a cigarette or pipe in Wahhabi-land almost invariably meant death at the hand of a fanatic brother. In the province of Hasa, and especially among the Bahárana of Qatif and Hufuf, Bin Sa'ud allowed smoking as far back as 1920, provided it was indulged in in the strict privacy of the house. That Bin Sa'ud himself was broad minded on the subject may be seen from the fact that in 1919, when I visited him in Hafuf, he sent me round a box of Egyptian cigarettes by the hand of Dr. 'Abdullah Damluji, with a request that I should smoke only in private. I, of course, played the game according to the local rules.

In 1929, when I first came to Kuwait, the shaikh asked me as a favour not to smoke in the streets, as smoking offended some people's susceptibilities: this was shortly after the 'Ikhwan attacked their northern neighbours and made wild efforts to impose their beliefs and customs on the tribes of Kuwait and Iraq.

After the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 against Bin Sa'ud, a revulsion of feeling appeared to have taken hold of the Badawin world. On all sides men began to speak disparagingly of Bin Sa'ud, and of his methods, and many bright souls openly took to

smoking again: this was, however, more a gesture of defiance than a desire for tobacco.

By 1935 the vice of smoking had once more taken hold of those Badawin who could afford to indulge it, and even in Najd proper hundreds of Bin Sa'ud's own servants, *fidawiyah*, and even members of his own family, smoke openly to-day.

This renewal of smoking does not mean that there is any sort of revulsion against religion. Far from it—it only means that the Arab realises that the theory that smoking is a sin does not hold water. "Why not stop me drinking coffee?" he says, "it is an equally noxious drug and equally harmful to man."

None of the Shaikhs of Kuwait smoke; this is undoubtedly due to the strong influence of Wahhabi-ism on Kuwait in the past. They offer cigarettes to their guests, however. Neither I nor other Europeans in Kuwait ever smoke in the streets during the annual Fast of Ramadhán.

CHAPTER XVI

The '*Id* Festivals

Two great festivals recur every year in the Muslim world:

(1) 'Id al 'Adha or Dhahíyah.
(2) 'Id al Ramadhán.

The 'Id al 'Adha takes place on the day of the Haj pilgrimage and lasts for three days. The Turks called it "Qurban Bairam". The Arabic words may be translated as "Festival of Sacrifice". The holidays begin on the tenth day of the pilgrimage month, *Dhul Hijjah*, when the pilgrims to Mecca enter the Great Mosque, and circumambulate the Ka'abah (*tawaf*), and then slay a ram, a he-goat, a cow or a camel, in the vale of Muna in commemoration of the ransom of Ishmael* with a ram. The sacrifices offered are, of course, not confined to the pilgrims actually at Mecca. Throughout the Muslim world all who can afford it sacrifice at this time a "legal" animal, and either consume the flesh themselves or give it to the poor. Although the festival officially lasts for three days only, rejoicings are kept up for a full seven days as a rule, certainly in places like Kuwait and other Arabian towns.

The 'Id al Ramadhán falls immediately after the close of the Ramadhán Fast.† The Fast lasts a full lunar month and begins with the "sight" of the new moon and ends with the "sight" of the next new moon. The Ramadhán festival also lasts three days, but like the 'Adha, the festival continues unofficially for seven days. Three reliable witnesses must have seen the new moon in each case, before the beginning of the Fast, and before the actual '*Id* day. The local Qádhi

* Muslims believe that it was his son Ishmael (not Isaac) whom Abraham was bidden to sacrifice. See page 242.

† During Ramadhán a woman must not fast during her menstrual period—she therefore always is *matlub* (or in debt) so many days after the fast is over, i.e. she owes so many days, and has to fast for the number of days she so missed during the fast, before the next month of Ramadhán.

must then declare the *'Id* to have come, and the Ruler of the State (Shaikh) follows by ordering three guns to be fired after sunset on the eve preceding the *'Id.* The Shaikh also sends out special messengers into the interior to warn those living at a distance from the city, and the shaikhs of neighbouring tribes. If the weather in Kuwait is cloudy and the moon cannot be seen, telegraphic enquiry is made from the Qádhi at Basra, or the Qádhi of Baghdad, who telegraph their decision back. The decision of either is accepted in Kuwait.

The Shi'ahs on principle, and to show their greater zeal, nearly always start to fast a day earlier than the Sunnis, and continue for a day longer. In Kuwait the Shi'ahs make enquiry in like manner from Kerbala, Najaf, or the Shi'ah 'Alim of Basra, when weather is cloudy.

With the advent of the radio things are made easier for the Sunnis in Kuwait, who get official notification from Cairo as to whether the following day will be *'Id* or not. So far (1936) the Shi'ahs of Kuwait do not accept radio evidence.

On occasions, the Sunnis of the town enquire from Mecca by telegram, as well as from Basra and Baghdad. This makes things more sure.

The method of celebrating each of these two great annual *'Ids* is the same in Kuwait, though as there are slight differences in procedure among the town and the tribal populations, I propose below to describe how each celebrates the happy occasion. One description will suffice for both festivals.

'ID IN KUWAIT TOWN

On the evening before the festival, the Shaikh of Kuwait, having taken the necessary expert advice, gives out that the following morning is to be celebrated as *'Id*, and great is the rejoicing, especially if it happens to be the *'Id* that follows the long weary Fast of Ramadhán, for the end of this painful period, this difficult and exhausting penance, has come at last. For a whole fortnight beforehand women have been sewing and getting ready their multi-coloured frocks for the great occasion, and husbands and masters have been doling out *kiswahs*

(new clothes) to their wives, dear ones, slaves and servants. Happiness is in the air, and all is pleasure and excitement as in the last days before our Christmas. Not the least important of the women's and children's duties at this period is the washing of their hair, bathing of their bodies, and the placing of henna on their hands and feet. This usually, in Kuwait, takes the form of red henna for finger and toe nails, and black henna on the palms of hands in different patterns, as well as on the feet. The actual method for applying henna and the patterns most favoured are described in Chapter IX.

The morning of the festival is ushered in by a salvo of three guns fired from the Ruler's ancient battery situate close to the town palace. This signifies that the shaikh and members of his family have finished prayers in the Al Khalifah Mosque, and are betaking themselves to the great courtyard in front of the late Shaikh Mubarak's *díwániyah* or reception hall. The time is now a little after sunrise, and there then follows one of the most picturesque and charming ceremonies to be seen in Kuwait.

The shaikh, with the senior members of his family, takes up his post at one end of the Palace courtyard, and every man in the city who holds any position at all, nay for that matter anyone who wishes to do so, great or small, rich or poor, halt or maim, files past and kisses his shaikh on the hand or shoulder. Fully two thousand persons usually file past without delay or fuss. Each as he pays his homage wishes the shaikh *'Id mubárak* (A happy *'Id*), and gets in return the smiling and courtly reply *ayyámkum sa'ida* (May your days be happy). The sight is a remarkable one, and proves as nothing else could how great is the love and devotion of the inhabitants of Kuwait for their Ruler, and for the ruling house of Al Subah.

The ceremony at last finished, it is customary for the West end of the town to call on the East end of the town on the first day of *'Id*, and for the East end to call on the West end on the second day, the dividing line between East and West being the great *Baẓar*. There is therefore a mighty hurrying to and fro among the population—the rich coming by car and the more humble on foot. Callers just enter a man's *díwán* (reception room), wish him the *'Id mubárak*, have a cup of coffee, get sprinkled with rose water, get a whiff of *'udh*, and with a parting *mu'aidin insh 'Allah* dash out again and make for their

next house. Hurry and bustle is the order of the day, and no wonder, for every person has to get through some sixty or seventy calls before the middle of the morning. It is amusing and disconcerting to the Westerner who is used to more leisurely ways of paying his respects, to be hurried out of the house he has just visited almost before he has had time to seat himself and have a cup of coffee, by the owner of the house crying out to his servants *hát tíb* (bring the sweet-smelling wood). That signifies "You are welcome, but it is time to go. Good-bye." I do not suppose I have ever myself stayed more than three minutes in a house—most Arabs cut their visits down to about one minute.

Such is the festive ritual for the menfolk of the city. With the crack of dawn the women and children too are up, washed and dressed in their very best, and flit like happy and gorgeous butterflies from the *háram* entrances of one house to another, bidding all and sundry a happy *'Id.*

The first to be called on is naturally the Ruler's wife, Bibi, who, like the men, receives visitors from early dawn. Then follow calls on the other ladies of the Al Subah, and lastly on the principal women of the town. Speaking generally, the poorer women call on their richer and more fortunate sisters, and there is an even greater going and coming among the lower classes and servant population.

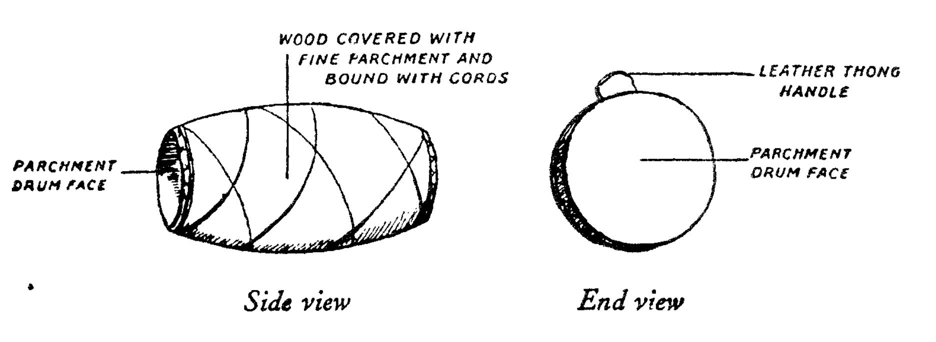
As for the children, like ours at Christmas time, they seem to have the best time of all. Their parents deck the little girls out in all the jewellery they can lay hands on, and dress them in gaily-coloured little frocks, making them look the cleanest and happiest little persons in the world. The small boys likewise are similarly rigged out in new *zibúns*, *kaffiyahs* and *'agáls*, and both boys and girls make eagerly for certain recognised centres in each quarter of the town where swings, roundabouts and crude boxes on even cruder wheels are in motion, or being dragged around by enterprising youths and men who are out to amuse the little ones and make the day a happy one. In place of our single English swings, shallow boxes, large enough to hold seven or eight children at a time, are the most popular and fashionable form of swing, and backwards and forwards they are pushed, to the raucous singing of the swing man and the happy choruses of the radiant children. The delight of the children making high festival in

far-off Kuwait, has always given my wife, my children and myself so much pleasure, that after I have finished my early morning calls, I have always packed the family into my car and gone round from group to group to watch these youngsters at play. The sight always thrills us.

When morning calls and midday meal have been disposed of, the children repair once more to their swings and crazy roundabouts, while the grown-ups, and especially the women (who are allowed extra freedom during the seven days of the *'Id*), move off to the *Safát*, the central open market square of the town, to watch the men perform their sword dances. These are known all over Arabia as *'ardhas*, which loosely translated means "the showings off". They are especially the fashion all over Inner Najd and the towns of the sea-board. In Kuwait three or four *'ardhas* are kept going at the same time at 'Id, the performers being the *Najada* (or Najdis)—the Rashaida tribesmen devoted to the service of the Ruling House, and the Bahar or seafaring population. In general principle the dance is the same, though there are slight variations to please the taste of the different classes of performers.

The signal for the beginning of the *'ardha* is a large Kuwait banner stuck into the ground to collect the people. Near this several men with small drums and tambourines shaped thus:

DRUM



Side view *End view*

start drumming in unison. The drum is beaten by a flat piece of hard wood or bone, while the tambourine is struck by hand.

Presently a crowd collects, and those wanting to take part in the dance, half of them swordsmen and half riflemen, fall in and take up their positions in a wide circle round the flag. Next step into the circle

the singers or chorus, consisting of two rows of up to thirty men apiece, who face each other in line at opposite ends of the ring. Last of all come the powder-men who, as the dance proceeds, have to load old muzzle-loading guns with black powder and fire them off into the ground.

When all is ready, a fire is lit in the centre of the ring to warm the parchment of the drums when it grows slack. Next the two choruses take up their posts and face each other with linked arms, some seventy feet or so apart, and start a sing-song sort of psalm, swaying the bodies deeply from side to side as they sing, but not moving from their places. There is a chorus-leader and director of the singing, who now fussily goes to one group and tells them to chant such and such a verse (composed by himself), and then crosses over to the other chorus and tells it what to answer. This leader varies the chants and answers about every five minutes.

As the deep-voiced chorus gets properly going the sword- and riflemen, some forty or fifty in number as a rule, start marching round and round the circle or ring, using a well-defined slow step, or *pas-seul*, which enables them to keep time with the chanting and beating of the drums. The drummers start off by beating their instruments in the centre of the circle next to the flag, but gradually leave their place and circle round with the swordsmen and gunmen as the excitement waxes high. The latter do not sing or chant in any way, but content themselves with rather monotonously waving their swords and rifles about their heads in slow time, the more expert varying the proceedings by occasionally throwing their weapons into the air and catching them again as they fall.

As the dance proceeds, the powder-play comes into the picture, and at a given pause in the singing the men wielding the old muzzle-loaders suddenly raise the butts of their weapons into the air, point the muzzles of their guns towards the ground, and fire them off amidst a shower of dust and white smoke, as nearly in unison as they can—a ragged volley is the usual result.

Without pausing in their slow march round, the powder-men load again, and some five minutes later repeat their performance. This goes on for some two hours at a time, the performers in the meanwhile being surrounded by a dense crowd of men, and at a respectful

distance away (20 or 30 yards) by a still denser crowd of women all in their holiday garments, but covered with the universally worn black *'abbas* or cloaks, from under which peep flashes of brilliant green, cerise, crimson, scarlet, purple and blue frocks. The few wealthy and more fashionable lasses also wear artificial silk stockings and high-heeled shoes which peep out incongruously from under their long skirts and *'abbas*, but the majority still wear the old-fashioned black slipper, or even go barefooted. All the women are strictly veiled, or if they are tribal girls they adopt the *burqa* or heavy black veil with the almond-shaped eye-holes.

From first to last there is an air of decorum and good behaviour about these *'ardhas*. The men's movements are slow and sinuous and there is no vulgarity of any sort, while the attitude of the watching women is quiet and seemly. The dance is a war-dance, and the men's chants are manly to hear and consist of praises of the Ruler, stories of brave deeds and noble men. As a general rule the drum-beaters are negroes, while the rest of the performers are Arabs of the warrior class.

During the seven days' festival, the women also go in for a good deal of dancing in the privacy of their own houses, and of course with no man present. This private dancing is not to be confused with the performances given by women of easy virtue, who welcome men-onlookers in their houses, located in a part of the town reserved for them.

My wife has visited many of these women's dances both in superior class homes, and among the Rashaida and town Mutair women, and she confirms that they are very graceful affairs, the dancers always being accompanied by other women singing in two parties to give the time. The town-bred women do much of their dance work in a sitting posture, while their tribal sisters go in more for footwork and regular steps. All women dancers let their hair down when performing, and sway their bodies and heads about so that the loose hair swings from side to side in circular motion. The woman with the longest and richest tresses gets the chief praise and invariably takes the prize.

Should the *'Id* season fall in the Spring, when it is cool and there is green grass everywhere, *kashtas* or picnics for women become the order of the day, but not until the first three days of the *'Id* are over.



A SBEI BADAWIN FAMILY ON THE MARCH LEAVING SUBAIHIYAH WELLS



TWO RASHAIDA LASSES UNVEILED AND
READY FOR AN 'ID DANCE

Then crowds of women and children go outside the city walls to the neighbouring wells and green oases one or two miles away, and take their lunch and tea with them. Men do not accompany their women on these picnics, but each party of women has some slave women and a little boy or two to keep an eye on sisters and mothers and to call for help if necessary. These picnics are one of the most pleasing sights of Kuwait, for it means that women literally have left their prison houses, and are enjoying the lovely countryside and pure air outside the town. The picnics are very simple and well-behaved affairs, and those taking part appear to be happy in the extreme. If these picnics take place well away from any beaten tracks, a certain amount of quiet and decorous dancing also goes on. The women form circles, and whilst one of them starts to let down her hair and dance or sway about in sitting posture, her friends will sing pretty songs and keep time for her. Occasionally a woman slave, who has brought out a small drum, contributes a monotonous drum-beating. Should a man or horseman appear in the offing, singing and dancing is stopped and all become as quiet as mice, till he has passed by.

Occasionally, but not often, a few women of the unfortunate type are allowed to go out in a party for a picnic at *'Id*, but they keep well away from their more respectable sisters, and are never allowed to have men in their company. The official idea is that the festival is an equally happy one for them, and they also are entitled to be carefree and joyful.*

'ID AMONG THE TRIBES

The *'Id* in the desert, as in the town, is an occasion of rejoicing, feasting and paying calls. The people, being poorer and more simple, celebrate the festival with less display and expense. Horse races and camel races are held, however, and if men happen to have spare ammunition, they will have shooting matches.

The unmarried tribal girls go in perhaps for more dancing than their town sisters, and before noon and of an evening groups of them will get inside a tent, let down their hair and, after closing the tent

* In 1938 prostitutes were forbidden to leave the city, and even these picnic outings were prohibited.

curtains, will start their picturesque tribal dances. Elderly women and most of the married ones refrain from dancing, as it is considered unseemly, but the young ones revel in it, and more often than not the young lads of the tents who are related to the dancers are allowed to watch the performance from a decorous distance. This offers them the coveted chance of getting a peep at the face of their future bride.

This girl-dancing continues for only seven days, and is then scrupulously discontinued as savouring of immodesty and worldliness.

My wife and I have always made a point of camping for part of the *'Id* celebrations with various of our Badawin friends, and I have been privileged on several occasions to see Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaida girls dance. But this privilege has only been extended to me at *'Id* times, never on other occasions. Curiously enough, the fathers of the young women never like to be present, and only lads closely related to the girls, not outsiders, are allowed to look on from a distance. Usually three girls at a time will dance, and they are accompanied by a sing-song chant of the elder women, who stand around and clap their hands to keep time. The dancers discard their *'abbas* and *burqas* and, decked out in all their brilliantly coloured *thaubs* or long flowing undergarments, hop about in short straight-legged jerks, at the same time gracefully swinging their heads from side to side or in circular motion to make their hair fly. The girls often carry a small cane which they hold with one tip in each hand. If they have no such cane they will cover the lower part of their face with one hand, as if out of modesty, or will hold a piece of their sleeve in front of their mouth. Each girl dances till she is exhausted; when tired she stops, puts her *'abba* over her head once more and sits down. Some are very attractive to watch.

Tribal men do not dance in their own homes at all. It is considered irreligious and unmanly to do so, and savours of the low-class *Sulubba*. This taboo does not apply to the *'ardha* described above, which is a war dance in which the highest in the land may take part. On many occasions the great Bin Sa'ud himself has joined in the dance, and gained thereby the favour rather than the criticism of his people.

The following five songs are given as examples of tribal dance-songs sung by the elder women as the younger ones dance. They are selected at random from many which my wife and I heard and noted

when in camp. I have found them very difficult to translate, for there is a great deal of local patois in the text.

I

SONG OF MUTAIRI WOMEN

(After the surrender by the English of Faisal al Duwish to Bin Sa'ud)

(Each verse is sung four times by the chorus)

Ya galbi illi ghada kharísh
Haddar as sama, hass taiyara.

Taiyáratain shálat Al Duwish
Ma'ad Yirja illa Diyára.

Wa haraima fi atraf al 'Ashish
Wa ukhta a lal hathm Sabára.

Translation.

Oh my heart (expressing fear) you are become mad, for
Under the sky is heard the sound of the aeroplane.

Two aeroplanes have carried off the Duwish,
Never again will he return to his homeland.

His women now sit disconsolate among the huts made of reeds,
While his sister has been driven to break her heart.

II

SONG OF 'AWAZIM WOMEN

(Each verse repeated four times)

Abbé tamanna lét man yirkab al Tiyar
Al mautar al Saiyid la sahburiyah.

Abbé anhab aleh illi nahuda, ma'ai bu Kubár
Wa abbe nahash biha, yam al diyar al Shamaliyah.

Mesir ash shahar yetwi fi tarfit nahár
La-i-gíd alay al taim, wa al khad bariyah.

Natahitni wa lagahni alay-ha ashgar al Nathár
Ghad al gulb hamaitha, a la ra'ad aishfiyah.

An in malaktaher, sirt min hazbat al Tijar
Bassat wa sigat, wa sár lutf al hashiliyah.

Translation.

I hope and long to ride her in a car
In the car of the Saiyid which hoots its horn.

I wish to steal her away, whose breasts are not too large,
And I wish to flee with her to the countries of the North.

What indeed would take a camel a month, can be done in one short day,
I'll make him haste his way, along the desert track.

She stopped me and met me, with her golden hair all loose,
My heart was afire for her, for the tattoo marks on her face.

And were I to possess her now, I'd become one of the merchant class,
Though she beat me and lamed me, happiness would be mine for ever.

III

SONG OF 'AWAZIM WOMEN

(Each verse repeated four times)

A ruz al Assa, wa al bisht, wa aumi rai al rail
Ta'ad al Zaragi, wa zah tadui ma'a hila.

Assa ha taghulla, ma waguf yum a suwat hail,
Hanna waghifiir fil turab, wa asiyah wa mila.

Ana abbé y wasalni illa-l-bait gabal al lail
Abbé ashuf ha min aimmi, wa galbi y raila.

Mita yinzelun al 'Ad ya hayiri al tawil
Sabart ya sabra al Khata, thaat al hila.

Ashiri la tub albini mithl al Nejma al Suhail
Thalatha wa Khamis wa sit saffat mujadilah.

Translation.

I raised my stick and waved my coat to the owner of the car,
He went over the rise a bag full of deceit.

May he be brought to confusion, who did not stop when I hailed him
For I stood in the road, and called and waved my cloak.

I desired him to get me to my house ere night overtook me,
I wished to see with my eyes her whom my heart desired to behold.

When will he return, that tall traveller, for
I have waited a dreadful wait, till I have lost all hope.

My dear one, you are like the star Canopus,
And I will yet unplait three, five, six of your lovely braids.

IV

QASIDAT AL SHURUF*

Al Shuruf wail ich
a la ma fad
Wail ich a la daur ich
al 'ammah

Ya tawal ma Faisal
yem Ra'iyich
Al yum Ra'iyich
ghailama

Hatti Jinnaiya†
a la yemnach
Ta-hahari add
Ibn Lami.

* The famous black camel herd of the Mutair. † A hill in the Summan (Najd).

Translation.

Oh ye Shuruf, woe unto you
for ye failed;
Woe to you, for ye failed
when needed,
For the long-lifed Faisal
was your herdsman;
To-day your herdsman he is
no longer.
Put the hill of Jinnaiya
on your right
And depart ye to
Ibn Lami.

V

'Ajman song celebrating Rakan al Hithlain's return from captivity in Istambul.

(*Shaikh Salim al Hamud*, 10.8.40.)

Ya fátri dhibbi tawárif tamíya
Ilya zimatlich mithl khashm hassáni
Khubbi khabib al Dhíb majar haddíya
Tanáhari birzan zain al Mibámi
Mohámmadan lazmán aláina mijíah
Gabal al sadich wa gabal haiyán wadáni.
Illa guthait al lázam illi alaiya
Al lázim illi ma gatha hidáni.
Agub tănăhar dírat al azujíyah
Illa aman al ras bi zafaráni.
Lait al sabar amen walla dhahiyeh
Walla tawakkad sáhibi wa shiráli.
Umma ghadda Rakan Dhib al sarriya
Willa liffa yishál sáhil hassáni.

NOTE.—The above song was composed to celebrate the return of Rakan al Hithlain, Shaikh of the 'Ajman, from prison in Istambul. He had been there eight years, and the report being current that he had died in captivity, his wife Shagha was taken in marriage by Sultan al Duwish (father of Faisal) head of all the Mutair tribe. The returned exile upbraided Shagha for only waiting seven years and asked why she could not have waited for

him. The distressed Sultan offered to divorce Shagha, but Rakan would not agree to this and himself insisted on putting Shagha away. Shagha had borne Sultan a son, who afterwards became the great Faisal.

It was before the birth of Faisal that Shagha had her famous dream (recounted elsewhere) that she had given birth to a fiery *mish'ab* or camel-stick.

CHAPTER XVII

Arab Greetings

Among the Badawin until quite recently if a man returned your customary greeting of *salám 'alaikum* (peace be upon you) with the reply *'alaikum as salám* (on you be peace), this was equivalent to sealing a peace-pact between him and you, in the same way as if you ate salt with him, or drank a cup of coffee in his tent, and you could call upon him to protect you, just as if you were his tent-neighbour, and had taken refuge with him.

Unfortunately the 'Ikhwan madness described elsewhere largely spoiled these splendid old customs. The ten years from 1920 to 1930 saw the Wahhabi 'Ikhwan movement at its worst, or shall we say at the height of its influence, and during this period the best of Arab customs went by the board, more especially those relating to *dakhála*, *wejh*, the *qasír*, and chivalrous conduct to women. Matters have once more taken a turn for the better, I am glad to say, and with the abatement of the more fanatical forms of 'Ikhwanism, that which is best and chivalrous in Arabia is slowly coming into its own again. The credit of this must be given to H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, though the responsibility for having allowed the 'Ikhwan to get out of hand in the first place must for ever lie at his door.

There are many forms of Arab greeting besides the most commonly used *salám 'alaikum*. For instance, the common Badawin greeting is *al guwa* (*quwa*), meaning "Strength to you", a short form of saying "God give you strength", and the reply is *Allah-i-gauik*, or "May God strengthen you". The ordinary town form of morning greeting is *subahkum 'illa bil khair*. There are a whole series of questions which then follow the greeting formula, such as *shlun kum? shlun al 'aiydl?* (How are you and how are the children?); *kaif hal ak*, *kaif int?* (How are you, how goes it?).

All these questions have their proper answer and they are fired off one after the other.

When a close relation or particular friend has come back from a journey, the congratulatory greeting from his friends is *qarrat 'ainak.* to which the answer is *wejh nabiak* (The face of your prophet).

When my wife and I visit a tent or a house, the greeting generally given us, in reply to our customary salutation, is *haiyak Allah ya Abu Sa'ud* (God grant you life, O father of Sa'ud), the answer is then *Allah-i-haiyikum* (God give you all good life), or it might be *halla ya Abu Sa'ud, kaif hál al Auldd?* (Welcome O father of Sa'ud, how are the children?).

A stranger, on the other hand, should always greet you with a *salám 'alaikum.* If he is coming as a guest to a Badawin camp, the host answers his greeting with the usual *'alaikum as salám* and adds the words *tafadhal*, meaning you are welcome. The answer to *tafadhal* is *dam fadhalak*, but it is not often used.

Among women the same greetings are used as among the men, only there are more questions as to the health of the family, because a woman can ask another woman how her husband is, how her husband's relations are, how her husband's other wives (if he has any) are, whereas among men no mention is made of each other's women, unless the men know each other well. It is then permissible to say *Kaif hal illi warak?* (How are those behind you?).

On *'Id* days the greeting is always *'Id-ak mubárak*, or *'Id 'alaik mubárak* (the latter is more common), to which the answer can be either *ayyám* or *yaum kum sa'ida*, or *asák min al aidín.*

Among intimates, or when greeting a shaikh or big man, the Badawin will always follow his *salám 'alaikum* with a kiss on the nose, or a kiss on both cheeks, the one on the nose being the most common. I have often been much embarrassed with this form of attention from half a dozen men at a time. Shaikh Mutluq al Sur was a particularly awkward customer in this respect.

A Badawin man meeting his sister in the desert or the wife of a great friend, will greet her with a kiss on the head, or a kiss on her cheek through her *burqa*—but he will not do this before strangers. That would be *'aib*, "shameful" or "unseemly".

Two friends meeting in the desert or in the city will hold hands and start firing off a whole string of various forms of salutation at each other, and until they have finished will continue to clasp hands.

It is quite amusing for a European to watch this very formal and apparently meaningless method of saying "How do you do?"

Women, of course, greet women with a kiss, both lifting their veils or *burqas*. Such greetings are correct even in front of men.

The greeting word *marhaba* is not often heard in Eastern Arabia, and only shaikhs and big men use it. A shaikh welcoming another shaikh to his tent will say: *Ahlan wa sahalan*, *ya marhaba*, *ya halla*, *'Allah haihum*, etc., which all means "Welcome, welcome" put in extravagant form.

The word *marhaba* appears to be more common to Syria, Palestine and Egypt—nevertheless it is not infrequently heard round about Kuwait.

A son does not greet his father as he would another man. He must show proper modesty, and especially amongst strangers must take a back seat and appear to obliterate himself in the presence of his parent.

A son must always refer to his father as *al Wálid* (the Begetter), not *Abuyi* (my father). The latter is a town expression with a Christian tang about it, and is therefore despised by the Badawin.

A grown son will address his father as *ya tawal al 'umr* (O thou with long life) if he is forced to do so, or *ya hathrat al Wálid* (O honoured parent).

The father on the other hand, like a shaikh addressing one of his men, will say to his son *ya wuludi* (my son).

A father will call his sons to greet a stranger with the words *ya 'aiyál ta'alu salamu a la fulan* (Come hither, children, and pay respects to So-and-So).

A slave will address his master as *ya Ammi*, and will greet him by kissing his hand.

A master does not greet his slave, but will ask how he is, if he has not seen him for some time.

On the other hand, a father will greet his small sons with effusive affection, and the youngsters will always run to him to be kissed and fondled as if *en famille*, or if the mother sends them to welcome father home from a journey. Girls are not so fondled—they take an inferior place.

In Kuwait and in other towns of Arabia proper a man in the street will not rise to greet a superior. This would be bad manners and

appear as if he desired to attract attention to himself. The rule is that the big man has to salaam first to the small man, a man walking to a sitting man, and a horseman to a man walking or sitting. Then and then only will the polite *'alaikum as salám* be returned. This, I believe, has Qur'anic sanction.

Englishmen coming from India to Arabia invariably misunderstand this custom, and think that people who do not rise and salaam to them are lacking in manners, or wish to be rude, for the opposite custom rules in India, and the poor and lowly there must always rise and greet the big man first.

I have been at pains to point out the custom to many an Englishman coming to Kuwait for the first time, and have tried to explain that what they possibly think is insulting behaviour is really doing him honour and paying respect to his position as a stranger and an important person.

CHAPTER XVIII

The *Haj*, or Pilgrimage to Mecca

The Pilgrimage is naturally an affair of much importance, and great excitement reigns in Kuwait for a month or so before the Haj party sets out. This period is spent in buying camels, getting light, white travelling tents made for pitching quickly each evening or during midday halts as a shelter for women, arranging special litters for women and hiring guides and *rafiqs*.

When the time draws near for the pilgrim party to start, an *Amír al Haj* is appointed, and on the given day the pilgrims set out via Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait, Riqai and Hafar al Bátin.

Well-to-do families usually join the *Haj* party by car at Hafar al Bátin, 150 miles away, and on the return journey are similarly met by relatives who motor them home.

There is great rejoicing when the *Haj* starts from Kuwait, and still greater rejoicing greets its return. A genuine feeling of religious enthusiasm is in the air, and among the elderly pilgrims a subconscious hope that they may die either at their destination, or on the journey thither, for this would gain them much merit. With this object in view it is customary for every man and woman proceeding on pilgrimage to take with him or her a brand new burial garment or shroud.

The single journey is one of 800 miles as the crow flies, and if we include the twists and turns of the route probably falls little short of 1,000 miles. This is no mean feat for any one on camel-back, but it is especially a praiseworthy effort for the town dwellers, and their sheltered womenfolk, who reside in Kuwait city itself. Indeed, it is a marvel how some of these contrive to survive the long desert journey, the unaccustomed hard fare and the poor and often muddy water on the way. The feat is much easier for the Badawin, though his women-

folk, especially if carrying children, often suffer greatly from lack of proper food and rest.

The outward journey usually is done in forty to forty-five days, though forty days is the recognised allowance of time.

H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz of Sa'udi Arabia has decreed that pilgrims proceeding to Mecca by camel pay no *Haj* tax, so in this respect they are well off. His officials, however, make a careful examination of every person's kit at Hafar al Bátin or Zilfi for contraband articles. This exemption from taxation does not apply to the rich Kuwait (or Basra) Arab who prefers to hire a car and do the journey in comparative comfort via Riyadh. In their cases a fee of £3 per car is taken at Jerriya 'Ilya in the Summán and this, with other fees taken at destination and prior to the return journey, amounts to approximately £5 per car.*

During the period that I have been in Kuwait the *Haj* season has fortunately fallen during the cold or comparatively cold season, but when the day comes round that the wretched pilgrim has to do his journey in mid summer, I hesitate to think of the additional hardships he will have to endure.

The Shaikh of Kuwait tells me that once in his youth he had to do the journey in June, and that never in his whole life had he experienced such a hard time, and this in spite of every alleviation and comfort that money could buy.

The normal method of arranging marches in weather that is not too hot (for example in 1936) is for the caravan to start at dawn, continue for four hours, with a ten-minute halt for coffee every three hours, and then to halt somewhere about 10 a.m. for a three-hour rest. The march is then continued for another three hours in the afternoon. If the sun is at all fierce during the midday halt period, then a few light shelter-tents are erected to give shade for the women. At night these light shelter-tents are always erected. For food, the custom is to cook overnight what will be required during the next day. This usually consists of some cooked rice and meat for the better off, and rice and dates for those less fortunate.

* In 1938 a pilgrim travelling by car [six passengers] could do the round journey from Kuwait to Mecca and Madina and back via Qasim and Riyadh on return journey for Rs.400 per head excluding customs and other Arab dues.

Should the weather be hot, as will be the case on the return journey during the present year of grace (1936), then most of the journey is done at night, and rest is taken during the day.

The most difficult period for the town-dweller is at the start of the pilgrimage. Anyone who has ridden a camel for the first time knows what agony of mind and body has to be endured if you have not broken yourself slowly into camel-riding. For at least a week or ten days a man should gradually accustom himself to the saddle and to the motion of the camel, by taking short trips and increasing these gradually till he can stand a 25-mile "trek". The *Haj* party goes in for no such breaking-in, and great is the physical torture that some of the townsfolk endure in the first week of the journey, for from the first distances average 30 miles a day. Pilgrims are invariably in the hands of Badawin guides and escorts, who appreciate none of the town-dweller's feelings, nor know what stiffness means.

On the return of the *Haj*, great is the rejoicing in the town at the safe arrival of relatives, and all those who can afford to do so go out for miles to meet the returning pilgrims. Once a returned pilgrim reaches home again, the neighbours all make a point of paying congratulatory calls. This lasts over a period of ten days or so, and there is much entertaining and counter-entertaining of the returned wanderer.

A pretty feature of this return of the *Haj* is that every person back from Mecca will have brought some small present for friends at home, purchased in the Holy City or *Bait Allah* (House of God).

This custom is universal and the poorest pilgrim will bring back his modest little gifts for all his home friends and relations. A favourite gift is a bottle of Zam Zam well-water from the famous spring of Zam Zam situate in the Great Háram, or mosque itself.

NOTES ON THE HAJ CEREMONY

(Given by H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait to the writer on 8th January, 1941)

For the sake of the uninitiated, the "sacred precincts of Mecca" consist of a large area round Mecca which is encircled by a series of boundary pillars set up at a distance of approximately three marches

from the city. Wherever roads converging on the city reach this boundary line, special posts have been set up (during the Haj season only, of course) for pilgrims to halt, purify themselves and change into their pilgrim-garments.

The actual order in which the various ceremonies have to be carried out by the Háji or pilgrim is, of course, well known, but again for the uninitiated they may be summarised as follows:

Let us assume that the Háji is coming by camel from the East. On arriving at the sacred precincts of Holy Mecca he pitches his tent in the dry river bed called *Al Batha* (three marches from the city). This is the official post where he must halt and perform the necessary purificatory ablutions. Having washed, etc., from water which he will find just under the sandy surface of the dry river bed, the Háji puts on his *ihrám* garments (men white, women green). These special garments he retains until the day of the great sacrifice on the tenth day of *Dhul Hijjah.*

Well-to-do pilgrims may nowadays, of course, arrive in motor cars. They do their ablution ceremonies also on the border of the sacred precincts of Mecca, but at a place called *Al Maghassal* (I am again assuming that the pilgrim is coming from the East).

The Háji now moves forward towards Mecca with bare head and bare feet, and on arrival camps with or without his family in a special place allotted to him if he has come by camel. The better off, or car owners, occupy a hostel or private house.

As soon as possible after arrival, the pilgrim, accompanied by a special guide (*mutawwif*), whose business is to show him round and explain all that he has to do and say by way of prayers and ceremonial, etc., walks round the outside of the Great Mosque, known as the House of God, the *Bait Allah.*

Next he enters the Mosque, circumambulates the *Ká'bah* seven times, and kisses the black stone which is guarded by several men whose business is to see that there is no crowding and everyone gets a chance. The black stone, as the world knows, is built into the outside wall of the *Ká'bah* about the height of a man. The Háji next runs between the hills Safa and Marwa, and attends to other ceremonials such as visiting the place of Abraham and drinking the water of Zam Zam, etc.

Should the pilgrim have arrived two or three days before his time, he can do the above each day if he likes, it all counts for merit.

On the eighth day of Dhul Hijjah, the pilgrim proceeds to Muna, some 10 miles out of Mecca and camps there. He is still wearing his *ihrám.*

On the ninth morning early, leaving half his camp equipage behind him, the pilgrim proceeds to Mount Arafat, a low conical hill some 8 miles still further on. Here he has an early lunch, etc., and at 8 o'clock Arabic time, bears witness before the mountain, sitting in attitude of supplication, on his camel, and having all his light baggage with him. This ceremony goes on till sunset (12 o'clock Arabic).

As soon as the sun has gone down there is a general rush to get back to Muna, near which is the "place of stoning", and the pilgrim again camps for the night. (He usually gets there about 9 p.m.)

On the tenth morning early he proceeds to the "place of stoning" and casts seven small stones at the "Great Devil", which with the "Middle Pillar" and "Little One" (*'aiyál al Iblís*) are enclosed with a small wall.

Then he performs the Great Sacrifice (sheep, camel, goat or bullock), and again camps for the night.

The second morning he stones the "Middle Pillar", and likewise the "Little Pillar" on the third morning. It is incumbent on him to spend these last three nights at Muna. (He can if he likes during this period, and especially if he has a car, go into Mecca and circumambulate the *Ká'bah*, but he must come out again.)

The Pilgrimage proper is now over, and the Háji removes his *ihrám* garments, washes and shaves, and puts on his ordinary clothes which must be clean and new, and returns to Mecca, preparatory to going to Madina, if he has not already done so on the upward journey.

It is important to realise that the "Bearing of witness" ceremony at Arafat is *the important* and chief ceremony necessary for the pilgrim, and actually is the one thing above all others that counts. The Great Sacrifice of sheep, etc., signifies that the Haj is over and all may rejoice and go home. This day is what is known as the 'Id al 'Adha.

During the "bearing witness" ceremony a Badawin if he likes

may wear his bandolier over his *ihrám* garments, but ordinary clothes, headgear, rifle, light luggage, etc., must be carried packed away in his saddle bags. (Mubarak bin Naif, 24th April, 1939.)

From the 1st of Dhul Hijjah to the 10th of the same month no pilgrim is allowed to cut his or her hair, or pare his or her nails, etc. After the Feast of Sacrifice is over, he washes, shaves his head, cuts his finger and toe nails and resumes his ordinary garments. The Badawin man usually cuts off the tips of his two *qurun* (side plaits) by rolling the ends three times round his finger, and cutting that much off. A Badawin woman cuts off the ends of her locks exactly like her men folk. The Badawin man also cuts off a small lock from his forehead.

The visiting of Madina is not incumbent on the pilgrim but is considered *sunna* or meritorious. This can be done before or after the Haj.

Should accident or sickness prevent the "bearing of witness" ceremony, when all else has been done, then the whole Pilgrimage is null and void, for it is again emphasised that the "bearing of witness" is the whole essence of the Haj. The ceremony must be performed on the ninth day of Dhul Hijjah with the multitude.

It is not lawful for a woman during her menstrual period to do the Haj. She is then considered unclean, and no amount of purification ceremonial will make her otherwise. This naturally results in cases of great disappointment.

Normally every pilgrim enters the *Bait Allah* precincts and circumambulates the *Ká'bah* before the Arafat ceremony, but he may do this after the "bearing of witness" and from Muna, if he has the time. He should, however, try and make a final circumambulation after returning from Muna and before leaving Mecca.

NOTE.—According to Muslims the well of Zam Zam is the same water which was miraculously provided by God for Hagar when she was dying of thirst. The hillocks Safa and Marwa are the same between which Hagar ran about in despair when distracted at the thought that her child Ishmael was about to perish in the wilderness. Both sites lie within the precincts of Holy Mecca to-day.

NOTE ON THE 'ID AL 'ADHA (HAJ) OR, FEAST OF THE SACRIFICE

This feast is held annually throughout the Muslim world to commemorate Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac his son, or, as the Muslims believe, Ishmael, on Mount Arafat.

It is a feast of sacrifice *par excellence*, and in addition to it being a time for almsgiving and rejoicing, special prayers are held in public and sermons are delivered to vast assemblies in the open air, while most important of all, every Muslim has to sacrifice a sheep or camel on the morning of the 'Id, if he can afford to do so. The above sacrifice is carried out by every pilgrim to Mecca and even by proxy on behalf of those who cannot attend in person, in the plain of Muna, near Mecca, as the climax to the great pilgrimage.

The *Haj* (pilgrimage) to Mecca, of which the 'Id al 'Adha is the culminating point, is incumbent on every free Muslim, male or female, who is of age and has sufficient means for the journey. It is not only one of the pillars of the religion of Islam, but it has proved one of the strongest bonds of union, and has always exercised a tremendous influence as a missionary agency. As a great magnet to draw the Muslim world together with an annual and ever-widening *esprit de corps*, the Mecca Pilgrimage is without rival.

The ceremonies which the pilgrim to Mecca has to perform are in brief as follows:

(*a*) On arrival at the sacred precincts of Mecca, indicated by boundary pillars, he dons the "Ihrám" (special pilgrim garments), and after performing the legal ablutions, and with uncovered head, he visits the sacred mosque and kisses the black stone of Ká'bah situated in the central courtyard.

(*b*) He then walks round the Ká'bah seven times, thrice rapidly and four times slowly.

(*c*) Next he offers up a special prayer—"O Allah, Lord of the Ancient House, free my neck from hell-fire and preserve me from every evil deed, make me contented with the daily food Thou givest me, and bless me in all Thou hast granted."

(*d*) At the "Place of Abraham" (also in the great Mosque) he again prays.

(*e*) He drinks water from the sacred well of Zam Zam (the spring

which saved Hagar in the wilderness), and again kisses the Black Stone.

(*f*) He now leaves the great Mosque and runs and walks seven times between the adjacent hills of Safa and Marwa which lie just outside the Mosque precincts.

(*g*) Finally he visits Mount Arafat, a few miles from Mecca, and at the latter place in company with countless thousands of pilgrims, "bears witness".

(*h*) On his return he stops at Muna and stones three pillars of masonry, known as the "Great Devil", the Middle Pillar and the Little One, with seven small pebbles each.

(*i*) Finally there is the great climax of sacrifice in the plain of Muna mentioned above, and the pilgrimage is over.

NOTE.—(1) The visit of Arafat takes place on the 8th day of the Islamic month of Dhul Hijjah, and the pilgrim camps there; on the morning of the 9th he "bears witness", and goes to Muna, arriving there by night. He sleeps at Muna. On the morning of the 10th, the pilgrim sacrifices. This is 'Id al 'Adha. In the afternoon he stones the three pillars mentioned above. He stays two more nights and returns to Mecca.

(2) The 'Ihrâm garment for men is of white material, for women green.

(3) During the final stages of the pilgrimage, the Háji shaves his hair, cuts fingernails, etc., and goes about with bare head. The Badawin as a rule only cuts off the tips of his two locks (*qurun*).

CHAPTER XIX

Prostitution

As I have elsewhere stated, there is, as far as I have been able to find out, no prostitution among the women of the desert. There may occasionally occur a rare case of clandestine intrigue, but professional prostitutes do not exist.

In the larger towns of Arabia on the other hand, especially in such cosmopolitan cities as Jiddah, Mecca, Madina, Basra, as well as the seaport towns of Kuwait, Bahrain and Mascat, a good many prostitutes are to be found. They are recognised as a necessary evil, and their presence is said to ensure the safety of nice women in decent homes who may have business in the streets or in the bazaars. They are looked upon as a sort of safety valve for the youth of the town. This does not mean that prostitutes are allowed to move about at will in the streets. This is not so. They are very carefully watched by officials whose duty is the care of the city's morals, and are nearly always segregated in certain unfrequented or lonely streets at the back of the town. In Kuwait the prostitute quarter is in the southern and south-westerly part of the town, facing the desert, and of course it is only talked about with bated breath.

It is not easy to discover where the professional prostitute originates from, or how she starts her life in a place like Kuwait. One must assume that these women are largely orphans and without relatives in the first place, or have been secretly imported or—and this I think is the commonest source—that they are the daughters of prostitutes and have grown up in the trade. Only the fact that the prostitutes have no known male relatives makes it safe for them to ply their trade, otherwise in a country where men kill their women without compunction if they "go wrong", there would be no chance of an unfortunate woman escaping her family's vengeance. There are, of course, cases where a young girl has surreptitiously left her parents' home, and paid visits to the prostitute's quarter for purposes of

making a little money, and has eventually disappeared, and hidden herself in the prostitute quarter, but such cases are very rare.

Decent women of the town look upon their less fortunate sisters with disgust, of course, but recognise their existence, and on occasions when the latter are allowed to come out of their houses on purpose to dance and entertain (as at feasts of circumcision), the hostesses will look after them, and give them refreshments, much as people treat nautch-girls in India. It must always be remembered that in the East dancers, singers and actresses are from ancient times considered to be in the same category as professional prostitutes—or next door to it, and are tolerated as necessary parasites of society.

As a class, these unfortunate women are known under such names as:

Banát al Háwa—Daughters of Love.
Fainnát (singular: *faina*).
Fawáhish (singular: *fáhasha*).
Banát al Harám—Daughters of Sin.
Qaháb (singular: *qahba*).

Hence a common expression of opprobrium often heard among women slinging mud at each other is the term *gahba* (*qahba*). *Ya gahba, ya bint al harám* (You slut, you daughter of Sin).

A procureur is known as a *qawwád* (*gawwád*), and most prostitutes keep such a person on the premises to bring them custom. This word is perhaps the lowest form of abuse that one man can use to another in Arabia, and is bitterly resented. Were a man of good family to be called a *qawwád* by another, there would immediately follow "shooting" as they say in America.

Curiously enough, the word, which is a town word pure and simple (and never heard among the Badawin) is frequently used by women, and nice women too, when addressing their boy babies of a few months old. In their case it is used entirely as a term of endearment.

Arab prostitutes as a class are generous and kind, and are the world's worst savers where money is concerned. Only the very exceptional few ever retire in ease and affluence. In places like Iraq, Syria and Egypt, they would seem to keep their heads better, but in Kuwait, which I am particularly discussing now, things are not so. Their generosity towards each other is proverbial, and they are

frequently very good to young unmarried lads who are out of work and unable to get a living. I have known of a youth, residing with a prostitute, and being fed and clothed by her for months, simply out of a spirit of friendship and affection. No money passed from him to her.

As mentioned elsewhere, a feature of prostitute life in Kuwait is the offering of their services *free* as singers and dancers, and especially at feasts of circumcision.

Prostitutes are not, of course, allowed to wander about the streets and accost men. This would never be tolerated in a well-conducted city like Kuwait. Such a thing would gravely offend against the moral code. It should be remembered that the Arab is, above all men, a believer in preserving appearances, and not washing dirty linen in public.

To attract custom, therefore, the professional *fille de joie* keeps male and female servants to "procure" for her. The latter are nearly always negresses who have ways and means of visiting houses and meeting young men. Male servants usually stay at home, buy provisions, act as doorkeepers and assist in expelling undesirable or disorderly guests.

These negress procurers are often a real menace to society, and act as messengers and go-betweens between gay young men and nice girls, with whom they think there is a chance of doing business. The plan is for the negress to entice the unsuspecting girl to an undesirable house on the plea that such and such a youth is "dying of love for her", and would just like "one word" and "just one sight of her", etc. "He is terribly rich and will do anything for just one smile from you", she says. Succumbing to the voice of the temptress brings a tragic aftermath. The desire for money, love of adventure, curiosity and instability of character, which are so charmingly and strongly developed among the Arab women, all tend to render them an easy prey.

CHAPTER XX

Seasons and Winds in Kuwait

The four main seasons of the year are known in Kuwait as elsewhere in the Arab world as follows:

Rabi' (pronounced *rabia*)—Spring. Lasts ninety days and corresponds with our February, March and April.
Saif—Summer. Lasts ninety days, and corresponds with our May, June and July.
Kharif—Autumn. Lasts ninety days and corresponds with our August, September and October.
Shita—Winter. Lasts ninety days, and corresponds with our November, December and January.

The hottest part of the summer is known as *Qaidh* (pronounced *Gaidh*), example *shiddat al gaidh.*

The rainy season in Kuwait and Najd is known as *al Wasm.* This is calculated to start fifty days after the appearance of *Suhail* (Canopus), which officially rises on the 1st September of each year (see *Cairo Almanack*, etc.), though it is never seen before the 7th September in Kuwait.

Idha shahar al Suhail, talammas al tamar bil lail (when Canopus first sparkles, the dates may be picked by night), i.e. the dates are then all perfectly ripe.

The Equinox is locally calculated by the ripening of the *kanar*, or fruit of the sidr tree (Zizyphus Spina. Christi Willd.). *Idha istawa al kanar, tawasa al lail bil nahar* (when the *kanars* are ripe, days and nights are equal. Arab saying).

The hot weather season is divided into thirteen-day periods, each connected with the rising of some constellation. For instance, after *rabia* follows *al saif* or early summer, with the rising of the *Thuraiya* (Pleiades). Then in order comes the first *Jauza*, second *Jauza*, *Mirzim*, *Kulaibain* and last of all *Suhail* (Canopus).

Thirteen days later begins the season known as *Safari* (pronounced

sfiri), which is either synonymous with the period just before the autumn rains, or a transition between *qaidh* (late summer) which lasts from *mirzim* to *suhail*, and the *wasm* or *kharif* season.

In Kuwait the *kulaibain* period, known locally as *chulaibain*, falls in August and is definitely the hottest part of summer It is accompanied by either dead calm or a very damp killing wind from the south-east (*kaus*).

The rise of *Suhail* (Canopus) means, to the Arab of Arabia, the end of summer. In Kuwait if the sky is clear Canopus is first seen due south on the 7th September, and at about 3 a.m.

It makes a small arc very low down across the sky and sinks again. Great is the rejoicing when *Suhail* is seen, and mutual congratulations are the order of the day. (I have seen it at varying periods between the 7th and 25th September each year during my sojourn in Kuwait.) *Suhail* is always said to be visible in Najd ten days before it is seen in Kuwait.

NAMES OF VARIOUS KINDS OF WINDS, ETC.

Speaking generally, there are two main types of winds at Kuwait, and for that matter in the Persian Gulf as a whole—the *Shamál* and the *Kaus*.

The former is a north-west wind, and the latter a south-east wind which blows straight up the Persian Gulf. In summer the *shamál* literally is a "life giver", being dry and cool for the most part, while the *kaus* is in truth the "death dealer", for it is damp and heavily laden with moisture, and besides causing a feeling of intense mental and bodily lassitude, it has the effect of making one perspire profusely and so brings on the dread prickly heat.

In winter, as might be expected, the *shamál* can be as icy cold as the coldest of European winds, and causes great suffering among camels and the Badawin generally, while the *kaus* brings warmth and comfort. Taking all things into consideration the *shamál* is far preferred to the *kaus*, which can be likened to the Sirocco of the people of Italy and the south of France, only very much worse.

The *shamál* and the *kaus* are felt as far inland as Riyadh, the capital of Sa'udi Arabia, and are known under these names from Basra to Oman.

As is natural in a place like Kuwait and the Persian Gulf, where there is a great seafaring population, much careful attention is given to the study of certain winds at certain times. These are given below according as the various seasons come round.

PREVAILING WINDS IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

Approximate Period.	*Name of Wind.*	*Remarks.*
2nd Jan. to 7th Feb.	*Butain*	This usually starts with a *shamál*, and then changes to a west wind, and so continues.
26th Feb. to 8th Mar.	*Ajúzah*	"The old woman." A very strong *shamál* lasting for at least five days. Sometimes it suddenly veers round to *kaus*.
15th Mar. to 10th Apr.	*Suhaili*	A steady burning hot wind from the south and desert—early summer is now said to start.
15th Apr. to 27th May	*Bárih al Thuraiya* or *Bárih al Saráyát*	This usually starts with a violent *shamál*, but changes frequently and suddenly. Normally not very strong. Mariners do not go to sea. The *Thuraiya* or *Pleiades* are said to be hungering to destroy poor sailors at this season.
9th June to 16th July	*Bárih al Jauza* or *Bárih al Kabír*	There is a strong *shamál* during most of this period. It is said to blow on and off for forty days, and is sometimes called *al Arb'ayin* or "The forty days' wind". Europeans mistakenly call it "The *shamál*".
16th July to 30th July	*Mirzim*	A *kaus* or damp south-east wind blows. A very trying period.
1st Aug. to 20th Aug.	*Kulaibain*	Usually pronounced *Chulaibain*—"the two dogs". There is usually a dead calm, or if not a terribly damp *kaus*. Normally the hottest and worst period of the year.
Between 1st Sept. and 25th Sept.	*Canopus* rises in Kuwait*	Called *Suhail* in Arabic. According to the Arab, when the star is seen the hot weather is at an end. It is a curious fact that with the rise of the *Suhail*, even though the thermometer still shows high temperatures, the "quality" of the heat seems to change. Everything is easier to bear, and water if left out at night is cold by morning. Thirst is no longer so acute.

* According to the Shaikh of Kuwait it actually appears on 1st September each year, but owing to dust and mist it is rarely seen till some days after.

Approximate Period.	*Name of Wind.*	*Remarks.*
1st Oct. to 3rd Nov.	The *Wasm* season sets in	This is the rainy season. The period is very changeable and usually starts with a strong *kaus* (S.E. wind), which veers round to a west or N.W. wind. If rain falls in the desert, as it often does, the Badawin break camp at once, leave the wells on which they have summered, and go out into the deep desert. Truffles and mushrooms are sure to follow if *wasm* rains fall.
3rd Nov. to 23rd Nov.	*'Uhaimir*	A predominantly *kaus* wind. Sailing vessels rarely start on a long voyage in November as the *'uhaimir* season is considered dangerous to mariners and shipping, and it is difficult to make progress down the Gulf.
23rd Nov. to 1st Jan.	*Marba'aniyah*	Starts with a very strong *shamál* and goes round to the west in the early morning and finishes to the east in the afternoon.

Names given to the daily winds of Kuwait according to the point of the compass they blow from.

Yáhi—North wind.
Shamál—N.W. wind.
Shámi—N.W. by West wind.
Gharbi—West wind.
Jibli—S.W. wind.
Suhaili—South wind.
Kaus—S.E. wind.
Sharqi or *Mutla'i*—East wind.
Náshi—N.E. by East wind.

SUMMER

The terrible summer, or hot weather, season dreaded by man and beast both in Kuwait and in the desert, may be said to start roughly on 1st May and to end on 30th September. The Badawin does not immediately camp on water on the 1st of May, but on that date he gradually starts moving towards his previously-selected summer camping grounds, usually the wells on which he is going to pitch his tent during the hot months. If the spring has been a good one with

plenty of grazing, he postpones this final move as late as possible, but if the reverse, then the 20th May may see him settled down for his enforced five months of idleness and physical discomfort.

As far as North-Eastern Arabia is concerned the following are the great Badawin camping grounds from north to south:

(*a*) *Safwan*—immediately north of Kuwait Border, in Iraq territory.
(*b*) *Jahrah*—at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.
(*c*) *Kuwait*—(Shamiyah and Dasma wells) outside the walls of Kuwait.
(*d*) *Subaihiyah*—on the southern border of Kuwait.
(*e*) *Tawil*—S.W. of Jabal Wara and 10 miles N.W. of Subaihiyah in Kuwait.
(*f*) *Wafra*—in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.
(*g*) *'Ark*—on the southern border of Neutral Zone.
(*h*) *Jeriyah Ilya*, *Jeriyah Sifli*, *Safa*, *Haba*, *Qara'a*—in the Mutair Summan country 170 miles S.S.W. of Kuwait (Sa'udi Arabia).
(*i*) *Hafar al Bátin*—in the Bátin Valley (Sa'udi Arabia) 150 miles S.W. of Kuwait.
(*j*) *'Ajibba*—in the Harb tribal country, S.W. of the Mutair Summan (Sa'udi Arabia).
(*k*) *Ingair*, *'Nta*, *Awaina*, *Sarrar*—in mid Hasa, Wadi al Miyah region (Sa'udi Arabia).
(*l*) *Qatif*, *Hufuf*—in South Hasa (Sa'udi Arabia).

There is also the well-known camping quadrilateral in the Iraq Neutral Zone lying 140 miles west of Kuwait, known under the general term of *Tawal al Dhafir*, and consisting of several well-areas such as Dulaimiyah, Arkhaimiyah, Julaida, Al Thamiriyah, etc.

By tribal law each of the above wells belongs to a different tribe or section of tribe, and strangers can theoretically be kept away from them. Actually under the strong rule of the Al Sa'ud and the Al Subah, other tribes or parts of tribes are to-day allowed to make use of them, provided there is no overcrowding and there is no enmity between the actual owners of the water and the strangers. It goes without saying that should a tribe of a foreign State camp for summer

on such wells, then it will have to pay *zakát* for that year to the Central Government in whose state it is a guest.

The first signs of the coming summer are the drying up of all desert grasses (*'ashib*), the mirage—which now flickers everywhere and seems to fill every small depression in the countryside with a little lake of water—and the sandstorms. The glare also becomes intense and makes the desert-dweller fold his *kaffiyah* or head-cloth across his face. The winds are hot as though driven out of a great furnace by some gigantic bellows. The traveller now finds himself mistaking bushes and animals for distant tents and men, especially at midday and as night draws near.

Men and animals now want to drink more often, so of necessity tents are brought closer to water.

The women in their *biyút sha'ar* (hair tents) also feel the effects of the sun and erect false roofs of saffron or other coloured rugs above their heads inside their tents, to keep out the stinging rays.

Both men and women grow palpably thinner, while all develop a much deeper tan than during the winter.

The most unpleasant feature of this half-season period is the sandstorm. These storms grow more and more frequent and vicious until by June the countryside seems to have taken on a permanent canopy of sand-haze which lodges in nostrils, eyes and throat. Alternating with these sandstorms come gentle south-east winds, or dead calms which bring up heavy dews in their train. These too are most trying.

By the 5th June the desert world, which has slowly been converging on the well-areas, now definitely goes to ground and camps on water. If these well-areas are popular, several thousand tents will congregate close together and as near to the well-heads as possible—the tents of the shaikhs and prominent men standing out of the general mass by reason of their size and the number of their poles.

At Jahrah in 1935, for instance, when Kuwait tribes as well as Dhafir, Shammar (Abda), Dahamsha ('Anizah) and 'Ajman details were camped there, the sight was a remarkable one, for well over three thousand black hair-tents were congregated in an area only 1 mile square.

About 10th June, if the year is a normal one, North-East Arabia and especially the Persian Gulf seaboard is visited by what is known as

the *bárih* wind. This is supposed to blow till about 16th July on and off (forty days), but rarely does so in fact for more than thirty days. This wind blows from the north-west, is dry and is known locally as the "life giver". It gives the unwary false hopes about the coming heat, and makes the stranger think the summer is not nearly so bad as it is painted. Scorching dust storm after dust storm accompany this wind, each varying in intensity and unpleasantness, until the desert and town of Kuwait take on a dirty, woeful appearance, while gasping men and women appear never to have known a wash.

Between the 20th May and the 10th June there is considerable excitement on the water-front in Kuwait town, as at this period the pearl boats set out for the *ghaus* or annual diving season. Despite dust storms, heat and general unpleasantness, therefore, owners will be seen oiling, cleaning and launching their pearl-boats, fitting them out, and assembling the crews. A hum of excitement reigns, and by night and day, shouting and chanting are heard as boats are launched and taken to deep water.

Not only does the greater part of the seafaring population of Kuwait take part in these dives, but many 'Awazim, 'Ajman and Mutair Badawin come in from the summer camps in the interior to try their luck in the annual pearl season lottery. (See Chapter XXXVIII.)

An additional excitement about this time is the return, after a seven months' absence, of the great overseas trading dhows from such distant places as Zanzibar, Hodeida and the West Coast of India, to their port of registration in Kuwait. Forty or fifty of these *baghalas*, *búms*, *kutíyahs* and *dangiyahs*, arrive laden with spices, wood, etc., and lie up pending the date-export season from the Shatt al 'Arab in October and November, when once again they will be fitted out to carry dates to East African and Indian ports.

After the 16th of July the scorching desert winds and dust storms give place to gentle winds which start blowing up from the Persian Gulf. These are heavily charged with moisture, and though temperatures now fall to 100° F. and below, the discomfort is worse than if the temperature stood at 120° and the air were dry. The period is very trying to man and beast. This is the *mirzim* season.

August, the most difficult and hottest month of all, now follows. It is known as the "Two Dogs" (*kulaibain*) and is a period of dead

calm, with heavy dew by day and night. It is a long weary month for men and women, now at the end of their tether and incapable of standing much more. Night and day you perspire heavily and continuously, and only a minimum of clothes can be endured. The sea temperature rises high by day, and during the night the thermometer registers anything from 85° F. to 90° F. Bathing is a warm water bath, and prickly heat attacks everyone.

The Badawin in particular feel this damp heat which seems to penetrate their very bones, and brings out ailments of every description. The whole local world now longs and prays for the rise of *Suhail*, that tantalising twinkling star known to the West as Canopus, whose coming always brings relief. So powerful is this longing that after the 25th of August men get up hours before dawn to see if they can get a glimpse of that blessed constellation. At long last comes hope, usually in the shape of a camel courier from Najd. He brings the joyful news that ten days previously *Suhail* was seen in high Qasim. It must therefore be seen any moment now in Kuwait. Watch is redoubled and the keenest-eyed Rashaida hunters are set to search the southern skies about 3 a.m. at Jahrah and Subaihiyah, for there it is less misty than at Kuwait. At long last the star appears. Like wild fire the news is rushed into Kuwait, and spread abroad among the Badawin. The cry is raised: "*Suhail* has been seen, *Suhail* has been seen by so-and-so, thanks be to Allah, the Merciful. Summer is at an end, *al qaidh* is over."

Great is the rejoicing, and the Arab, being properly brought up to the belief that immediate relief follows, actually begins to feel cooler, though the European perceives but little change. The Arab's conviction is that the inside of a man's body now gets cooler, and so thirst is no longer painful, while water left out at night gets cool by dawn, whereas before it remained hot through the night.

By the 25th September the whole world can see and enjoy Canopus, and 15th October ushers in the joyous *wasm* or rainy season, when the first clouds for six months are seen once more.

Anyone who has experienced an Arabian summer on the borders of the Persian Gulf, and has lived with the Badawin during that haunting period, will appreciate the immense relief that comes with the advent of the rains.

THE RAINS

The rains may arrive any time between the 1st October and 3rd November, and usually set in with a series of thunderstorms. Great and wild is the rejoicing when Kuwait first perceives, borne strongly on the breeze, the smell of the first rain on parched-up sand. I have described in Chapter III the scene of excitement when men, women and children rush out into the rain and collect the precious water into every possible utensil. Camels groan extra loud to testify their pleasure, and sheep set up a pandemonium of baa-ing. The city folk, normally dependent for their water on the Shatt al 'Arab, 100 miles away, act like their Badawin brethren, and endeavour to catch into every form of utensil the water running off their house-tops.

An annual visitor now makes its appearance in the desert. This is the *bint al muttar* (Daughter of Rain), a small plump-bodied spider, brilliantly scarlet in colour and with a body like velvet. It appears apparently from nowhere as soon as the first rain has wet the ground.

The next arrivals in Kuwait are old Badawin men bearing sprigs of green grass which they have brought to show their beloved Shaikh, with congratulations such as, "*ya tawal al 'umr* (O thou with long life) God has given good rain at So-and-So, there has been *sail* (the expression used to convey that water-channels have flowed), and so many hand-widths of rain have fallen (meaning the depth into the soil which the rain has penetrated), we come to show you the green grass (*'ashib*) that has come up". As bringers of good news they get, of course, suitable presents.

This is followed by other news brought in from various parts that *khabras* (lakelets) have formed at So-and-So, and will last for so many days.

Last of all comes news that the *hubara* or lesser bustard have made their appearance. From the shaikh downwards, out go all lovers of the chase, and hundreds of birds are brought into the town and to the various Badawin encampments as food. They are assuredly an additional gift of God.

If rain falls in October, truffles and mushrooms, great delicacies to every Badawin, appear in the following spring, and form the staple food of the tent-dweller and his family for weeks on end. Truffles

with *hubara* are verily, like the manna of old, Allah's reward to those who have endured the summer heat.

On the *wasm* rains follow the new green shoots, and almost in a matter of hours, the yellow desert takes on a pale green hue. This rapidly develops till the advent of the December cold winds, when further growth is retarded until February and March. Then and only then does everything rush up into bloom, and flowers begin to cover the whole countryside. Nevertheless, the grass of October and November comes up sufficiently high to allow sheep to graze on it, though not without difficulty. This for the moment is all the Badawin asks.

WINTER

The period between the October rains and spring proper is known as *shita*, and lasts from about 15th November to the 15th of February. The cold now becomes intense, and the north-west winds cut to the marrow. Badawin men and women who can afford it go about in woollen top-boots. Similarly *farwahs* (fur-lined coats) are worn by the well-to-do from the shaikh downwards. The poor Badawin has a bad time, however, for his body, inured to the recent great heat of summer, can ill adjust itself to the biting cold. His threadbare summer cloak is all he has, and he therefore feels the cold even more than he did the heat.

To the European the cold of the Arabian winter and especially of the hinterland acts as a wonderful tonic. The desert air has a champagne effect about it, and nights in the desert are glorious experiences. As January draws nigh a series of frosts occur, usually about ten in number. At night the temperature in the hinterland drops to 29° F. and under, and water-skins freeze solid: an almost unbelievable change from the all too recent summer. If a north-west wind blows it can be very cold indeed on these frosty nights and nothing but an all-night fire will keep the sleeper alive.

I have visited the Karakoram and the Pamirs in my time, and have spent two winters at Gilgit, yet the cold of the Arabian desert seems to surpass anything I ever felt in those high altitudes. The explanation no doubt is that the Arabian summer saps a man's strength and leaves him ill prepared to fight such intense cold.



SHAIKH RIDDAN AL SÚR OF THE MUTAIR
(A notable 'Ikhwan leader)



JUNAIFIR BIN HAWAILA OF THE 'AJMÁN

SPRING

Spring (*rabi'*) comes at last about 15th February, and if rains have been good, a truly marvellous spring it is. Wild flowers come up in profusion everywhere, and the countryside becomes a multi-coloured carpet. The Badawin is now in as near heaven as he can ever hope to be in this world. His camels and sheep graze in plenty, milk and *leben* are abundant, the sun's warm rays give new life to him, he grows fat and the whole world is rosy. It is then that the well-to-do from Kuwait, some one hundred families, imitate their nomad brethren and make for the high desert to enjoy four months of that Badawin existence which they have so recently abandoned. Back to the happy desert life and black hair-tents once more! Men, women and children, from the shaikh downwards, take part in this spring migration from the city, and what health and strength it brings them! Poorer town-Arabs as yet only half urbanised do their utmost to get out too, and if they cannot afford tents they plant themselves on kinsmen among the great Mutair, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes. By the end of spring everybody in the desert has got a new lease of life. They look definitely healthy, with rounded cheeks and well-covered body, a change indeed from their appearance at the end of summer.

Camels develop an enlarged hump, sheep an enormously fat tail and man lots of extra flesh, all a reserve of strength against the dreaded summer.

The Badawin will tell you that he prefers the summer, because he has no warm clothes or good food to keep him comfortable in the winter months. Yet were it not for the cold winter, his race would assuredly die out. It is the winter that keeps the inhabitant of Arabia the virile, tough and wiry person that he is. Had he a temperate instead of a torrid summer, his race would certainly be one of the finest in the world: and dangerous in proportion.

CHAPTER XXI

Sandstorms

Sandstorms are one of the most unpleasant features of desert life. I have known some really bad ones during my twenty-four years' experience of the Euphrates, the Iraq Southern Desert, Bahrain, Hasa and the Kuwait hinterland. Kuwait in particular seems a prey to sandstorms, and during the summer they come straight down from the Euphrates valley, and sometimes last for days and nights at a time. There is a saying in Kuwait that a sandstorm will last for either three, seven or fourteen days. Nothing is so grim as a sandstorm in Kuwait town during midsummer, when the shade temperature is anything up to 120° F. The burning fiery wind seems to scorch the very eyeballs. Everything has to be kept hermetically sealed up, doors, windows, cupboards, food, etc., and it is quite impossible to cool the house by opening doors and windows when night falls. The only comforting reflection is that it is ten times worse outside. Nevertheless, when it is time to turn in at night, it is quite impossible to sleep indoors, even with the recently introduced electric fan. Throughout the night there is the untold misery of dust and grit blowing into eyes and ears, nostrils and mouth, and banishing rest and sleep.

The Shaikh of Kuwait has often told me that he prefers the hottest weather to any sandstorm. In the heat you can at least breathe. In a bad sandstorm the whole atmosphere becomes pea-soup in colour, and you cannot see more than a few yards. Indoors you have to light all lamps during the day as during the worst of our familiar London fogs. Out of doors, face and eyes suffer greatly owing to the particles of sand which are blown at speed across the surface of the country-side. The town-dweller has enough to bear, but I leave it to my readers to imagine what the unfortunate Badawin and his family suffer in their black and porous goat-hair tents, without doors or windows to keep the fine, gritty dust out of food, cooking-pots, faces and clothes, while the desert temperature is considerably higher than that of Kuwait town.

Yet the Badawin survives his sandstorms and burning winds wonderfully well, and remains always cheerful and resigned, for as he says, "does it not, like all other things, come from God, why then grumble?"

In spite of unpleasantness there is a unique grandeur about a sandstorm about to break over Kuwait, and an indescribable magnificence in the desert storm. First is seen the small black cloud "no bigger than a man's hand". This grows and grows till it extends right across the horizon and swirls up in immense billows into the sky. Sometimes you see flashes of lightning in the centre of the oncoming mass, but you rarely hear thunder. Sometimes the sandstorm is the skirt of a much bigger one which has struck the desert far to the north-west, then the dust just creeps down on you with scarcely a breath of wind, and you and your whole neighbourhood is enveloped in yellowish darkness before you realise that a sandstorm is on you.

In the high desert, such as the Nufudh or Dahana, men get utterly lost at times. If the storm is accompanied by high wind and driving sand, then death is the Badawin's portion if he happens to be on the march between distant wells, unless the storm is short-lived. He is experienced in such dangers, however, and if the sandstorm is severe he halts his camel in good time, makes it kneel tail half turned towards the wind, and himself crawls under cover of the animal's flank with *'abba* pulled well over his head. He may lie like that for several hours and can only pray for a change. Twice only have I been caught in the desert in a really bad sandstorm, and I then found that I utterly lost all sense of direction. The storms were not such as to force me to halt, and I steadily stuck to my task of trying to reach camp. In each case after a couple of hours I realized that I was lost and halted. When it grew clearer I found I had wandered in the exactly opposite direction to home, even though I knew the country perfectly and thought I had recognised familiar features as I went along.

The most magnificent sandstorm I have ever seen for both scenic effect and general splendour was at the end of April 1932.

My Arab camp with my Badawin friends was located at the southern end of the so-called Dhahar ridge, some 30 miles due south of Kuwait town. My black tents were snugly hidden away in a wide, shallow depression slightly to the east side of the ridge top, so that

travelling Badawin could not easily see them, and possibly ask for a night's hospitality.

The surrounding country was covered with the familiar dull green *'arfaj* bush, now in full bloom, giving a golden effect to the countryside. There had been a little rain, rather a phenomenon for that time of year, and things looked fresh and nice. It was hot, however, and everywhere there were signs that spring was at an end. I remember that my wife and I had taken a certain Mrs. Borrie of Basra, who had come down to Kuwait for a change, out for the day to see what close-up Badawin life looked like. My small son and daughter also accompanied us.

It was about twelve noon, and I had just ordered our lunch to be served, and had gone for a short preliminary stroll with my wife and Mrs. Borrie when I turned round towards my camp and saw Salim al Muzaiyin and several of the Badawin about the camp staring strangely towards the north-west and gesticulating to some six neighbouring tents about a quarter of a mile away. Next moment I saw women and children running about as if in panic and tents began to be lowered flat on the ground. Amsha, Maneira and the other women started to pray. I made my way to the top of the ridge, only a couple of hundred yards away, and saw the whole north-western horizon low down and far away apparently on fire. I bethought me at once of the prairie fires I had read of as a child, and dashed back to Salim and asked what he thought it was. I enquired if he had ever seen the *'arfaj* catch fire on a large scale. He said he never had, nor had he heard of such a thing in all Arabia. As I was wondering what to do, and casting round for an open patch in which to collect my people—I felt sure that a great fire was bearing down upon us—a chill breeze struck the camp. By now, mighty black rolling clouds, for all the world like the smoke I used to see in the marshes of Iraq when the reeds were fired, began to extend across the whole horizon and billow high up into the sky. Under this apparent black smoke there was a bright belt of what looked like fire, shooting as it seemed great tongues of flame, deep scarlet in colour some hundred feet or so into the lower pale pink edge of the black smokescreen. I was seriously alarmed, for the uncanny thing was bearing down on us with great velocity.

Presently the slight cool breeze strengthened to sharp gusts of icy wind. Salim drew my attention to this and said it could be no fire. Clearly he was right, but what was it? As I watched, somewhat relieved but curious, the wind arose to a strong, cold quarter-gale, and I began to realise that a marvellous duststorm, red in colour, was bearing down on us and that the black billowy smoke now thousands of feet up in the sky and embracing the whole north-west heavens, was nothing but thick dust. The great flame-like tongues of fire that appeared to shoot up and down so regularly and fast, were no doubt continuous electric discharges, reflected in a series of flickers on the underside of the smoke-like clouds, and on the columns of swirling dust that rose from the ground in water-spout formation. Yet why was everything so fire-like in colour? We were soon to know. Racing back to camp we got into our big tent (not yet let down), closed the front and rear curtains, leaned the poles at a steep angle towards the wind, and got out men to hold on to stays and ropes.

I myself remained outside with my wife. Down came the storm. Obviously now it was a mighty storm whose dust was the colour of red English brick. It struck us and passed over in half an hour. But what a sight, and what sounds! Everything was covered with a fine scarlet-red sand in a few seconds, and continuous electric discharges accompanied by sharp crackling noises, and followed by one long roll of thunder, seemed to presage the end of all things.

Presently it grew so dark that we were obliged to light a couple of hurricane lanterns, but the storm was passing. The crackling noise as of many bonfires grew fainter, and the thunder died away in the distance. In half an hour all was over—and a cool gentle breeze was all that was left of this remarkable and fearsome experience.

The Badawin women and children of the camp who from fear had all clustered in our big tent, now began a chorus of *al hamduli'llahs*, and "we have never seen or heard of such a visitation before; verily we thought God's fire was about to devour us, and the end of the world had come". Salim, with courage now restored, began to comfort his females with boisterous words, "It is all over, it is finished, have no fear, get up and go about your work. The food, the guests' lunch, is it safe? Did you cover up the cooking-pots? *al hamdul'illah —al hamduli'llah maku shai, zahabu al ghada.*" But he had had a shock

nevertheless and remained very *piano* for the rest of the day. We had our lunch, which somebody had had the sense to cover before the rice and meat had been removed from the cooking-pot, but everything was nevertheless impregnated with the red dust that had come down upon us like a pall, and even the rice had taken on a pretty touch of pink. In an hour the sky was clear again, but the countryside, even to the *'arfaj* bushes, now bore a reddish covering, while the actual surface of the ground had a coating of fine dust like red snow a quarter of an inch deep. On return to Kuwait we learned that the left fringe of the storm had passed over the town and caused some alarm. Dr. Mylrea of the American Mission gave me a graphic description of the splendour of the scene as the scarlet and black cloud rolled across the bay of Kuwait towards the town. But from the very slight deposit of red dust that lay on Kuwait, it was evident that the town had only seen a mild version of the phenomenon, and that we in the south had got the full benefit of the storm; certainly we alone had seen and heard the curious and terrifying electrical discharges and thunder.

Our wheels cut tracks in the red desert surface as we drove back to Kuwait the same evening. It was like driving through snow.

I can only think that the storm originated in the red earth country around Aleppo, some 900 miles away, or possibly it came from round about Petra. I am inclined to favour the first theory, for the wind blew steady from north-west throughout.

The year in which this remarkable sandstorm occurred is to-day known among the Badawin as *sanat al hamra*, i.e. the red year. The birth of children and other events are dated by it—thus fixing the Red Year for all time in the annals of North-East Arabia.

CHAPTER XXII

'Ajman Talks and Tales

(from my original Diaries)

PHILBY'S "EMPTY QUARTER"

While camped alongside of a large 'Ajman camp, consisting of details of the Musrah, Mahfudh and Sulaiman sections, on 7th November, 1933, some 30 miles south of Kuwait, I took the opportunity of discussing with Muhammad bin Hajjaj and Junaifir bin Hawaila, both of the Mahfudh, Philby's journey across the Rub' al Khâli. The world was still talking of his remarkable experiences, and I was curious to know how much the ordinary Badawin knew about it, and especially those northern sections of the 'Ajman who reside in and on the borders of Kuwait.

I found that they knew all about Philby's adventures and to a less extent about Bertram Thomas's journey too.

Both Junaifir and Muhammad al Hajjaj, as well as other greybeards present, declared that they knew Falah abu Ja'sha well, and most of the Murra and 'Ajman companions of Philby mentioned on page 10 of his *Empty Quarter* (I had the book with me, and read out the names). They went further and quite voluntarily recounted some of the more amusing incidents that had befallen Philby. They had got these, they said, from Abu Ja'sha and others. My hearers spoke of Philby as a *raydl*, meaning that he was a "man indeed", and said that he had not stinted his money, when it came to rewarding his party. They said, however, that he was *hamaqi*, hot-tempered, but that as he was a "good Muslim" this would be forgiven him. Junaifir said that he knew the country covered by Philby as far as Bir Fáthil and Maqainama wells, but had never been further south of these places, which as he said was *Dírat al Murra.* He had also been down the Wadi al Dawasir to Sulaiyil and to the more western wells of Ranya, Bisha, Jash and Tathlith.

Muhammad al Hajjaj on the other hand said that he had been as far as Najran *via* Sulaiyil and had married a girl there and resided with her for some time. The Yam tribe of that region were, he said, blood brothers of the 'Ajman and Murra, who both had originally come from Najran. As regards the Rub' al Kháli, he said he had once visited the wells of Um al Hadid (near 'Ubar) with the Murra, and had heard much about the ancient city which was supposed to lie buried there under the sands. His furthest southern point had been a spot a little north of Shenna (Philby's furthest south), where the water was everywhere undrinkable.

Both Muhammad bin Hajjaj and Junaifir called the phantom city 'Ubár; I tried to make them say it was "Wabár", but they said theirs was the correct way of pronouncing its name. They did admit, however, that "Wabár" was the way the tribes to the north and round Hasa pronounced the name, while the Murra, Manasír and Awámir, etc., call it "'Ubár". This is of interest in view of the arguments which both Philby and Bertram Thomas put forward as to the right way of spelling the now famous spot.

PHILBY AND THE MILK

On 27th April, 1935, I spent a whole day with some of the Mahfudh section of the 'Ajman camped 30 miles south of Kuwait and west of the Dhahar ridge. I went over to their widely extended camp which was situate some 5 miles south of mine and found Mahfudh, 'Arja, and other details camped together.

Old Junaifir bin Hawaila, Marait his cousin, and Fahad father of Maneira, wife of Hamad bin Mishwat, were there besides many others. 'Abdullah bin Junaifir gave me lunch (my wife and Zahra were with me and also Salim al Muzaiyin). It consisted of two sheep and a grand dish of rice, cooked 'Ajman fashion (i.e. with lots of yellow-looking melted butter poured over the rice as a gravy). The meat was deliciously tender, and we enjoyed our meal. The owners of some dozen tents lunched on the remains after we had finished, and while they were feeding we repaired to Husain abu Juma's tent and his brother Suwaiyan's, both doughty warriors it was said, who had accompanied Sa'ud the King's son to Najran, during the recent Yaman expedition (1934).

During our talk I discovered that not content with sitting in Najran, Suwaiyan had from there raided south-east as far as Hadhramaut and Dhufar, and had lifted camels from the dreaded Sai'ar and Karab tribes. He himself had brought back five camels as *chessib*, two of which he showed me outside his tent. They were small brown things, with much less bone than their Hasa brothers. Rather remarkable, I thought, seeing camels raided from Hadhramaut grazing in Kuwait! The same Suwaiyan, I was told, had penetrated into Sana, the capital of Yaman, alone as a spy, and had got back safely.

Whilst we were talking, there entered the tent Ráshid bin Fahad, cousin of Philby's chief guide and leader on the famous march across the Rub' al Kháli. He had many stories to tell of Philby and of the famous milk incident. "What would you," he said, "the she-camel (*nágá*) would not give her milk the evening Hilby* wanted his drink. Camels are like that, you cannot force them to give their milk. *Allah i salmu*, he Hilby, did not understand, and thought the Badawin of the party had drunk his milk."

Philby's friend Falah abu Ja'sha got into serious trouble in August 1935. He was apparently commander of an escort on the Kuwait frontier, which was told off to conduct a Rashidi prisoner from Jeriyah 'Ilya to Hufuf. The prisoner's crime was stealing two Sbei camels from near Riyadh and making off with them to the Kuwait frontier.

When nearing Hufuf, the prisoner cleverly escaped while the escort slept during the heat of the day. Though manacled, he contrived to collect his escort's rifles and ammunition, placed them on one of the camels and got right away to Kuwait and Iraq. He sportingly sent back the rifles and camels to their owners, through a woman living in Kuwait, and by the hand of one Nazzal of the 'Awanna (Rashaida).

As a punishment for his negligence the late Amir 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi, Governor of Hasa, is reported to have ordered that Falah abu Ja'sha's beard, or rather half of it, should be shaved off every Friday for a whole month.

* Mr. Philby is known among the Badawin as 'Abdulla Hilby.

HOW MUBARAK AL SUBAH WON HIS THRONE

A true story

It was in the 'nineties that the stirring events which I am about to relate took place. There was painful tension in Kuwait and life was none too peaceful. A lazy and spineless Ruler, Shaikh Muhammad al Subah, was in power. He believed in the policy of *laissez faire*, was unable or unwilling to oppose a vigorous front to the Turks, ever encroaching from the north. Above all, he could neither control his own turbulent tribes the Mutair and Northern 'Ajman, nor keep at bay the dreaded desert invaders the Shammar and Dhafir in the west. Raid, counter-raid and chaos existed on the frontiers. The *kháwah*, the protective tax so beloved of the great desert tribes of Arabia and which to us savours so strongly of blackmail, was levied on all who left Kuwait for the interior and vice versa.

The shaikh's brother and *fidus Achates* was one Jarrah, if anything a more helpless and slothful character than Muhammad himself. The two were fast friends and walked through life, so to speak, holding hands and singing each other's praises. A more hopeless pair of Ethelreds the Unready could not have been found.

It was against nature that the above state of affairs should exist long in an Arab kingdom. It did not. Two young men lived in Kuwait who were to make history: the first was Mubarak, the younger brother of the effete Ruler and the still more spineless Jarrah; the second was a foreigner from Basra by name Yusuf bin 'Abdulla al Ibrahim, a man of property and wealth in his native land.

Young Mubarak was sensitive, proud, lean and hawk-eyed, a man reared in the desert. He could strike with lightning rapidity if occasion required, and was imbued with a fanatical love for his country. It went to his heart to see his homeland going to rack and ruin. Fearlessly, and in public, he daily upbraided Shaikhs Muhammad and Jarrah for their weakness, until tired of his biting sarcasms and scathing attacks, Jarrah sent him into the desert with the title of *Amir al Bádia* or Ruler of the Badawin, and bade him introduce law and order if he could. He was given a free hand, it is true, but cunningly denied money to accomplish his purpose. The evil brothers hopefully

looked forward to hearing of his early murder at the hand of the Badawin.

Yusuf bin 'Abdulla al Ibrahim, an ambitious rogue, was responsible for young Mubarak's eclipse and evil plight. He had long seen how the situation lay and with profound cunning had slowly but surely not only made himself indispensable to the Ruler, but had wormed his way into the position of Favourite and Chief Wazír.

Yusuf was an extremely able and unscrupulous man, and had also the advantage of good looks and a debonair manner. He was a society man and very pleasant companion, and his advice was always shrewd and given in flattering manner and in proper season. Yet Yusuf was deeply pro-Turk and hoped to see the day come when Turkey would take over the Principality of Kuwait, depose the reigning prince and plant himself and his family as Shaikhs in place of the Al Subah. The clever rogue was undoubtedly in the pay of the Turks, but he recognised the necessity for going slow.

In the steely-eyed Mubarak he saw the only enemy who might bring his intrigues to naught. It was on Yusuf's advice that Mubarak was sent into the desert to certain danger and probable death. "Keep Mubarak short of money and occupied, and all will be well for thee, O Shaikh," was his constant advice to Muhammad, and his counsel prevailed. The desert-bred Mubarak, rendered hard beyond his years by the life of want and privation he was forced to lead, soon learned to hate Yusuf, the fawning townsman, with a deadly hate. He saw through the plot and determined to defeat it. Patiently he made friends with the desert men, and slowly but surely he rallied to himself the boldest men of the Rashaida and 'Ajman tribes, men who loved a brave man that could be trusted, and who likewise despised the town-dweller. With his hungry braves he did wonders in the desert, and moving with lightning rapidity from point to point he not only surprised and smote enemy concentrations with amazing skill, but even carried his raids deep into Mutair, Shammar and Dhafir country, till his name became a byword.

Yet money, money, was his cry. How could he continue without food, and a bare minimum of ammunition. His men had to live, and like other men a Badawin has women and children to support. Enthusiasm soon dies in the desert if there is neither money nor loot.

Mubarak returned periodically to Kuwait to report progress, and employed every known subterfuge to extort funds from his brothers. But his reasonable demands were turned down at the prompting of the King's favourite, the base Yusuf. At last Mubarak told his brothers that he must have a new wife, also a town house to put her in, and to this end demanded a sum of Rs.10,000. He intended the money for the sinews of war and the appeasement of his men, but he hoped against hope that the ruse would succeed. "You are idle, my brother," said Muhammad and his echo Jarrah, "you cannot expect to settle down and live a life of ease with the enemy at the gates, you shall have no straw, yet the toll of bricks shall be the same as of yore. Perhaps in a year's time we shall consider your petition and allow you to settle down with us. Go back to your work."

With black hate in his heart Mubarak returned to his desert, this time to work out a plan he had long cherished: to slay the hated Yusuf and his two brothers at one stroke.

Throughout the early part of the summer of 1896 he remained deep in the desert maturing his plans. At last the hour was ripe. In Kuwait men were sleeping on the roofs of their houses, for the summer was early and hot. Muhammad and Jarrah occupied the same palace high up in the *kút* or castle, situate in the heart of old Kuwait and overlooking the sea. Mubarak knew the geography of the strong building as he knew himself. There was an overhead and built-in-bridge across a narrow street, communicating with the ladies' quarters of his own palace, next door. The shaikhs' palace had one main entrance only, apart from the ladies' postern.

Mubarak had taken into his confidence his sons Jabir and Salim, young men scarcely out of their teens, but stout and ready for any big adventure. With these and seven trusty 'Ajman and Rashaida warriors he sped towards the city on ten speedy *dhalúls* or riding camels, and presented himself before the main gate an hour before midnight on 17th May, 1896.

Mubarak ordered the guards to let him in and close the gates after him, for was he not the shaikhs' brother bringing serious tidings? Through the sleeping city he made his way swiftly to the *yakhur* or royal stables lying near the Suq al Madfa'a, left his camels tethered there and stole silently and on foot towards the palaces.

Arriving before his own door, he silently gained entrance and unknown to any of the inmates of his house he and his party made their way through the *háram* and across the bridge into his brothers' palace. Locking and bolting the door across the bridge he next ordered Salim, his younger son, to proceed downstairs with four of his Badawin braves, and seize the main gate and *háram* postern from inside.

Salim's instructions were to kill or lock up any slaves or armed men he might find in the small guardroom adjoining the gate, and at all cost to insure the strictest silence. This was successfully done without a sound disturbing the stillness of the night. The second move in the drama was to send Jabir, the elder son, with two Rashaida men over the roof top to the private roof on which Jarrah was accustomed to sleep side by side with his wife. Jabir's orders were to await the signal of a rifle shot and then to slay Jarrah as he lay asleep by stroke of sword or dagger. He was to take the wife into the women's apartments and prevent her from making a noise. Meanwhile Mubarak himself proceeded with one trusty Rashidi to Muhammad's roof where he knew the latter slept alone. Cautiously approaching the bed, Mubarak raised his rifle and fired at point-blank range into the side of his unconscious brother. The wound was not immediately fatal and Muhammad, aroused from sleep, saw Mubarak preparing to fire again. With the cry on his lips of "My brother, my brother, how could you?" he received a second shot in the head and died. Simultaneously, and according to plan, Jabir attacked Jarrah with his sword, but not before the agonised wife, aroused from sleep, had thrown herself full length on her husband's body to shield him with her own. The gallant lady's loyal effort was in vain. Strong arms pulled her off and flung her aside whilst the deed of murder was done.

Except for two stray shots, sounds not uncommon in Kuwait by night, there was no alarm of any sort, and the sleeping city knew nothing of what was afoot.

Successful in the first part of his plan, Mubarak, after leaving Salim on guard at the palace entrance, proceeded to the house of the Favourite Yusuf, the man responsible for the brothers' illwill and the person whose death Mubarak most desired. Yusuf's house was only a few doors off, but Yusuf was not at home. He had had a strange premonition, it is said, the previous evening, and had proceeded by

small sailing craft to Sabbiyah across the bay of Kuwait, where he had a small country house. Even there he tarried not but made for Basra on horseback, riding hard through the night.

Mubarak, greatly chagrined to have drawn a blank, now went to his own house, and having washed and prayed and eaten, he repaired to the great Majlis Hall of the Shaikhs of Kuwait which adjoined the palace, and waited for dawn.

Salim in the meantime kept the palace gates closed and on pain of instant death warned the inmates, both women and slaves, to utter no sound of mourning and to attempt no communication with the outside world.

Dawn broke at length, and shortly after, as was the custom in Kuwait, individual members of the shaikhs' family and leading merchants proceeded in twos and threes to the great Council Hall to pay their morning salutations to the Ruler. To their surprise they found none of the customary guards on duty, but instead three wild and well-armed Badawin standing outside on the veranda, dangerously silent. One by one the visitors entered the Majlis room, and after the usual *Salam 'alaikum ya mahfudh* (Peace be upon you, O Protector) they sat down, perturbed to see only the stern-faced Mubarak seated on the Ruler's throne with his son Jabir by his side. Silently man after man filed in, giving greeting but receiving none in reply and fearing to leave again. At length when the room was full, Mubarak slowly drew his sword from its sheath and laid the bare blade across his knee, then, glancing round the assembly with eagle eye, he said in harsh quiet tones, "O ye people of Kuwait, and blood-relatives of mine, be it known to you that Muhammad and Jarrah my brothers died last night, and I rule in their stead. If any man has anything to say, let him stand forth and say it."

There was not a move among the now thoroughly startled citizens. A deathlike pause lasted for some ten minutes, then Mubarak suddenly called out to the coffee server and other servants who had now gathered outside on the veranda, "Ho slaves, go one of you and fetch Sa'ud, Shaikh Muhammad's son to me". The order was soon obeyed and Sa'ud, a youth of sixteen or thereabouts, stood before Mubarak, puzzled, and anxious. "Go wash your father and uncle, and arrange for their burial, my son: God decreed that they should die last night and that

I should rule in their stead—Their time had come—Thanks be to God."* Young Sa'ud, struck dumb with the news, stood stock still and appeared to wonder what to do: Mubarak gazed at him long and earnestly with features as though carved out of wood, and as he looked two great tears coursed down his cheeks and he was heard to mutter, "My brothers, my brothers, would that this had not come to pass!" He then dismissed the boy with a curt "Go and do the needful as I told you".

The populace of Kuwait, utterly weary of the weakness and vacillating policy of Muhammad and his brother Jarrah, acclaimed Mubarak as Ruler and enthusiastically asked him to put the affairs of the State in order and defend it from external and internal enemies.

Mubarak then started his long and glorious reign with the full support and encouragement of his people, both town-dwellers and desert tribes, and soon showed the world that he was a ruler, general and diplomat of the first order. By a series of masterly desert campaigns in which he employed those swift and lightning tactics which made his name a terror to the Badawin world, and which the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud of present-day fame later copied with success, Mubarak defeated all his desert enemies, assisted the exiled house of Al Sa'ud recover its lost kingdom, and made his name feared and respected throughout Arabia as far even as distant Yaman.

In the diplomatic sphere, too, he kept the Turks cleverly at bay, and not only brought trade and prosperity to Kuwait, but negotiated several far-sighted treaties of friendship and alliance with Great Britain, the results of which we see to-day in Kuwait's dealings with her hungry neighbours.

As for the Favourite, Yusuf bin 'Abdulla al Ibrahim, on arrival in Basra he hastened to the house of his friend the Turkish Governor, and officially and with much dramatic skill reported how Shaikh Muhammad of Kuwait had been foully done to death, together with his brother, simply because they had been friends of the Turks, and were about to request the *Báb al 'Ali* (Sublime Porte) to take Kuwait under Turkish protection, as a counter to British intrigue in the Persian Gulf. He formally denounced Mubarak as the murderer of

* They were buried in the great square or *Safát*, and their graves may be seen to this day, marked only by a few rough stones.

Muhammad and Jarrah, claimed to be able to prove that he was a tool of the British and urged that Turkey take immediate steps by military action to depose Mubarak and place the son of Muhammad on the throne.

The Sultan of Turkey, who in due course was informed of these events, acted with circumspection and no little skill. He asked Shaikh Mubarak for his side of the question, refused officially to believe that he had killed his brothers, and urged him to show his loyalty to himself and the Turkish regime by having the real murderer arrested and conveyed to Basra. With typical effrontery Mubarak at once replied that the murderer was a rogue called Yusuf bin 'Abdullah al Ibrahim, who had wormed his way into the affections of his unfortunate brother Shaikh Muhammad with intent to gain the Shaikhship of Kuwait himself. When the time was ripe he had sprung his surprise, entered into Muhammad and Jarrah's house by night, murdered the two brothers and would have proclaimed himself Amir had not God in His mercy brought him, Mubarak, to the town from the desert that very night, with the result that the rogue Yusuf failed in his purpose, and was forced to flee. Mubarak added that he had heard that the man was at that moment in Basra, and he therefore requested that the Turkish Governor there be instructed to have him arrested and conveyed to Kuwait there to stand his trial. He assured the Sultan that the Turks had no greater friend than himself, and he trusted that the Sublime Porte would show their friendly feeling by granting his request. The astute Turks, hoping to turn events to their advantage, pretended to accept Mubarak's story at its face value, praised his loyalty to them and by way of reward appointed him their *Qaimakam*, as well as recognising him as shaikh.

Later, in 1899, Mubarak went openly over to the English and asked for their protection. Yusuf, revengeful to the day of his death, sometimes with the open aid of the Turks and sometimes on his own initiative, continued to intrigue against Mubarak. Again and again he roused the desert tribes against Kuwait, and to the end supported the house of Bin Rashid in Central Arabia, in their long wars with Kuwait and Bin Sa'ud.

Many there are to-day (1937) who see in the actions of the Iraq Government in recent years, and more particularly in the matter of

the shaikh's Date Gardens and contraband questions, the hand of Yusuf's descendants. Nor is it an accident that the direct heir and nearest surviving relative of Yusuf bin 'Abdullah al Ibrahim should have in 1937 laid claim,* ridiculous though it may seem, to the northern side of the Bay of Kuwait, and the area where the Oil Company sank its first test well. An Arab family never forgets till after the fifth generation, and possibly not even then.

THE TREACHERY OF FAHAD BIN JILUWI, AND THE SLAYING OF DHAIDAN AL HITHLAIN, SHAIKH OF THE 'AJMAN, ON 1ST MAY, 1929, *fi sanat al Sibila* (IN THE YEAR OF THE BATTLE OF SIBILA)

This true story was first told me on 25th April, 1929, by Shaikh Hzam al Hithlain (he was killed at Ingair the same year), and again retold by Shaikh Junaifir bin Hawaila of the Mahfudh section of the 'Ajman on 27th July, 1935, in the presence of several 'Ajman Shaikhs and 'Abdulla bin 'Aid bin Mikhyal, the actual slayer of Fahad bin Jiluwi, who also described how 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi murdered his own father a year after these events, for his (the son's) complicity in the affair.

After the battle of Sibila (29th March, 1929) His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud was faced with a concentration of rebellious 'Ikhwan under Sultan ibn Humaid ('Utaiba) and Faisal al Duwish (Mutair). Though a conference had been agreed to, the King had recourse to a treacherous attack in which ibn Humaid was captured, and al Duwish wounded and captured.

Immediately prior to Sibila, Bin Sa'ud greatly feared that Dhaidan al Hithlain, renowned Shaikh of all the 'Ajman, would also join forces with the two rebel shaikhs, and he exerted all his diplomatic skill to keep the powerful 'Ajman tribe quiet in Mid Hasa. All that remained was to inveigle Dhaidan to Riyadh, and for this purpose Fahad bin Jiluwi visited him and presented him with his father's letter of safe conduct. There can be little doubt that 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi, father of Fahad and Governor of Hasa, did not see eye to eye with Bin Sa'ud in this matter, and where the King intended using diplomacy to get

* The claim was made by written petition to the Government of India at Delhi.

Dhaidan to Riyadh, bin Jiluwi planned an act of treachery by an unwise arrest in the heart of the tribe.

The scene of the story was laid by the Awaina wells—17 miles south of Sarrar, the headquarters of the 'Ajman, in Mid Hasa and slightly south of 'Nta

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It was early summer and hot, and Dhaidan al Hithlain was camped at Sarrar with some two thousand 'Ajman and their families. He had gained Bin Sa'ud's approbation by not having joined ibn Humaid and Al Duwish at Sibila, when they demanded on behalf of the 'Ikhwan that the 'Ulema of Najd should arbitrate between the King and themselves. The question at issue was the booty captured by the 'Ikhwan from Iraq tribes which the King had ordered them to surrender. There were other matters in dispute also, on which the 'Ikhwan leaders wanted a ruling by the 'Ulema. Dhaidan for his part, though not unsympathetic, had refused to join in a conference which savoured of defying Bin Sa'ud's authority.

Bin Sa'ud was pleased and gratified with the 'Ajman Shaikh's attitude and sent Dhaidan a letter, ten days before the events now recorded, expressing thanks, commending Dhaidan's loyalty and giving him the run of Hasa. He further gave him full and complete written safe conduct to go and come as he thought fit. *Illak Allah wa Amán Allah*, he wrote, and we must suppose that he meant it.

A few days later Dhaidan received a similar letter from 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi, Viceroy of Hasa.

It all seemed to mean peace, and the two letters were a sign to all that Dhaidan was in favour.

But black treachery was in the air, as was later manifest when some hundred pairs of handcuffs and leg-irons were found in Fahad's camp.

The next event was the arrival at Awaina of Fahad ibn 'Abdulla al Jiluwi with five hundred of his father's town warriors. With him were contingents of Badawin, including Murra, Bani Hajir, Sbei, Manasir, etc., and some Hufuf 'Ajman under Naif aba'l Kilab al Hithlain. Nasir al Jiluwi, brother of Fahad, also accompanied his brother. Fahad camped in the centre, his Badawin allies on either side of him.

Now Fahad bore an evil reputation. He had played a dastardly

trick on Naif al Humaid some thirty-six months previously when the latter was peacefully camped at Safwan on the northern borders of Kuwait. He had had his guest arrested after giving him coffee in his tent, and sent him a prisoner to Bin Sa'ud. The case was a notoriously bad one and the whole of Arabia had stiffened at the treacherous conduct of Fahad, and the attempt to kidnap in Iraq territory the exiled Shaikh of the 'Utaiba. So Fahad was looked upon with suspicion and distrust.

After pitching camp Fahad had sent for Dhaidan at Sarrar and invited him to come and pay his respects. His invitation was couched in most friendly terms. "Are you not my elder brother, and have we not both Hithlain blood in our veins?" he said (Dhaidan's grandmother and Fahad's grandmother were 'Ajman sisters). He wrote the letter in the presence of Junaifir bin Hawaila and Hzam al Hithlain, Dhaidan's cousin, sealed it and sent it off to Dhaidan by the hand of Junaifir. The letter also gave Dhaidan specific safe conduct to come and return, *Alaik ahad Allah wa amán Allah* (the covenant of God and his peace be thine) it said.

Dhaidan now summoned the tribe, and told them of Fahad's arrival at Awaina, and showed them the letter. The 'Ajman, ever suspicious of the Al Sa'ud and knowing Fahad's past, did not like the idea of their shaikh's going. They argued that the summons did not ring true. "It is false and has the smell of treachery, go not up to Awaina" they all advised, "for we foresee only evil from such journey and meeting; did not Fahad by a similar ruse four years ago (1925) treacherously seize Naif al Humaid the Shaikh of the 'Utaiba at Safwan wells—go not up, we tell thee."

The chivalrous Dhaidan produced all the three letters he had received giving him safe conduct, and assurance by the Almighty, that he could with safety go and come as he pleased everywhere, and in all places and times. He replied,"O you my people, how can I refuse to go and see Fahad, in face of my King's, my Viceroy's and my Viceroy's son's assurances of safe conduct; it would be *'aib* (shame) were I to hold back, and I would be no man". He decided to go up without delay and set out with twelve men as escort, including a certain Mabruk, negro slave of the family (the only survivor and now with the Shaikh of Kuwait).

As the party approached Awaina, Fahad rode out with a company on horseback and gave Dhaidan the welcome due to an honoured guest, he kissed his guest on both cheeks, and the two walked to the tents hand in hand. They were indeed as brothers. After giving Dhaidan the ordinary Badawin welcome, and entertaining him with much coffee and passing round of *'udh*, Fahad suggested that they repair to his brother Nasir's tent to pay respects due to his position. Dhaidan with his twelve retainers in company with Fahad, walked across to Nasir's quarters. Like Fahad, Nasir gave the visitor a royal welcome and coffee was passed round again and again. At length it was time to depart and Dhaidan got up to go. To his surprise both his arms were seized by Fahad and Nasir, while armed men rushed into the tent and manacled him. Eleven of his companions were similarly trapped. Only one managed in the confusion to slip under the back curtain of the tent, leap on his horse, and gallop off to give the alarm.

Dhaidan protested strongly against this un-Arab treachery towards a guest, but only received abuse. The captured chief and his men were removed to tents close to that of Fahad. Dhaidan occupied one small tent alone, and the eleven a larger one. Half an hour later Fahad sent for Dhaidan and mocked him, laughing at his "smart capture". The proud Dhaidan, pale and stern, again upbraided Fahad for his treachery and warned him lest he bring on himself the terrible vengeance of the 'Ajman. His protests being unavailing, he begged Fahad to at least give him pen and paper and allow his secretary (among the prisoners) to write to Hzam his cousin under his seal and signature, warning the tribe that he was safe, and adjuring them to make no move, otherwise, he said, "O Fahad, as sure as you see the sun go down this evening, so sure am I that you and your Muslim force will never see it rise again". Fahad laughed loud and refused Dhaidan's repeated and urgent request. The prisoner was taken back to his tent and tied with ropes as well as manacled. It was afterwards discovered that the ropes had cut cruelly into his shoulders and wrists. Next Fahad sent for the executioner employed by his father, a negro named ibn Mansur (known to me personally). He instructed ibn Mansur that if the 'Ajman attacked and he (Fahad) rode out to meet them, Dhaidan's throat should be cut, and his companions put to the sword. In the

meantime the twelfth man who had escaped galloped into the 'Ajman camp at Sarrar crying,"They have taken our Lord, they have treacherously bound Dhaidan". He told the story with sobs. Like fire the news spread through the camp, and a great cry of despair went up from the 'Ajman host. Men hurried hither and thither unable to think, the women of Dhaidan's own tents and those of the Hithlain rent their garments from top to bottom, tore off their veils and letting their hair down rushed through the camp exhorting their men to effect a rescue and take vengeance. The wildest confusion reigned and a bitter cry went up to heaven—the tragic cry of a tribe which had lost its chief and felt itself leaderless. The red ball of the setting summer sun sank below the horizon. In the growing darkness the brave and fiery Hzam took charge. He called for quiet, collected the chiefs round him and explained his plan to rescue Dhaidan that very night. "It must be a surprise midnight attack," he said, "and while two forces attack from left and right I with a picked body of men will rush Fahad's tent in the centre and try to effect a rescue. But no mercy to Fahad or any of his hirelings, O ye 'Ajman, O ye sons of Yam. Sword and dagger must do the work, rather than rifle, else no one will know friend from foe." Soon fifteen hundred 'Ajman warriors quietly slipped away into the night, some on horse or mare, the balance on foot. They had 15 miles to go and must go swiftly.

The women of the tribe commended their men to the care of the One God, and as the blood-red sunset gave way to black oncoming night they ran to collect *'arfaj* bushes, and twist them into great torches turning darkness into day: "To give luck and light to our husbands and sons", they cried. So great was the blaze produced by the light of several thousand torches that the traitor Fahad in his far-off camp saw the strange light in the sky, and wondered. Some of his loyal 'Ajman from Hufuf (servants and *fidawiyah*), possibly guessing the sign, begged Fahad to strike camp and ride off to the south. "It is the 'Ajman women bidding farewell to their men," they cried, "they are bidding them do or die; fly, O Fahad, fly, for verily this day's work will have driven the 'Ajman mad; they will stop at nothing."

The proud Fahad, a brave man, despite his evil ways, refused to move, and ordered coffee all round.

An hour later he sent out a patrol of horsemen to reconnoitre cautiously towards Sarrar, and he warned his whole force to be ready. His Badawin allies, who were gravely shocked by the seizure of Dhaidan, stood sullenly aside. Aghast at the act of treachery they had witnessed, they indeed hoped that retribution would be sure and swift, and crept off in the dark to avoid the rush of the attack. A few only of the Bani Hajir decided to stand by Fahad. An hour later riderless horses and half a dozen survivors of the patrol returned at a gallop out of the dark, shouting as they came, "O Fahad, the 'Ajman are upon us—they are creeping in on us from two sides, they will burst on us shortly like the black sandstorm of night; fly, ya Fahad, while there is yet time". Too late—with a wild scream the storm broke. There was little shooting, it was all dagger thrust.

Fahad jumped on to his mare and with some two hundred horsemen attempted a break through. He was borne back, fighting desperately, towards his own tents amidst wild and repeated 'Ajman cries of "Ya Dhaidan, show where you are by your voice, a rescue, a rescue!" From a small tent behind Fahad's came an agonised cry: "I am here, my children, I am here, quick!"—then silence. The cruel but faithful ibn Mansur had done his work. He had cut the throat of the trussed Dhaidan from ear to ear, as by a razor stroke. He had previously cut down with his sword Dhaidan's eleven companions in the next tent, all except the slave Mabruk, who escaping with a slash on his shoulder and arm, rolled over and feigned death, to find himself rescued later.

Ibn Mansur himself got away in the darkness and lives to this day, the honoured chief executioner of Sa'ud ibn Jiluwi, the present Governor of Hasa. When he was asked whether he felt no shame at having slit the throat of the great Dhaidan with a razor, he replied: "It was not with a razor—my sword was very sharp and its point keen—I came up behind Dhaidan and by a sudden prick in the back of the neck made him jerk his head backwards, that gave me the chance and with a deft and quick stroke my sword did the rest."

Fighting desperately Fahad reached his tent, when out of the darkness a youth, 'Abdulla bin 'Aid al Mikhyal, jumped forward, seized the reins of Fahad's mare, and shot Fahad at point-blank range between the eyes. He fell dead, and on the ground got another bullet through

the heart. 'Abdulla al Mikhyal seized Fahad's gold sword, his revolver and dagger and next day brought home his trophies, that he might be known by all as the slayer of Fahad and God's avenger. He is a fugitive in the north now, sometimes in Iraq, sometimes in Kuwait, always in danger of Bin Sa'ud's long arm, but so far not caught.

The wild night battle ended in the slaughter of practically every man of Fahad's force, and it is said (and this has been confirmed from many sources) that some 450 men* were actually slain, including the Bani Hajir Badawin who rallied to Fahad's standard. Of Fahad's other Badawin allies, none moved nor were attacked. No prisoners were taken. It was a truly terrible slaughter for an Arabian fight. Dhaidan's prophecy had been fulfilled. At dawn early search was made for Nasir al Jiluwi, Fahad's brother. They found him hiding in Naif abu'l Kilab's tent, the friendly 'Ajman leader who had arrived with Fahad. Nasir had fled to him during the night and begged *dakhála*. Naif refused to give him up, even to his own 'Ajman people, and sent him in safety to his father. The 'Ajman, now under Hzam, actually approved Naif's action, though greatly disappointed at losing the second of Ibn Jiluwi's sons. They returned to camp at Sarrar to bring the sad tidings that they had failed to save Dhaidan, but had exacted a vengeance that would never be forgotten.

Naif abu'l Kilab, though he so gallantly saved Nasir according to tribal custom and honour, was treated evilly in return. When taken prisoner to Riyadh in 1934, he was sent to Hufuf with ibn Lami and Sultan al Humaid and handed over at dead of night to Ibn Jiluwi. He was never seen or heard of again, nor did the craven Nasir lift a finger to save his benefactor nor by a single word intercede for him. Thus sometimes members of the house of Al Sa'ud have dishonoured the great name of its head.

A year after the above events, 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi sent for 'Aid, the aged father of 'Abdulla al Mikhyal. He had for twenty years been personal servant to the Viceroy of Hasa. "'Aid," said the merciless Viceroy, "I hear your son has got the sword, revolver and dagger of Fahad my firstborn." "It may be true, *Ya tawal al 'amr*," said 'Aid, "but from the first I told you, and have continued to tell you, that I have no son any longer. 'Abdulla was my firstborn, too, but after

* Some 'Ajman estimates put the figure at 750.

the events of Awaina I foreswore him and lost him for ever, just as you lost your son. I have never seen him since."

Said the Viceroy, "Write, O 'Aid, and tell your son that you his father have been cast into prison and that Ibn Jiluwi has sworn to kill you unless the weapons of Fahad are returned to his father forthwith. If they are returned all will be well, and you will be released."

'Aid did as ordered, and was duly cast into prison. A month later the sword, revolver and dagger of Fahad were duly sent in to the Viceroy. With harshness and treachery surpassing even that of Fahad, 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi sent for the aged and white-haired 'Aid and ordered his head to be struck off, and hung over the main gate of the *kút* at Hufuf: "Thou dog. I did not promise you your life if the weapons of my son were forthcoming. I said you would be released, and so I propose giving you release from this world."

A month after the murder of Dhaidan, I saw Hzam al Hithlain in Kuwait. He was an important 'Ikhwan leader and very fanatical. His abuse of Bin Sa'ud was strange and terrible to hear. He told me that his chief's murder had decided all the 'Ajman to go into rebellion. He showed me the bloodstained letters of Bin Sa'ud, ibn Jiluwi and Fahad, which he had himself extracted from the Dhaidan's pocket. Blood from the throat wound had trickled down the dead man's chest into the breast pocket, but the letters were still quite legible.

After having had coffee in Husain's tent we must needs go into Murait bin Hawaila's tent for another round of coffee. Among others we met there 'Abdulla bin 'Aid al Mikhyal, the man who slew Fahad bin Jiluwi in Hasa for his treachery to Dhaidan al Hithlain, and the main cause of the 'Ajman joining in the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30. He smilingly protested that he was innocent of the deed, but his friends chorused aloud, "Not he, a man does not come back with the sword and revolver of Fahad in his hand but knows something about the death of Fahad".

TWO FAMOUS 'AJMAN SISTERS, SHAGHA AND WADHA, DAUGHTERS OF HZAM AL HITHLAIN

(This story was told me by Shaikh 'Uwaiyid Al Mutraqqa al Harri, Shaikh of the Diyahin (Mutair) on 21st April, 1935, and confirmed by

Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra of the Mutair, and by Shaikh Khalid al Hithlain of the 'Ajman a few days later.)

Shagha married Sultan al Duwish, and became by him the mother of the famous Faisal al Duwish of the Mutair, the conqueror of Madina for the present king. Before her marriage, Shagha is said to have had a dream, in which she gave birth to an iron *mishd'ab* stick.* On telling her father Hzam al Hithlain and her mother, they asked for details of the dream. The girl, frightened, said that as the iron rod in her dream came away from her, it grew a fiery "red hot" colour and started emitting great sparks, which beat on and burnt up the tents of her people the 'Ajman. Her father, knowing something of dreams, comforted her, and said that her firstborn would be a son, and a famous man, and that he would be a thorn in the flesh of the 'Ajman, yet a friend in time of need.

A year later she married Sultan al Duwish, Shaikh of the Mutair, and gave birth to Faisal al Duwish, than whom no tribal leader in Arabia has been greater or more famous. All his life Faisal, the son of the 'Ajman lady Shagha, spent his time alternately raiding the 'Ajman and making peace with them. The tribe reverenced and admired him because of his mother, and hated him because his father was an enemy and a Mutairi. To the day of his death in 1932 the 'Ajman called him the "iron camel stick" who scourged their tribe, and proved his mother's dream to have been prophetic.

Wadha became the mother of Sa'ud al 'Arafa, by 'Abdul 'Aziz bin Faisal bin Turki al Sa'ud (first cousin of His Majesty the present King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud). Hence Sa'ud al 'Arafa's preference for his mother's tribe, and the saying that he is the real Shaikh of the 'Ajman. He is the husband to-day of Bin Sa'ud's famous sister Nura, and lives perpetually by the King's side, for owing to his mother's blood the King fears him, and with reason, if we read the history of the Araif.

'AJMAN LIGHTHEARTEDNESS

The following trivial incident is typical of the merry lightheartedness of the 'Ajman.

* A *mishd'ab* is the camel-stick used by every Badawin.

Once when my wife, Zahra and I visited Junaifir's tent, I asked to see 'Abdullah's wife, who had cooked our lunch so nicely. We were all taken to the women's portion of 'Abdullah's tent and met Shagha, a pretty comely girl who had had four children, all of whom had died, in spite of her having according to 'Ajman custom eaten a portion of the ear of the last arrival to keep it alive. I knew from others that Shagha was afraid that 'Abdullah intended taking another girl to wife, so I determined to help her.

Abdullah: When, O Abu Sa'ud, are you going to give me the rifle you promised me last year?

Self: When I hear from the lips of your wife that you deserve one.

'Abdullah to *Shagha:* Speak up, woman, and say that I am the best of husbands, and should have the rifle.

Shagha: He is a good man, O Abu Sa'ud, please give him his wish.

Self: I will certainly, and for your eye's sake, but a bird told me he desires the daughter of Murait (a local beauty), and neither God nor Um Sa'ud (my wife) here would agree to this so long as you are living. (A general titter from the women and roars of laughter from Junaifir, father of 'Abdullah.)

Junaifir: By God, O Abu Sa'ud, you speak the truth, though whence you have heard the rumour God alone knows. She shall not be ill-treated, and you may make a condition of giving 'Abdullah the rifle, that he does not divorce our Shagha.

Self: So, 'Abdullah, I have found you out. The rifle shall be yours as soon as you bring me a paper *waraqa* sealed by your seal, saying that you will not marry bint Murait or put away Shagha. (Much laughter and joy on Shagha's part.)

'Abdullah: Very well, Abu Sa'ud, a rifle is worth more than all women put together. The *waraqa* shall be brought you. But don't forget also some cartridges.

Note.—The rascally 'Abdullah proceeded to Riyadh in June 1936 and married a young thing there. Shagha has been told she will still be considered *Raiyat al Bait*, or head of the tent. Fortunately 'Abdullah has not yet got his rifle: I don't think he will now.

After this amusing passage Junaifir ups and says, "Ya Abu Sa'ud, I have found you the 'Ajman girl, whom we are going to marry you to". "Where?" says I. "Ho, you *niswán* (Oh, you wenches) bring along my sister the beloved Samha and show her to the Gonsul" (Consul). The proffered bride was duly brought along, an old crony of some

eighty summers. "Here she is, here she is," says old Junaifir, "though somewhat old she is a perfect cook, and we keep our best girls for such as you." "La, la" (no, no), "O Junaifir," cries out my wife, tumbling to the joke, "my husband Abu Sa'ud likes *bints*, not old women. What about bint Murait the lovely one, my husband will surely take her?" (bint Murait was the prospective supplanter of Shagha, outed for the promise of the rifle). More roars of laughter from inside and outside the tent, and cries of "That is one for you, O Abu 'Abdulla, well scored Um Sa'ud". The above incident is recounted with apologies to illustrate the cheeriness and joviality of the 'Ajman, all of whom above other Arabs seem to enjoy a joke.

Two hours later, the wife, my daughter and I were in the women's quarter of the tent of Hamad bin Mishwat. Hamad was away, but his brother Sa'ad acted as host. Sa'ad's wife was enormously fat, but full of fun. Whilst showing off her daughter Maneira wife of Hamad, she asked if we English liked fat or thin girls; "betwixt and between", said I guardedly. "Then Nura my second daughter is what you must like." Nura is duly produced, Maneira's younger sister, a rather lovely girl. "Now, O Abu Sa'ud," said the fat one, "what about her?" I greatly admired her, to Nura's delight especially, and suggested that she might with advantage leave her husband and come and be my wife. Roars of "Do you hear that, Um Sa'ud?" (Mrs. Dickson). "Abu Sa'ud wants to take my Nura for a second wife, but we shall never allow her to be taken over your head (*'ala ras ich*)." My wife made suitable rejoinder.

ORIGINS OF THE 'AJMAN

Two days later a visit was paid us by Shaikh Salim bin Udhain's wife and daughter Metha. Both had been exiles in Mahrudh bin Hadhal's tents in the north for close on four years. They had just returned from the Waddiyan with Muhammad ibn Udhain, who was returning to Bin Sa'ud to make his peace.

The next day I held a *majlis* and discussed with 'Ajman greybeards the origin of the 'Ajman, and questioned them as to what tribes in Southern Arabia were allied as coming of the same stock. I learnt the following (30th April, 1935).

(1) One and all discarded what they called the commonly believed and foolish story of Kisra (Chosroes) having colonised Hasa with war prisoners, who later became the ancestors of the 'Ajman. They could not say where the story had originated, but were emphatic that it was untrue.

(2) One and all of the leaders and old men (including Salim al Udhain, the aged Musra Shaikh) declared that the story of their Najran ancestry was the only correct one. This was proved also by many of their old songs and verses, composed over a thousand years ago, and handed down from father to son. These clearly showed, they said, that the mysterious Yam was their founder, and that from him also had sprung the Murra, the Manasír, the Manahir, the Awámir, the Rashid, the Saiar (of Hadhramaut and Dhufar), also the Karab, and many also of the Yaman tribes proper. They, the 'Ajman, the greatest of the Yam descendants, invaded (according to their ancient sagas) the Persian Gulf littoral in the days when the Araiar house of the Bani Khalid ruled Eastern Arabia and modern Hasa. In fact, this took place in the day of the famous Araiar ruler who made the touching of a *hubara* egg punishable by death.

A VISIT TO THE CAMP OF AMIR HAIF BIN HAJRAF (HEAD OF THE SULAIMAN SEPT OF THE 'AJMAN) 25TH MARCH, 1935

My last visit to Amir Haif's camp was interesting for various reasons, but especially because of the way they were doctoring a valuable hawk, which had had its head badly cut in a fight with a *hubara*.

We (my wife, myself, my daughter and 'Addas the hawk-eyed Rashidi hunter of the Shaikh of Kuwait) arrived at about 10 a.m. at the Amir's camp on the eastern edge of the Shaqq, and in the depression known as Khaur al Hajlan.

My wife brought enough silks and satins to satisfy the needs of the Amir's ladies, some seven in number (including sisters and daughters), and after distributing them, and giving other silks to the two wives of Anaizan al Munaikhar on a visit from Najd, we had lunch. A good spread it was too, set out in 'Ajman fashion. The Amir made an excellent host, and entertained us right royally.

After lunch we heard all about the hawk incident. The bird had been branded between the eyes much as *salúqi* dogs are branded by the Badawin for distemper. The wound made by the *hubara* was on the top centre of the head, and was as large as a sixpence, the brand was the size of a threepenny bit and was placed just in front of the other wound. The hawk looked very sorry for itself, but Amir Haif assured me it would get quite well and "recover its courage". He said he was known to be an expert falcon doctor, and everyone knew that what he said would turn out as foreshadowed. I cordially hoped it would.

After lunch we met Nahar al Mutalaqqim and his brother 'Abdulla (known as 'Ubaid from the dark colour of his skin, and his rather thick lips). Both were the Shaikhs of the Al Mutalaqqim sept of the 'Ajman, and great warriors.

'Ubaid told me that he had been one of the famous twenty paladins* (two of Sbei, one Qahtani and seventeen of 'Ajman) who under the leadership of Bin Sa'ud, Muhammad his brother, and 'Abdulla ibn Jiluwi had captured Riyadh and killed Ajlan, the Bin Rashid Governor, as he bolted back into the *kút* or fort of Riyadh. "Ah, Abu Sa'ud, those were great days, and it was worth a whole man's life to have seen them. It was Bin Jiluwi who hurled his dagger at the fleeing Ajlan and missed him,† and it was Bin Jiluwi's hand that seized Ajlan's leg as he tried to enter the wicket gate, and brought him to the ground, but it was 'Abdul 'Aziz's sword which struck off Ajlan's head, as he lay on the ground struggling with Bin Jiluwi. I can even now see Bin Sa'ud preparing for the sortie from Ajlan's lady's house, on the other side of the square. How cool and calm he was. He had discarded his *agál* (head rope) and tied his *kaffiyah* over his head and round his neck, and had followed it by carefully tying his long sleeves round the back of his neck.

And what a woman was Ajlan's wife. She was found in deep sleep, and it was Bin Sa'ud who touched her and woke her up. *Minu, minu?* (who is it, who is it?), was all she said. On being told by Bin Sa'ud

* According to Bin Sa'ud's story related as recently as November 1937, 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim was not among the famous twenty, but was among his supporters who awaited outside Riyadh among the palm groves.

† The mark of Bin Jiluwi's dagger which stuck in the great door of the fort after missing Ajlan can be seen to this day in Riyadh.

that it was he, instead of screaming or crying as most women would have done, she merely replied, *Wa na'am ya Abu Turki, wa na'am.* Later indeed she showed more of her pluck, by trying to kill 'Abdul 'Aziz by an evil spell.

On our return journey, and at the end of a pleasant day, we stopped some 'Awazim milch camels by the wayside, and had a drink of milk each. 'Addas disgraced himself by drinking five pint bowls of milk straight off and without a pause. The baby camels were delightful in their friendliness, and nosed their little faces into ours in most affectionate manner—nor were the mothers in any way frightened or anxious.

A CHAT WITH RÁSHID BIN FAHAD

During one of my many pleasant journeys among the 'Ajman tribe, I met on 10th May, 1935, an interesting person called Ráshid bin Fahad of the Al 'Arja section of the 'Ajman. I found him in the tent of Anaizan ibn Munaikhir.

Ráshid told me many stories of the Murra tribe and their life and said:

(*a*) Among other things he had been south of Jabrin to Magainama wells (see Philby's *Empty Quarter*), and on to Um al Hadida and even south of that place, and

(*b*) He had heard of *walking stones* (see Philby) but had only seen a few once. This was when he was on a raid with the late Dhaidan al Hithlain, Shaikh of the 'Ajman. His leader and many others had examined the stones carefully, and said they were inspired by Jinns. What they saw were pebbles about the size of a pigeon's egg lying with others on gravelly ground. These pebbles had clearly been dragged or rolled some six feet along the ground, as their tracks showed clear behind them. Only a few selected stones had done this, the others had clearly never moved—so it could not have been a strong gale. Besides, he said, a wind would have obliterated the tracks.

(*c*) He had heard the Murra people talk of singing sands, but had never heard them himself. The Murra had told him the noise was the work of Jinns, who also made other noises in the desert like children crying, and more often than not sounds of pestle and mortar (coffee making), as if a camp was near. Ráshid emphasised that the pheno-

mena were common to the Al Rimal or Al Ramla (Rub'al Khâli) and were always the work of Jinns (spirits).

(*d*) Individual Murra, he said, themselves often came out of the great desert "mad", which made them sing and laugh in strange manner. This was undoubtedly due to Jinn influence.

(*e*) The word Rub' al Khâli, he said, was a *hadhar* or townsman's expression, and Badawin did not know the name, and he himself had only once or twice heard it.

(*f*) Râshid knew seven of Philby's guides personally when he made his great trans-desert journey; one of them, Falah abu Ja'sha, was his cousin. (See page 10 of Philby's book; also first part of this chapter.)

THE DEAD WOMAN WHO NURSED HER CHILD

(Recounted by Dhuwaihi bin Kharmit of the 'Awazim on 21st April, 1935, in camp at Malah, Kuwait.)

A man of the 'Awazim was once travelling near Hail with his young wife. The latter was with child, and in a gorge between some high rocky hills she suddenly gave birth to a baby boy, but in the process died. Her husband did all he could for her, but as he was alone, he could not save her. He buried her by putting her body in a small cave nearby, and filled up the entrance with stones. Loth to remove the child, and knowing it would shortly die for lack of milk, he laid it on its mother's breast with her left arm round it, and put the mother's left breast to the baby's mouth. He then rode away.

Nine months later a party of Badawin of the same tribe happened to wander by and camp close to the spot where the woman and child had been buried. Knowing the story they went to the cave's mouth to see if the wall was intact. To their surprise they found a few stones removed and a hole in the wall; outside on the sand they found the tracks of a child's feet running all over the ground. In great fear and filled with superstition they quickly rode away from the haunted place. In course of time the Badawin told the father, who hastened to the spot, and found the hole in the wall and the small footmarks. Looking inside the cave, he found a live boy-child sitting and prattling beside the mummified form of his dead wife. The mother's body was all dried up, except her left eye and the left side of her face, her left

breast (which was full of milk) and left arm. These were alive, and similar to those of a living woman. The man, greatly fearing and praising God, took away the infant boy, placed him on his camel and rode away.

Before departing he carefully buried the remains of his dead wife, this time in a sand tomb.

According to the storyteller, this happened in his father's time, and he had it from his father that the child grew up favoured by God and man, and became a renowned fighting warrior of the tribe. He was named Khalawi and is alive to-day though very old. The name Khalawi means "born of the desert".

THE 'AWAZIM FISHERFOLK AND THE BLIND STRANGER

Fahad al Muhait was an old 'Azmi and lived with his two wives, his son, daughter-in-law, daughter and several children in two tents on the seashore on the southern side of the spit of land known as Ras al Ardh, some 14 miles from Kuwait. He was proud of his tribe—the great and wealthy 'Awazim—and though he was poor, they never forgot him or lost touch with him. Each spring there came to him four or five ewes to keep him supplied with milk until the summer came round again, when he would return them to their owners with many thanks. This custom is called *manihah.*

Friend Fahad was a fisherman. In spring and summer he eked out an existence by setting a reed fish-trap or *hadhara* in the sea opposite the few *sidr* trees which we used to call "Jerboa Spinney", for it was a nice place in which to free our pets when summer came and we had to go to England.

In winter he and his son fished from the shore with circular nets. Their one donkey took the catch into the bazaar where it was sold for a few annas.

On the first and fifteenth of each Arab month, and for a period of four days, the people of the coast are able to collect a certain shellfish called locally *zababit* when the ebb-tide recedes extra far and uncovers the shells. All the 'Awazim are fond of these. I tried them once, but they were so full of sand that I did not enjoy them; perhaps the local people have a knack of cleaning them better than we did.



A BADAWIN FAMILY MOVING CAMP



SHAIKH MUHAMMAD AL BADR AL DUWÍSH
(One of the chief Mutair leaders)

We were wandering by the shore one day near Fahad's tent, when the senior wife herself welcomed us to her tent. We entered and she brought out a large bag of truffles which her husband had found and offered them, so we took five large ones home and enjoyed them on toast for our tea in the evening.

We asked who the very old blind man was who sat huddled in the corner. "He is no relation of ours," the woman said, "but he has lived with us for four years now. We found him in Kuwait, blind and uncared for, and with no one to look after him, so we brought him out here and have looked after him ever since. He is one of our own tribe and we must do this for the honour of our tribe." We noticed a thin white fishing-line running along the ground from the inside of the tent behind where the old man was sitting, straight out in front of the tent, and fastened to a peg about eighty yards away. "What is this cord used for?" we asked. The woman answered, "It is for the old man to follow when he wants to relieve himself at night; we fear he might get lost should we all be asleep and not hear him calling, so now he goes out and comes back safely by himself, holding on to the cord".

On our last visit we took the family five rupees for the truffles; all were overjoyed and gave us a few more and begged us to take their small catch of fish. This consisted of a small young shark, a beautiful red fish about as big as one's hand—*bint al bahr* they called it: daughter of the sea—and four smaller fish, but we insisted on leaving them for their own supper.

The old woman gave each daughter and grand-daughter a rupee, from the five which we brought. "This will give you a new dress for the *'Id*, thanks to Abu Sa'ud," she said. "One for you, one for you, one for you, one for you and this one for me." "We have made *'abbas* out of sackcloth as you see," said the husband, pointing to his son's smock-like garment made of old rice bags, "but they are warm, and it doesn't matter about us." "Come again soon, we shall have some milk to give you then, and remember if ever you want a service done by the 'Awazim, I am one of them, and your servant for all time."

As we walked towards our car we met three guests going to the family tent. Evidently there was going to be a feast of *zababits*, as it was the night of the new moon and they had had a good catch.

We have often thought since then of the old blind man and the convenient cord which led him away a suitable distance from the tent of his kind hosts and protectors. Good Samaritans indeed. For with life treating them hardly, they yet found the opportunity and wherewithal to keep a perfect stranger as their guest for four years, because he was helpless and a member of their tribe.

THE FAITHFUL 'ASMÍYEH AL DAGHAMMA

A true story

It is related as a common story in Sa'udi Arabia, that when after the attempt on his life in the Great Mosque in Mecca in the year 1934, His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud finally returned to Riyadh, his capital, an aged 'Awazim woman named Al Daghamma one day rode alone into the *minakha* or inner courtyard of the palace, where arriving guests and those desiring audience with His Majesty are privileged to dismount from their camels and tether them in safety. Having dismounted and knee-haltered her camel, the old woman entered the palace and begged the attendants to show her the King. She just wanted, she said, to cast her eyes on her beloved Lord and Imám, who, men said, had come home safe and sound.

Her message was duly conveyed to His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz, who ordered the woman to be brought into his presence. Old Al Daghamma, on catching sight of her beloved sovereign, ran forward and in touching words of welcome, and with much thanking of God for his safe escape from the dastardly assassin's knife, begged a boon. "God has already granted thy wish, O mother," said the King. "Speak what is in thy heart, and say what it is that thou desirest."

"O 'Abdul 'Aziz, grant only that I may kiss thy feet once before I die, for my joy is great to overflowing seeing that my father who was dead has come back to life again, that my Shaikh who was reported killed has come home safely."

The King, greatly moved, granted the old woman's wish, and as he gently raised her from the ground, he proclaimed that as a reward for her loyalty and touching devotion, no *zakát* tax should henceforth be taken from Al Daghamma or from any member of her house, and that this order should hold good down even to her children's children.

Such are the methods of the Great Bin Sa'ud, and it is by such deeds that he has won and continues to win the loyalty and love of his people.

Al Daghamma is still alive in the 'Awazim country to-day (the 25th February, 1939).

TALE OF AN ARAB HUNTER

A true story, well known in Najd

There was once a man of the Shammar tribe of Arabia who was a very keen sportsman, and whose favourite pastime was hunting the wild oryx. One day he set off on his *dhahlúl* towards the hills of Jabal Shammar, intending to be away a few days hunting. As was his custom, he told his wife that he would be back four days hence, before noon, and that if he was not, she would know that he was either sick or something untoward had happened to him.

On the morning of the fourth day, his brother, who had been away on a long journey to Hasa returned, and at once asked where his brother was. He was told that he had gone hunting but was due back that very day before noon. Noon came, and there was no sign of him; then sunset came and still no sign. His brother then sent for his *dhahlúl*, and taking some food set out to seek his brother.

He knew the place where there were oryx in great numbers, in a part of the country where there was especially good grazing, and made sure his brother would have gone that way.

He travelled all through the night and next morning came across a "hide" which had been carefully made in the ground and surrounded by brushwood. He was very surprised to see lying in it a gun and a powder-horn, also a dagger which he recognised as belonging to his brother, and leading away from the hide a thin trail of blood. There were footmarks of oryx in great numbers round about, also footmarks along the line of blood. His only course now was to follow the line of blood. This he did, and in a depression some little way off he found his brother's *dhahlúl* grazing peacefully. At last, after going some miles, he saw in the distance a herd of oryx grazing. He approached them slowly and carefully, still following the blood

tracks on the ground, when to his amazement he saw that one of them had something on its back. On getting closer he recognised his brother on the back of the oryx: his thighs were impaled on the long bayonet-like horns, his head was hanging down over its tail, and his arms clasped the animal's belly.

What could he do now? If he were to shoot the oryx he would most certainly kill his brother, and how could he get close enough to kill the beast with his dagger! The hunter was still alive and conscious even after the loss of much blood.

The brother thought out a plan. Making a large detour he came into a depression where he was hidden from view, and here he picked out a spot which had the very best of grazing, and to which the oryx were very likely to come. In among the grass and flowers he stuck in the ground his two daggers some way apart, and prayed that chance might bring the animals to that very spot and enable his brother to reach a dagger. He now went some distance away behind a rock and waited. Sure enough the oryx came along and grazed in the very spot where he had planted his daggers. He was able to signal to his brother to look for the daggers without frightening the oryx as the latter was facing away from him. The man on the back of the oryx looked very carefully and sure enough spotted his own dagger "growing" in the grass and was just able to reach it with his one hand. He still had the strength to plunge it into the animal's heart. The oryx rolled over on the ground, and the rescuer rushed up and gave the beast a final bullet.

He now had to pull his brother off the animal's horns which had pierced right through his thighs. This done, he bandaged him up as best he could and put him on his *dhahlúl* together with the dead oryx.

For many months the brother lay very sick, but slowly recovered. As he got better he told his family all that had happened. How he came upon this large herd of oryx and made his "hide" very carefully and then waited many long hours for them to come near enough to shoot. When he thought the right moment had arrived, he fired his old muzzle-loader at the biggest of the herd. So sure was he that he had killed it that he jumped up preparing to go out and get it. At that same instant the wounded animal was actually making a headlong

charge at the hide, unable to see whence the shot had come but sensing the direction. As the hunter stood up, the oryx with his head down impaled him on his long horns and carried him away. Although nearly fainting with agony he had the presence of mind to hold on very tight with both hands round the belly of the animal, for he knew that if he once fell over on one side or the other his head would be dashed against the ground as the beast galloped off. He was powerless to kill the oryx as both his dagger and gun had dropped from him when the animal rushed him, and he had no other weapon.

The story is an old one and believed to be true. It is known to all Shammar tribesmen and is said to have taken place near Hail about one hundred years ago.

Told by 'Abdulla al Othman al Rashid of Buraida

ABRAHAM AND ISHMAEL

Coming home one day from a hawking expedition in the autumn of 1937 with Mirshid ibn Twala of the Shammar tribe, I was discussing the Palestine troubles with him, and asked why it was that the Arabs hated the Jews.

"O Abu Sa'ud," said he, "God has told us that the Jews are an accursed people whose witness is not acceptable. They were always against every Prophet sent them, notably Moses and Jesus, and when finally Muhammad the last of the Prophets was sent them by God, did they not try and murder him also on three occasions?

"Yes, Abu Sa'ud, they are a cruel and stiff-necked people and always were so, but we Badawin hate them particularly for the way Abraham's wife intrigued against Hagar the mother of Ishmael, and cruelly expelled her into the waterless desert. She intended that Hagar should die there of thirst, but God saved her and her son, our ancestor.

"Abraham was later filled with remorse and spent the latter years of his life trying to find his son Ishmael, having been told by God that he was still alive and would receive great blessing. Your Book and the Jewish Taurat says nothing about this nor how Abraham found him and then was ordered by God to take him up into the high mount of 'Arafat and there sacrifice him. No, the accursed Bani Israel (Jews) were not going to have it that way, they were going to

have it that Isaac was the one preferred of God, and they cooked the Scriptures, so that their descendants and you Christians to this day believe that Isaac was the son whom Abraham was bidden to sacrifice."

"Tell me the story, O Mirshid," I said, "for I have not heard it."

"It happened in this wise, and I will make it short, for the whole tale is very long. It will show you, however, that Abraham in the end made up for the wrong he did to Hagar the mother of Ishmael, and proved that Ishmael was in truth the dearer of his two sons, and was the one favoured of God. And don't forget that Ishmael was the ancestor of half the great Arab race. The other or Southern half are descended from Qahtan (Yokdan) the son of Set (Seth), and an older branch of Abraham's ancestors. The descendants of Qahtan accepted Ishmael and his descendants though they called them 'Arab al Musta'ariba, or Arabs who became Arabs as opposed to their own proud title of 'Arab al 'Ariba or those who were Arabs from the first.

"When Hagar was driven into the desert to die with her baby boy, Abraham had migrated to the south as was his annual custom and as all Badawin even to this day move, in search of grazing. He was at the time not far from where the town of Mecca stands to-day. There was of course no Bait Allah (House of God) in those days. Well, as the unfortunate Hagar was about to die of thirst, she grieved greatly for her offspring—and in frantic agony left her baby in a sandy water-course, and started running about near two small hills which were at hand, praying to God all the while to save her child.

"The two hills later became known as Safa and Marwa, and are now inside the precincts of modern Mecca. God heard her prayer, for on staggering back exhausted to see if her child were still alive, she found a small *thamíla* (pool) of water lying in a hole in the sand that had been excavated by her child's legs as it lay kicking in the sand. She dug further and more water oozed into the hole, and she drank long and deeply. She was saved and her prayers had been answered. That *thamíla* is to-day the famous well of Zam Zam which lies inside the precincts of the Harám or Holy Place in Mecca. Later Hagar was found by certain Arabs of the locality and was cared for and became one of them.

"In the course of time Ishmael grew up and Hagar was gathered to her fathers, and never saw Abraham again.

"Ishmael then took unto himself as wife a girl of the tribe which had befriended his mother, and he built her a small mud and stone home near the water that had saved his and his mother's life. From there Ishmael would wander forth with the camels and sheep that he had now acquired, and would return in the evening to his wife. He also was a great hunter.

"It came to pass when Ishmael was about one score and five years of age that the aged Abraham, having once more moved with his flocks and camels to that region, was ordered by God in a dream to look for his son Ishmael the son of Hagar, as he was surely alive. Abraham had always yearned for the lost Hagar and greatly rejoiced at the news. He accordingly left his camp daily to see if he could find his son. One day God guided his footsteps and brought him to Ishmael's little house. Ishmael was away but his wife, seeing an aged man, and obviously a shaikh from his finely caparisoned camel, which he was making kneel in front of her house, went out and invited him in. Abraham entered and sat down, but was given only a drink of water, for the wife explained that she had no food in the house. This was untrue, for she had in fact some milk and dates in her larder but did not want to waste them on a stranger. Abraham felt within him that the house was that of his long-lost son, but said nothing, and at length rose to go. As he mounted his camel he said, 'O woman, when thy husband returneth tell him to cleanse the threshold (*'atiba*) of his house'. With that he was gone.

"When Ishmael returned in the evening and heard about the visit of the aged stranger and what he had said to his wife, he was wroth and said,'Woman, thou didst not do well, in thou didst fail to honour the guest and give him of all thou hadst; Verily thou art the threshold of my house, and it shall be cleansed'. With that he put her away and sent her back to her people. Not long after Ishmael took unto himself another wife, and two years later Abraham again presented himself at his house in the same way as before.

"Again Ishmael was absent, this time a-hunting. Ishmael's wife welcomed the stranger in, tended him kindly and gave of all she had in the house. Again Abraham rose to go, and as he mounted his camel

he said, 'O woman, tell thy husband to guard the threshold of his house, for it shall be blessed with a great blessing for this day's work'.

"When Ishmael returned from the chase and heard the story, he too rejoiced and said, 'I smell the smell of my father, verily it is he who hath been with thee. Blessed also art thou, O wife, for thy children shall be known throughout the ages for their hospitality to strangers. This shall be the sign unto the world that the children of Ishmael have been blessed and are the favoured of God.'

"Then Ishmael rose up and searched for his father Abraham and finding him after some days, he made himself known to him. And Abraham rejoiced exceedingly that he had found his son.

"Now the age of Ishmael was twenty and seven summers. Now it came to pass after these things that Abraham one day dreamed a dream. He then called his son Ishmael and said unto him, 'My son, I saw in my sleep that I have to take thee up into yon high mountain, prepare therefore an ass for me to ride on, and do thou follow me'. On the journey and as Ishmael followed some way behind his father, Iblís (the devil) in the form of a benign old man stepped from behind some rocks and spake to him thus: 'My son, follow not the footsteps of that wicked old man going before thee, for assuredly he will kill thee on the top of that mountain, turn thee back that thou may be saved'. But Ishmael cursed the old man and drove him away, casting seven stones after him. Now the place where Ishmael stoned the tempter Iblís, is known as Muna to this day, and is marked by three pillars which all good Muslims stone during the Pilgrimage. The name of the mountain is known also as 'Arafat or the 'mountain of witness' to this day, and is visited by thousands of Muslims when performing the Haj.

"When Abraham and Ishmael reached the top of the mountain Abraham said unto Ishmael: 'My son, I saw in my sleep that I have to sacrifice thee'. Then the son said to his father: 'My father, thy will is my will, but tie the cords very tight to keep me from trembling, and remove my garments lest some of my blood spatter on them and I shall thus lose merit, and lest my wife grieve when she sees them. Also sharpen the blade well, and pull it quickly across my throat so that death may be easier, for verily death is a very hard matter. And when you come back to my wife, give her my salaams, and if she

so desires give her my shirt, perhaps it may comfort her a little.' Abraham said, 'My son, you help me to do what God hath commanded me to perform'.

"Then Abraham did as his son requested, and after he had bound him he bent down and kissed him, weeping all the time. Ishmael his son also wept till the tears ran down his cheeks.

"Then Abraham put the knife to his son's throat, but it did not cut.

"It has been said that God had put a sleeve of brass round his son's throat.

"Then Ishmael said: 'O my father, turn me on my face, for when you see my eyes you are sorry for me, and pity takes hold of you and keeps you from doing that God has commanded you to do'.

"So his father did this, but when he put the knife to the back of the neck, it turned over, and a voice called to him, 'Faithfully done, O Abraham, thou art my servant indeed'.

"Then Abraham turned round and found a ram entangled by its horns in a nearby bush, so he sacrificed it in place of his son Ishmael.

"And it came to pass that after sojourning awhile with his son Ishmael and his wife who had joined him, Abraham returned to his own country, but Ishmael remained in the land of his adoption."

The above story appears to have been taken from a very old book known as *Qisás al Anbiyá* or Stories of the Prophets, written centuries ago, though I have no reference book which gives its date. Suffice it to say that the writer wrote many tales regarding events of the Old Testament, and almost all the knowledge the Badawin of Arabia has of ancient Biblical history comes from this book.

It has been said that educated Muslims do not pay much attention to the *Qisás al Anbiyá*, though I do not like to think this is the case.

It is interesting to learn from this book that among early Muslims there was a difference of opinion as to whom Abraham was going to offer up. The Qur'an does not definitely give the name. Some persons of prominence thought it was Isaac and not Ishmael, while others even held that it was Joseph. The tradition that for a long time, and until the Ka'bah was burned in the days of Hajjaj, there hung on its walls a *pair of ram's horns*, made the author of the *Qisás al Anbiyá* decide that it must have been Ishmael.

A FATHER'S UNNATURAL VENGEANCE

A true story

The following events occurred in the hinterland of Kuwait in early March 1939, close to my camp, the chief actors being personally known to me and my wife.

Falah ibn Khudaiyir was a prominent and well-to-do Kuwaiti of Mutair tribal origin. During the summer months he usually captained one of his two large pearling boats, and during the autumn, winter and spring he adopted the life of a nomad, and went deep into the desert, joining up with his brethren the great Mutair tribe of North-East Arabia, and wandering with them over the Summán, Gara and Dibdibba regions.

Ibn Khudaiyir was a prosperous man, and owned many camels and sheep. Though not connected with any shaikhly family of the Mutair, his wealth brought him an important following, and he was respected by all from the Shaikh of Kuwait downwards.

It so happened that Falah ibn Khudaiyir had a handsome son of about twenty-one, a boy full of spirit and devilment. One day the lad quarrelled with his father over a girl, it is said, whom his father wished him to marry. The quarrel waxed bitter, and many harsh words followed, until the son in despair determined to leave his home and parents, and flee to Iraq where he hoped to obtain service under King Ghazi.

Making his preparations carefully and when the Mutair were camped in the Dibdibba (western edge of Kuwait State), the boy one night slipped away from camp on his father's best *dhalúl*, leading his father's mare behind him. He took also his father's rifle and cartridge-bandolier, together with a handful of dates and a light *jirba* of water. He had only some forty miles to go and he would be safe across the border. There was therefore no great hurry. Dawn arrived to find the boy flown and great was ibn Khudaiyir's rage. Wasting no time, he mounted another camel and rode post haste among the Mutair tents, crying out that an 'Anizah servant of his had stolen his camel, mare and rifle in the night and had treacherously made off with them. "Run him down, O my people, there is yet time", he cried. Ibn

Khudaiyir knew that had he said it was his Mutairi son who had robbed him no man would have moved a finger, much less attempted a pursuit, but a hated 'Anizah, hereditary enemy of their tribe, was a different matter. In ten minutes every Mutairi possessing a camel or mare was in the saddle and after the boy in full cry. The tracks left by the led mare on the ground were easy to follow and the chase moved at full speed. Two hours later the pursuers saw their quarry far away on the horizon, and being unencumbered they swiftly closed in. Being an old man and not so well mounted ibn Khudaiyir followed some way behind, outstripped somewhat by Muhammad al Watban al Duwish in charge of that particular group of the Mutair with whom ibn Khudaiyir had been camped.

As his pursuers drew closer the fugitive tried abandoning the mare, but to no purpose, the avengers were on him and all knew the fate of a thief in the desert. The beating he would get would be as nothing to the lifelong disgrace and brand of *thief* that would be his portion and which he would have to endure before all men all his days. Nay, the pursuers would take supreme delight in "cutting off the nose" of a hated 'Anizah dog and would perform the operation slowly, for such was the inexorable law.

The frantic boy, seeing that all was up, at length leapt off his camel, cast aside his arms and threw himself on the ground face downwards, endeavouring as he did so to shield his face with his arms. Like eagles on their prey the wild Badawin swooped on him. "Thou dog, show thy face! Thou wilt not, then take that and that and that!" was their snarl as they drove their daggers into his back a couple of inches or so to make him turn over. At last they succeeded in hacking at his face, and the hapless youth, bleeding from face and hands, was forced to stand up just as Shaikh Muhammad al Watban and Falah ibn Khudaiyir pantingly drew up. One glance showed the Mutairi Shaikh what had happened. He recognised the boy at once, not only as his friend's son, but worse still as a member of his own tribe. Never was it permissible to put the brand of Cain on a son who had taken only his father's property. That, the desert law did not recognise as thieving.

Dismayed he roared to his people to desist, and turned on ibn Khudaiyir, his one-time friend and would literally have slain him then and there had he not, as he told me, feared the Shaikh of Kuwait.

So outraged were the feelings of the whole tribe that they cast out Falah ibn Khudaiyir and forbade him to camp or shelter with the Mutair. He turned to the lonely places of the desert, where he now wanders a broken and a bitter man. Doubtless he will some day rehabilitate himself with the tribe, but not without the payment of a large sum as honour-money.

I subsequently learned that the boy's nose was not completely cut off but only the tip, but in their effort to get at the nose the tribesmen inflicted a deep gash from the bridge of the nose and across the left cheek below the eye.

NINE MONTHS LATER

One evening my wife and I were in the house of my friend Falah ibn 'Amir in Kuwait conversing with him and his wife Muthi when a Mutairi entered who was introduced to me as one Rasad, the actual man who had nearly cut off the nose of Falah ibn Khudaiyir's son, in the desert in March 1939. I learned also that the erring boy's name was Muhammad, and that he had taken service with Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifa al Subah. Rasad recounted the whole story (told above) in detail. Apparently Muhammad had on 24th November complained against Rasad and demanded from him the gun, the hawk and the mare which he had stolen from his father, and which Rasad, the first pursuer to arrive on the scene, had taken and given back to the owner.

The case had come up before 'Abdulla Jabir al Subah, and Muhammad had added to his claim "blood money". After a long trial Rasad was declared "free of guilt, with no blood claim on him", as he had handed back the gun, hawk and mare to Falah ibn Khudaiyir (the father). Rasad was given a *waraqa* to the above effect. The plaintiff Muhammad was then told he could complain against his father. This he did. Falah was declared blameworthy for saying his son was an 'Anizah man but for nothing else. The father being anxious, however, to make it up with his son decided to give him a new gun. How to get this was the problem. He came one day by night to my house and told me his side of the story and begged me to assist him with a loan of Rs.50 to buy a beautiful Belgian gun which he knew of. I did, but told him I did not want the money back so long as a real reconciliation took place. I believe it did.

CHAPTER XXIII

Story Telling

The Arab is a great raconteur, and hazarding a guess I should say there were hundreds of known stories extant which have never been published in any Western books, and which equal those already collected in the *Arabian Nights*. Háji 'Abdullah Fathil al Musulmani (my friend Mr. Williamson of Basra) tells me that he alone has a collection of ninety-two such.

Both townsmen and Badawin love story telling, and on the march, in camp, or of an evening when the day's work is done, the story teller will begin. Most such stories are of the *risqué* type, but the Arab does not mind this. I quote a few.

I. HOW A DEBT OF 30 DINARS WAS RECOVERED

(Illustrating the advantage of having a friend at court, or a strong patron, and making clear the meaning of "Let not the light of thy countenance be removed from me", an Arab expression often heard.)

Once upon a time, there lived in the city of Baghdad a poor shopkeeper who sold cloth and other fancy goods. He was a good man and honest and never hurt anybody by word or deed. His name was 'Abdullah al Mansur.

One day his neighbour, a man he had always considered honest and of good repute, visited him after supper and begged 30 dinars as a loan to meet a very pressing debt. "If you will only lend me the money," said he, "I shall for ever be your debtor, and shall certainly return your money in three days. This indeed I promise to do by Allah." The neighbour's name was Musa bin Khalil. 'Abdullah, foreseeing no trouble, opened his carefully hidden cash box, extracted the money and gave 30 dinars to Musa, who thanked him warmly. Three days went by and the money was not returned. Four days, five days and nothing happened. Accordingly 'Abdullah repaired to

Musa's house next door, and asked him about the debt. To his surprise and horror Musa completely denied ever having borrowed anything, and with abuse drove his benefactor from the house, calling him an evil-minded man who was trying to get money out of honest folk by false pretences, etc. For two whole days 'Abdullah al Mansur nursed his grievance, then bethinking him of the Father of the Faithful, the Khalífah, and remembering that he sat on that day in open *majlis* dispensing justice to poor and rich, he made his way to the palace.

In due course the poor cloth merchant was able to get his turn, and poured out his trouble to the great man. "Well, my friend," said the latter on hearing the end of the story, "you have no doubt got witnesses who saw the money change hands?" "Alas, I have not, O protector of the poor," was his reply. "Then doubtless you possess a receipt for the money, my son?" Again the answer was a negative. "Your case seems a bad one," continued the Khalífah, "seeing that you possess neither witness nor document of any sort, but stay, you look honest. Will you swear on the Holy Qur'an that what you speak is the truth?" "May God lengthen your days, sire. Indeed I will", said poor 'Abdullah.

Thereupon, having had him duly sworn the Khalífah dismissed him, saying he would ponder the matter, but lest he, the Commander of the Faithful, forget his case, he told 'Abdullah to stand in the Báb Sharqi on the morrow at two o'clock Arabic time as he went out hawking. The sight of the petitioner would remind him, he said, of the business. The wondering cloth merchant did as he was told, and next morning took up his position at the Great Eastern Gate, to see the Khalífah pass out. As was the usual custom, a great crowd of other persons was there to see the cavalcade ride past, and unknown to the cloth merchant, there stood there also the false Musa. At the hour of two the great Prince appeared, surrounded by his courtiers and falconers, a brilliant company indeed, all riding brightly caparisoned and spirited horses.

As the Khalífah drew near, and was riding right under the gate, he suddenly caught sight of the poor cloth merchant. He reined in his steed, and with a loud cry of welcome, he beckoned him to his side. "Oh, Mustafa, my old friend," he cried, "this is indeed an auspicious hour. 'Tis long since I saw you. Whence and when did you

return?" and much more in this vein. "Come and see me to-night after supper prayer, and tell me all about your wanderings." Our distressed and astonished hero, thinking he had been mistaken for someone else, was aghast and greatly troubled, especially as an attendant was told off to find out where he lived, and to send a palanquin for him later. In due course after supper, an escort and palanquin appeared before 'Abdullah al Mansur's humble dwelling, and he was carried away to the great King's presence, a sorely troubled and fearful man.

At the palace he was taken into the Presence by a side door, and falling on his face he started to make confession that he was not Mustafa, the friend whom he had been mistaken for.

The Khalífah cut him short, however, and addressing him curtly said, "Well, my friend, have you received your money yet?" Poor 'Abdullah, with gratitude overflowing, replied, "Oh, Father of your people, may you live for ever, may you be victorious ever, may God give you all blessings. Not 30 dinars have I received but 200 dinars." The wretched Musa, fearing the worst, had sent round a messenger with the money just before the departure of the cloth merchant for the palace.

II. NASIR PASHA AL SA'ADUN AND HIS FAITHFUL FIDÁWI

A true story

In the days when the Great Nasir Pasha al Sa'adun was Shaikh of all the Muntafiq as well as Wali in Basra, one of his old and trusty *fidáwis*,* a man he was very fond of, came to him and served coffee. Nasir Pasha was at the time camped near Nasriyah on the Euphrates. The Pasha, filled with sudden goodwill towards his retainer, told him that he would like to reward him for his many years of faithful service. "Ask whatever you desire, and it shall be yours", said the great man. "O Shaikh," replied the *fidáwi*, whose name was Mish'ab, "I desire no rewards or presents, my one desire is to serve you faithfully till I die." "That is all very well," said Nasir, "but you have served me well already, and I want to show my appreciation." "Very well, O

* Personal retainers of tried fidelity.

Shaikh," said Mish'ab, "as you insist I will ask one favour of you, but only one." "Speak on and ask, my son", said the Great Pasha. Mish'ab replied, "May you live long, I desire, oh protector of the poor, that every day when you see me in your *majlis* that you call me up to you and in my ear and between our hearing only, *curse me, my father and my mother to your hearts' content*".

The Pasha, greatly amused, said, "Very well, my son, it shall be as you wish". He was nevertheless astonished and wondered what was behind the strange request.

Next day in *majlis* the Pasha caught Mish'ab's eye and remembered. He called him up, drew his head down to him, as he sat by his camel saddle, and cursed him and his father and mother with great gusto, under his breath. As he did so Mish'ab kept on nodding his head as if taking careful instructions. This procedure went on next day and the day after, etc., until all wondered. Then it was that results began to show. A young *sarkál* (junior shaikh of a tribe of cultivators) came up one day before the *majlis* hour, and said, "Mish'ab, I want you to say a word for me to the Pasha—a small matter of revenue that the tax collectors are trying to get out of me—and here is £T.20 for your trouble". "Certainly, my friend, it shall be done", replied the crafty Mish'ab. The usual whispered curses continued, and more and more people asked him to do them a favour and speak to the Pasha for them. He always agreed and always pocketed small and great sums as they came along. In this way Mish'ab grew fat, bought himself many camels, sheep, goats and mares. He even invested in land and purchased a goodly garden, not to mention a couple of *safînas* (river sailing craft) which plied to and from Basra. He was the favoured one, all said, of the Great Pasha.

After six months Mish'ab one day approached his master, and as he served coffee to the sitting Pasha he asked that he might no more be cursed. The Pasha in return agreed, but in astonishment asked to know the reason for all that had gone before. Mish'ab then confessed everything, and so pleased was Nasir Pasha that he loaded him with further presents, robes of honour, and promoted him to be head of all his *fidáwis*, but said he, "Do not take people's money any more, my son, now that your position is made". The *fidáwi* promised and kept his word. To the end of his days Nasir al S'adun loved to tell

this tale about himself and his man, Mish'ab. (Related to me by Háji 'Abdullah al Fathil, 18th October, 1933.)

III. A FATHER'S PARABLE TO HIS SPENDTHRIFT SON

Once upon a time there was a well-to-do merchant of Basra who had an only and beloved son. The boy was the apple of his father's eye, and the father spoilt him by giving him all he asked. As the boy grew up his father gave him a handsome salary and told him it was time he set himself up in some business, and started making his own living. The boy, in spite of many promises, did nothing and gradually the father saw him getting into debt and making undesirable friends. Matters came to a crisis when the son one day came to his father and begged for a large sum of money. "What have you done with all you have received from me?" said the fond father. "I have spent it on my friends to make them happy, father," was the reply. "How many friends have you then, my son?" said the old man. "Thirty entirely good friends, and about a hundred acquaintances", was the reply.

"My son, my son," cried the old man, "call you the youths who fawn on and live on you, *good friends*? It cannot be. Why I, your old father, possess only one and a half friends in the whole world. But to prove to you what I say about the rarity of real friends I will make an experiment for your benefit."

The son agreed, for he loved his father greatly. The old merchant next sent a servant to buy a sheep from the bazaar. He killed the sheep in the house, covering his hands, clothes and furniture with blood. Then he cut up the sheep and placed it on a stretcher and covering it with a white cloth, making it appear like the dismembered portions of a dead human body.

Presently there was a knock at the door and in came one of the merchant's outwardly best of friends. He asked, with astonishment, what was the meaning of the bloody mess everywhere. The old merchant, with a sigh, said, "Alas, I had a quarrel with the *Qádhi* (judge), and in a fit of rage I killed him, but if you, my friend, will help me dispose of the body secretly no one need know, and all will

be well". The friend, horror-stricken, rushed from the house. By and by other friends came in and all were asked to help dispose of the body for old friendship's sake. All indignantly refused, and not a man offered to raise a finger to save the merchant from ruin and disgrace. Still worse, they began to talk, and their talk reached the Governor. The latter at once sent soldiers who arrested the merchant and his son, loaded them with chains and marched them off to prison. Crowds soon gathered and began following the supposed murderers. Presently a man whose shop they were passing rushed out, stopped the captain of the soldiers, and begged to know what had happened. He was told. "No, I don't believe it," he cried, "my old friend could not do such a thing, etc. Anyway, if blood money is what you want, I offer you 1,000 dinars for his life and immediate release." The officer was naturally adamant. But the more he refused, the bigger grew the sum of money offered by the friend until the figure ran into tens of thousands. At last in despair he turned to the merchant and said, "Bear witness, my old friend, I have done my best for you. I have offered all I possess in the world to no purpose". "Thank you," said the old man, and passed on with his son and their guards. Presently the old man said, "My son, that is the half friend of whom I told you".

The soldiers and their prisoners marched along till they drew near the palace. Here from a great mansion there suddenly rushed out a young man. "What is this, what is this?" he cried out. The soldiers told him the story. With a cry the young man said to the captain of the soldiers, "You fools, you fools to arrest an innocent old man and his son. I did the deed, I committed the murder. I can no longer keep silence." The astonished captain thought best to arrest the young man also, and marched all three persons to the Governor, to whom he made full report of everything that had happened.

The Governor, a just and honest man, was puzzled and deeply impressed with the loud and persistent demands of the young man that the old merchant and the son should be released, and that he instead should be tried for the murder of the *Qádhi*. "I am the only guilty party, O Governor," he kept on protesting, "and that old man is trying to shelter me for friendship's sake."

The Governor at length got the young man to keep quiet and

begged the old merchant, whom he knew personally, to explain things if he could and calmly. The latter, nothing loth, then told his story and turning to his son said, "*That young man you see is the one whole friend of whom I told you.* He saw my plight, yet knowing nothing of the circumstances was ready to lay down his life for me for friendship's sake. He offered himself for execution in my place, and admitted guilt for a thing he had not done."

The Governor, who in the meantime had sent men to examine the so-called dead body, and had received their report, rejoiced greatly and could not do enough for the merchant, the loyal friend, and the son. He ordered the story to be published far and wide. The son profited by the lesson, got rid of all his worthless companions, and before long settled down to hard work and success. (Related round the camp fire by Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim al Subah, 12th October, 1934.)

IV. THE STORY OF HAJJÁJ BIN YUSUF

(Related to me as an after-dinner story by Háji Yusuf bin Ahmad Kano, C.I.E., M.B.E., of Bahrain.) (NOTE.—Hajjáj bin Yusuf is often quoted among Arabs as the only man who was ever able to rule the stiff-necked people of Iraq with success.)

It was during the reign of 'Abdul Malik bin Marwan, Khalífah of Damascus, that the question came up of appointing a new *Wáli*, or Governor, of the Iraq, whose capital was then situated at Kufa close to the modern city of Najaf.

The people of Iraq had given the Khalífah very great trouble and anxiety, and the last seven of his *Wális* had been done to death.

A great *majlis* was held in Damascus, and among other business the choosing of the new *Wáli* came up for decision. How was it to be done? After much thought 'Abdul Malik stood up in the great council hall, round which sat his nobles and great men of state, and in a loud voice asked "Who shall be *Wáli* of the Iraq?" Not a man among his great personalities replied, but a small unpretentious and rather elderly man sitting at the bottom of the hall, among the Khalífah's secretaries, suddenly got up, and in a deep voice cried out, saying that he himself, son of So-and-So, both of such and such a tribe, and of such and such a family, was for the Iraq. The Khalífah raised his

hand, and glancing sternly at Hajjáj bin Yusuf, for it was he who had dared to raise his voice, he a mere secretary among the Council of the Great, said, "O thou without mother, keep silence, the Iraq is not for thee".

Again the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdul Malik bin Marwan, appealed to his courtiers and asked who would accept the Governorship of the Iraq, and again no one replied. There was a deathlike silence, then up jumped Hajjáj bin Yusuf and again extolling his virtues and those of his family, called out that he was ready to take on the Iraq. As before, the Khalífah, with brow blacker than ever, suppressed the unlooked-for candidate.

A third time the Khalífah appealed for a brave and resolute man to take over the Governorship of the Iraq, and yet a third time there was silence. Once more Hajjáj bin Yusuf boldly spoke out, and said, "Iraq is for me, Hajjáj, O Commander of the Faithful". On this occasion the Khalífah did not refuse his request, but replied, "It would seem in very truth that the Iraq is for you, my son. Go then, thou shalt have it!"

Hajjáj was on his way to Kufa, and when a few days' journey out he sent messengers to call all the great shaikhs and notables of the country to the capital, with orders to meet him in the Great Mosque on a certain Friday.

The appointed day arrived, and the powerful Amirs and Shaikhs of Iraq were all there, each defiant yet present with his strong contingent of armed men to watch what would happen. Some of these were openly hostile, others were quizzical, and yet others came with amusement to look at a possible new victim. Had they not encompassed the death of seven better men than this wizened and elderly little man, and had the noble Husain, the grandson of the Prophet himself, any better success? What had they to fear?

At the appointed hour the great open praying space in front of the mosque was filled to overflowing with a vast expectant multitude. There was a dead silence broken by an occasional satirical laugh and loud jest.

Suddenly in stalked Hajjáj bin Yusuf, who shortly was to show the recalcitrant ones the metal that he was made of. Half a dozen mail-clad troopers alone accompanied the man. Hajjáj, disdaining to un-

cover his face, and still with the ends of his headcloth folded across his mouth and nose, slowly but with firm step mounted the great *mambar* (pulpit). A secretary (*kátib*) had followed the party and this man took his post at the bottom step of the pulpit. Hajjáj faced the multitude, and in muffled voice, and speaking through his *kaffiyah*, ordered the secretary to deliver the message of the Great 'Abdul Malik bin Marwan, Khalífah and Commander of the Faithful, appointing him, Hajjáj bin Yusuf, to the Governorship of the Iraq.

The secretary, nothing loth, stood up and in loud voice began as follows: "Min al Amir al Mu'minin illa ahl al Kufa salam 'alaikum". There was a pause, then, "Stop reading, O Kátib!" came the deep and steely voice of the man in the pulpit. "This mannerless scum requireth a lesson." Upon which he slowly uncovered his face and let his *kaffiyah* fall on either side of his cheeks. "People of Kufa," he cried with raised voice, "it seemeth that ye have no manners. I heard no answering salutation as is the custom to the peace-greetings which the Commander of the Faithful vouchsafed to send you. Verily, I see blood, blood flowing all round me. Yes, verily, I see heads falling to the ground, thousands upon thousands of heads. The whole land is red with blood. Nay, the ground, even the earth beneath you is saturated with the red blood lying over her. She cannot drink more." Upon this he turned to the secretary, and said, "Now read once more".

Again the secretary began, "From the Amir al Mu'minin to the people of Kufa, I send greetings—salám 'alaikum". He paused, and like a roar of the sea came the answer, "Wa 'alaikum, as salám", from the multitude. "That is better," interjected Hajjáj, "now read on." The message having been duly given, the turn came to the man in the pulpit to say a few words, and he delivered the now famous oration, in the form of a series of "woes" on Iraq: "O people of the Iraq, the most stiff-necked and determined of unbelievers and traitors, may your drinking water be denied to you, may your women be divorced from you, etc."

Hajjáj followed up this introduction of himself to the people of Kufa by a rule of such severity that the like has never been seen in that country before or since. He was completely successful, and during his long period as Governor, not a murmur was heard, not a man

failed to pay the utmost farthing in revenue that was due from him. The slightest sign of any trouble was the signal for heads to fall, and these fell in very great numbers. Hajjáj has been called a tyrant. He may have been, but he was the most successful ruler that Iraq has ever known. He knew how to manage the treacherous spirits that Iraq above all countries seems to breed. His name became a by-word, and for centuries after women frightened their little ones with the words, "Be careful lest Hajjáj bin Yusuf come and carry you off".

The above is, I believe, a true story, but whether it has been recounted with strict accuracy I leave those to judge better versed in history than myself.

V. SHAIKH MUBARAK OF KUWAIT AND THE AMOROUS FIDÁWI

A true story

"Hujjah" or justification was everything in the world to the great Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait. His whole political creed was bound up in this word, and he brought up his apt pupil, the famous Bin Sa'ud, to-day H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz of Sa'udi Arabia, never to act except under proper *hujjah*, whether in war or peace.

Mubarak once had a favourite *fidáwi* who was an excellent and worthy servant in all respects but one. His failing was women. Yet so long as he arranged his love affairs and peccadilloes in discreet manner he never got into trouble, and Mubarak, like most Arabs, forgave a man who, to use the English expression, "got drunk like a gentleman". What he couldn't stand was the man who did things crudely, and got found out. For such there was no forgiveness.

Now Mubarak knew all about his favourite's little failings, but as the latter was always discreet, the master never questioned him and made allowance for everything. After all, the man was a perfect *fidáwi*, a faithful servant, an obliging and efficient Achates.

One day the amorous *fidáwi* started an intrigue with the lovely wife of the fisherman Hasan, who lived in the same street. The woman was not slow to respond to his advances, and opportunity was easy, seeing that the fisherman spent three nights a week in his boat across the Bay of Kuwait.

The neighbours, however, soon began to wag their heads, and were not slow to gossip. The woman's husband came to hear about it, and alarmed, he decided to test the truth of these rumours.

He gave out to his wife that he was going for a six-day fish near Bubiyan Island, and asked her to prepare his food, etc., for a week's absence. The wife did all that was necessary and sent her husband away, as she thought unsuspicious. The fisherman, however, did not go a-fishing, but instead called three relatives and with them returned secretly the same night and hid himself on the roof of a near neighbour's house from which he could overlook his own courtyard.

In the meantime his wife, thinking her husband well away, sent word inviting her paramour to come and dine. He hastened to her side. The husband and his companions kept watch, and at the right and proper moment he and the three friends dropped down quietly into the courtyard of his house, and bursting open the inner chamber, caught the lovers fairly and squarely *flagrante delicto.*

In spite of cries and protests, the four men fell upon the *fiddwi*, took away his sword, revolver and rifle, and tied him securely by the wrists and ankles. After that they placed him in a crouching position and trussed up like a fowl into a large gunny bag. Only his head was left out, and the bag was tied round his neck.

As dawn came they called a *hammdl* (porter) and told him to carry the delinquent to the place where the Great Shaikh Mubarak held his morning *majlis* and took coffee. The injured husband, having arrived at the door of the reception chamber, boldly entered and ordered the porter to deposit his load in front of Shaikh Mubarak. His three companions also accompanied the sack into the room, and stood respectfully near the door. "What is this?" sternly demanded the Shaikh. "Justice, O Mubarak! May you live long! I demand justice and on your own *fiddwi.*" Ordered to tell his story the fisherman related all, and called up the three witnesses, who also had seen everything.

Mubarak, livid with rage, turned to the man in the sack and asked if he had anything to say. Getting no answer the shaikh cried out in a loud voice, "You rogue, you vagabond. For long I have known what manner of man you were, and what an evil liver you were, but because you were useful and did your work well I refused to listen to all the tales that were brought against you. You have left me no

hujjah now, no excuse to defend your dirty carcase any longer. You are only fit for death. You have blackened my face irreparably." With that he drew the revolver which he always carried, leaned forward and blew his servant's brains out. (Related by 'Abdul Latif bin 'Abdul Jalil, at Kuwait on 10th July, 1932.)

VI. CAPTAIN SHAKESPEAR AND THE KUWAIT BOATMAN

(Told to me in February 1929 by 'Abdul Latif bin 'Abdul Jalil, late Director of Customs to Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait. I naturally cannot vouch for the accuracy of the story.)

When the intrepid Captain Shakespear was H.M.'s Political Agent in Kuwait (*circa* 1912) he maintained a smart Arab sailing boat of his own, and frequently made trips out to steamers and down the coast. He was not infrequently up against the then ruler, Shaikh Mubarak, in matters of local policy, and there were periods when, in spite of all that Shakespear could do, Shaikh Mubarak frowned on the activities of the Political Agent and the Agency in general. Indeed Shaikh Mubarak, despite being the great man the world knew him to be, was at times a very difficult person. Once in his bad books it was most difficult to recover ground and be reinstated in favour.

There came a period when Captain Shakespear was out of favour, and try as he might to close it the breach seemed to get wider and wider.

What Mubarak really wanted was that the Political Agent should treat him like a king, while Captain Shakespear, himself not without pride, thought that he as the Political Agent and H.M.'s representative, should receive similar honour. Mubarak was old and wise, Shakespear young and at the time of this story without much experience of Arabs.

Be that as it may, the rift grew and matters reached the point that Mubarak ceased calling on the Agency, and Shakespear ceased to call on the Shaikh. The breach between them was complete.

One day Captain Shakespear sailed out to the mail steamer, which had just arrived off Kuwait. His sailing boat got alongside the companion ladder before other boats, and when the cargo dhows did

reach the ship's side there was a scramble of sailors from all sorts of strange craft across the Political Agent's sailing boat, each vying with his neighbour in an effort to make fast his particular rope to the ship's side.

Captain Shakespear, in righteous anger at having his private boat turned into a bridge, hurled himself on to the nearest offender, caught him round the waist and threw him bodily over the bow of his boat into the sea. He forgot, however, that there was a five-pronged Arab anchor hanging over the bow of his boat and out of sight. The unfortunate Kuwaiti fell full on this anchor, was at once ripped almost in half, and sank like a stone. Normally, Kuwait boatmen are such good swimmers that a fall into the sea would have been treated as a joke. Here was tragedy, not jest. Shakespear was distressed beyond measure, for not only had he killed a man, but he felt that Shaikh Mubarak, the Ruler, would be quick to seize on the incident to demand his removal from Kuwait. At that moment, however, he looked up at the ship's deck and saw the Director of Customs (the narrator of the story) beckoning him to come up. He did so, and was greeted with, "I saw it all, you were not to blame. Leave it to me and I will square Mubarak, but you must come ashore at once with me and offer to pay blood-money to the dead man's relatives without delay."

When at length Shaikh Mubarak received the Political Agent and the Mudir (Director), Shakespear, in great and genuine distress, told Mubarak the whole story, and not only expressed deep regret for having acted in such a hasty manner, but begged Mubarak to forgive him for having been the cause of the death of one of his subjects, and expressed the hope that he might be permitted to settle the matter according to blood-money custom. Shaikh Mubarak who, when the confession first opened, was wearing a heavy frown on his strong and rugged old face, gradually relaxed as Shakespear went on, and by the time the story was finished was literally grinning from ear to ear. He rose up, took three steps towards Captain Shakespear, and embraced him fondly, kissing him on both cheeks. "My son," said he, "if the slaying of one rogue of the many rogues that are my subjects brings about such desirable results as to make you come to me and beg forgiveness in humbleness and contriteness of heart, *why then, go and slay one of my men every day of your life.* For were we not at daggers

drawn yesterday, and has not this incident healed our wounds to-day. May you slay a rogue every day, I say, so long as it brings us together like this."

From that day the two became fast friends. Never again did either allow the slightest vestige of a misunderstanding to spoil their relations. Shakespear duly paid the relatives Rials 800 by way of *'idiyah*, or blood-money, and all ended happily.

VII. HOW MUTLUQ AL SUR RENOUNCED THE 'IKHWAN

Shaikh Mutluq was one of the Bura'asa section of the great Mutair, and at one time was Faisal al Duwish's right-hand man and most fanatical of the 'Ikhwan. In 1932 he became a refugee at King Faisal's court, and later drifted to Kuwait where he now resides (1936). On 12th December, 1932, when on a casual visit to Kuwait, he told me the following amusing story of how he came to believe that the 'Ikhwan movement was not a genuine religious revival, but merely a movement invented and fostered by the King to further his own political ends, both inside and outside the State. The story ran somewhat as follows.

"It was in 1920 at the siege of Hail by the Imám (the common name given to the King in Najd) that I first found out that we, the 'Ikhwan, were being made mere political tools. We 'Ikhwan in those days were fanatical and fierce to a degree. Nothing could stop our military enthusiasm, and we feared death not at all. Almost daily as the siege progressed, we lost dozens of warriors in trying to make impossible assaults on the defences of the city. After every repulse Bin Sa'ud's chief *'Alim* (priest), Ibn Sulaiman by name, used to visit the Mutair contingent of the 'Ikhwan, and exhort us to greater deeds the next day, telling us that lovely *húris* awaited every warrior that might be killed, also that beautiful gardens with running water and a silver house with golden furniture would be our portion in the next world.

"We, foolish and ignorant Badawin that we were, believed it all at first, and almost daily sought these wonderful delights by courting death with ardour. As our ranks dwindled, however, and starvation faced us—we got nothing to eat but tough camel's meat for two

solid months—the idea suddenly came into my head one night, after an extra heavy exhortation from Ibn Sulaiman, that he and even the Imám himself (Bin Sa'ud), famous for his love of women, seemed in no way anxious themselves to meet and possess the black-eyed beauties they talked so much about. They somehow always managed to remain behind in camp when the battle was joined, and encouraged us by their presence only when no danger threatened. I thought very hard over this matter, and after a few days could restrain myself no longer. I enquired of Ibn Sulaiman, in front of the 'Ikhwan, why it was that he was not himself anxious to gain this delectable land of *húris* he talked so much about, saying that if the *húris* were so fair and good to look on, he had better lead the attack next day. For my pains I was next day haled before the great Bin Sa'ud himself, and accused of creating alarm and despondency among the 'Ikhwan. I was severely warned, and told that unless I put away such ideas which came only from Satan himself, I would lose my head. Being a sensible person, and knowing that it was not worth kicking against the pricks, I promised all that was asked of me—but from that day knew the truth. After the long siege was over and we had successfully taken Hail, I determined somehow or other to escape from all the 'Ikhwan religious humbug, but I never really got the opportunity to do so until after the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30. It had suited me to go out with Faisal al Duwish, for he also realised in the end that he had been fooled. His rebellion failed, and he fell—and I fled to Iraq."

VIII. THE HATTÁB (WOODCUTTER) AND THE KHAZNAH (TREASURE)

(Related by Háji 'Abdullah al Fathil in camp on 7th January, 1935.)

There was once a poor woodcutter who dwelt in a certain city of Arabia. He had a wife, a pretty grown-up daughter, several small children and a donkey. His other possessions were practically nil. His daily round was to go out of the town into the surrounding country in the early morning, dig up dry shrubs by the roots and bring them into the city in the evening for sale.

One day he heard a preacher in the Friday mosque discourse on

faith, and among other things heard him say that if only a man had sufficient faith he need do nothing, as all things would come to him.

After some thought the woodcutter decided to give the idea a trial, and gave out that he intended in future to trust entirely in God and do no more work. "God will surely provide, as I have faith in him," said he, "and I know that he will grant everything needed for my family and my own existence."

In vain his old wife pleaded, and in vain his daughter. The woodcutter was adamant.

On the second day of his idleness his wife begged him to go out and work, for if he sold no wood there was no money in the house and they would all starve. The woodcutter's only reply was, "God will provide".

The wife perforce was obliged to sell some cooking pots to get money to buy food. The third day arrived and the old wife had again to sell something from the house to enable her to buy food. The fourth and fifth day similarly went by, and the furniture in the house got scarcer and scarcer. Nothing, however, would induce the woodcutter to raise a finger to help himself or his family. On the sixth day it so happened that two young merchants of the town decided to go for a five days' hawking expedition into the desert. They took their falcons, collected a sufficiency of food and prepared to look round for a donkey to carry their supplies and bedding.They heard of the woodcutter and his donkey and decided to hire the latter, seeing that it was doing no work. On their approaching our friend the woodcutter, he readily gave them the donkey, for a silver piece per day. He refused, however, to go with the donkey, so the latter was loaded up with food for the chase, and was taken off into the neighbouring desert.

The woodcutter thus got five silver pieces for doing nothing, and drew his wife's attention to God's first reward to him for his faith. She, of course, received the silver pieces.

The two young merchants finished their food on the fifth day, and were returning home the following morning. When they drew near to the city and were only about five miles out they decided to make some coffee and then approach the town by afternoon in comfort of

mind and body. They accordingly stopped the donkey, unloaded the coffee-making utensils and proceeded to make a fire.

As both were scooping away some sand to make a hearth they suddenly lighted on a large strong wooden box. On opening it they found it was crammed full of gold pieces.

Delighted, the two young men started making plans for getting the box into the town without being noticed by the gate guards. After some discussion they agreed that one should remain and guard the box while the other should go into the town and buy food and bring it out to the other. Then both having dined they would take the donkey into the town after dark and divide the treasure and deposit it in their own houses.

All went well, but when the one buying food in the town had completed his purchase, he said to himself, "It were foolish of me to go shares with my friend in this great treasure, why not keep it all for myself". He accordingly mixed *ẓernīk* (arsenic) with the food, and took it out of the town to his friend and companion.

Unfortunately the other man was also planning how to make away with his friend. His plan was to await his friend's return, help him to load up the heavy box on to the donkey's back and then find some way to shoot him. In this way he also thought to possess all the treasure and take it into the town after dark.

Everything went according to plan. The friend who went into town returned at dusk with the poisoned food, and at once pressed his partner to eat: "You look ill and exhausted", he said. The other agreed to eat, but said, "First help me to load this heavy chest on the donkey's back". This was done. But no sooner did our friend from the town stoop down to untie the kerchief holding the food, when he was shot in the back and fell dead. The murderer, congratulating himself on having got rid of an unwelcome partner, decided to eat his supper and then slowly enter the town as darkness fell. On eating the poisoned food, however, he also fell dead, and the lone donkey, with its box of gold on its back, wondered what would happen next. After waiting a short while and seeing that neither of the men made any move, the donkey, after the manner of its kind, proceeded to the town, passed through the gate unnoticed and returned to its home. There it arrived after dark, and at once began to bump its head on

the door, as was its custom. Soon the woodcutter with his wife appeared and seeing the box on their donkey's back, unroped it and opened it. To their great astonishment they found it to be full of golden dinars.

"Quick," said the wife, "let us report the arrival of the gold to the authorities, for it cannot be ours." "Not so," said the woodcutter, "it is the gift of God, the sacred gift, to the man who believed that everything would come to him who had a sufficiency of faith. Behold the reward of my faith. I did nothing. I went not forth to work, and see what God Almighty has sent to my very door. Thanks be to God."

That night the box of gold was secretly buried under the floor of their sleeping apartment, and until the hue and cry over the disappearance of the two young merchants should be over, the woodcutter and his wife decided to lie quiet, only taking out an occasional dinar to make minimum food purchases.

Six months went by, and as no awkward questions arose, the couple began to spend more lavishly. They bought a small house and garden (*haúta*), purchased new and fine clothes, and acquired mares, camels, sheep, goats and several slaves and servants.

All seemed to be going well when busybodies got talking of how the poor woodcutter of the previous year seemed now to have become rich. The story eventually reached the king's ears. He sent for the woodcutter, now a well-dressed and important-looking person. "Tell me, my friend," said the king, "how it is that from being one of the poorest of the town's woodcutters last year, you are to-day the lord of a small palace, and owner of horses, camels, slaves in abundance?"

"The answer is simple, my lord," was the reply. "I trusted in God, and he made me rich." "How can that be, my friend?" said the king. "A man does not grow rich by doing nothing, as you are known to have done. You must be lying to me."

"Nay, oh King, mine is no lie," replied the erstwhile woodcutter. "What I say is the simple truth, and that I swear by the Almighty One." The king, doubting much in his heart, decided to test the woodcutter, and said, "My friend, I candidly doubt your word and believe you have much wealth hidden away, but you fear to tell me of it. You must be either a very good man, beloved indeed of Allah,

or a rogue and clever rascal. I propose putting you to the test by asking you three questions. If you answer them correctly you shall be allowed to go your way in peace. But if you fail to reply to the questions then you assuredly are lost, and your property shall be confiscated to the State. My three questions are these", he continued:

"(*a*) What is the hardest thing in the world and at the same time the softest?
"(*b*) What is the most terrifying thing in the world?
"(*c*) What is the pleasantest thing in the whole world?

You shall be allowed to go home to consider the answers, but you are to appear at early morning *majlis* to-morrow and give your answers."

The disconsolate woodcutter accordingly went home in deep trouble, for he was after all only an ignorant person without learning or intelligence. He was in despair. His daughter, seeing her father refusing his dinner and looking in great trouble, slowly but surely wormed his story out of him. "I will help you with the riddles, oh my father, so fear nought." He embraced his daughter and awaited her further reply. His daughter, after pondering a short time, said to her father, "The following are the answers to the king's three questions:

"To (*a*) the answer is, 'Water, for it is the softest to handle and the hardest to be struck by'.
"To (*b*) the answer is, 'The sound of the charge of thousands of horsemen, this turns the heart of the bravest man to water'.
"To (*c*) the answer is, 'Sleeping with your wife, for there is nothing like it for pleasure in the whole world'."

When her father heard the third and last reply of his daughter, he rose up in a rage and struck her, and cried, "How now, faithless and immodest one, how dost thou know the third answer to be as you say?" In his heart he feared indeed that his daughter had been playing fast and loose with some young man.

His daughter replied calmly, "Father, fear not, I am your daughter, and innocent of all foolish deed—only I have an eye that sees and an ear that hears, and a mind that grasps the meaning of things. I have noticed that when I was sick and lay abed you, my father, attended to my every need and at every hour of the night. You got me water to drink when I wanted it, and when I was burning with fever you did all and more that I asked of you, for you loved me. But one night,

when the fever lay heavy on me and I lay in perspiration and called on you to give me a cup of water, you answered not my call. I called and called again but received no answer. I got up to look for you and found you locked in the arms of my mother. I then knew why all my calls were in vain, your ears were deaf to everything, something had made you forget even your little daughter whom you loved. I understood that it could only have been something which gave you so great a pleasure as to make you forget all the world."

Her father, mollified at her answer, forgave her, and next day presented himself before the king and gave his daughter's three replies. The king, greatly astonished that such a common and stupid person should answer so well, and suspecting now that some one was behind him, said, "Your answers are right, fellow, but I propose giving you a still further test, for something makes me doubly distrust you now. Go fetch me five buffalos with five white turbans on their heads. Your life will depend on what you do."

Again the disconsolate and despairing woodcutter went home, and again his clever daughter came to his aid. To her father, who proposed buying five real buffalos and winding turbans round their horns, she said, "Father, do you not see that the king means not animals in the literal sense, but men?" She advised him to go and wait outside the great mosque on Friday, and after prayers to meet the white-turbaned priests as they came out, and then to ask them the simple question, "Sir, can you tell me what day of the week it is?" From their replies he would discover certainly five fools or "buffalos" among them. Her father did as he was bid. He proceeded to the mosque and as the priests came out accosted them one by one with the words, "Kind friend, can you tell me what day it is?" Most of those questioned answered, "Man, art thou a half wit, that thou askest such a foolish question. Canst not see the world coming out from the Friday prayers?" Nevertheless he found four men who, absent-minded and deep in thought, replied to his question, "Why, brother, the day of the week, ahem, yes, why we don't know. What is it, tell us?" These men he asked to follow him to his house, where meeting his daughter at the entrance he disconsolately told her that he had found four buffalos, but had not been able to find a fifth, and how was he to face the king's anger.



PANORAMA OF KUWAIT FROM THE AIR WITH NAIF GATE IN THE FOREGROUND



SA'UD BIN NIMRAN, CHIEF FALCONER TO THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT, AND SELF

"Thou foolish father," said the girl. "Why, you have succeeded all too well. Go to the king forthwith and take these five men with you, and say you have found the five buffalos with turbans round their heads."

"Did I not say I had only found four men," said her father. "True," she replied, "you have indeed found four men, but tell the king that you are the fifth buffalo. That is the answer for him, and that is the reply that will please him."

The mystified father did as he was told, put a white turban on his own head, took the four men with their clean white turbans to the king, and bowing low said, "My lord the King, behold I have got the five buffalos you asked me for". The king replied, "I told you to fetch five buaffalos with turbans round their heads. You have indeed produced four but where is the fifth?" The woodcutter replied, "Your majesty, I am the fifth".

The king was delighted, and said, "Now I know for a truth that someone is teaching you the replies that you bring to me—out with it, tell me who it is, and you shall go free and in honour".

Then the woodcutter confessed all, and told the story of his treasure and of his clever daughter. More pleased than ever, the king declared that it was his pleasure to reward such a remarkable daughter by honouring her with his hand.

In due course the marriage was solemnised, but the king decided to put his new wife to a real test, for he somehow distrusted her. He therefore told her that he did not intend spending his first night with her, but would have to leave her a virgin till he returned from a long hunting expedition into the desert, which he had suddenly decided to take. In vain she pleaded, but the king was adamant. Before departing, however, he gave his famous grey mare, Al Hamdani, into her care, and addressed her as follows: "Good wife, I leave my favourite mare with you. She has never had a horse put to her. Myself I shall take my stallion Al Krushan with me, but I have a task for you to carry out in my absence. On my return I shall expect to see that my mare, Al Hamdani, has had a foal by my stallion, Al Krushan, and I shall further expect you to have a child ready for me to see, whose father I shall be." Upon this the king rode away, leaving his girl wife in his palace surrounded by guards, sentries, etc., all under a faithful negro

eunuch. His real object in giving this impossible task to his wife was to put her to a supreme test. He knew she could not succeed in carrying out his wishes. Yet he wanted to see how she would go about the task he had given her. She had indeed very cleverly helped her father from ruin and death, by providing answers to previous conundrums which he had put to him, but satisfactory replies to his present test he felt to be quite beyond the girl's gift for extricating herself. Was he not leaving her his grey mare which had never been "covered" by horse, was he not himself leaving her for twelve months, with marriage unconsummated? How could a foal arrive from the "horse" he was taking away with him? How also could she have a child by him at the end of twelve months, seeing that he left her still a maid, and would not return for a year? With triumphant smile he bade her farewell, ordered his negro slave to guard her well, and was gone.

As soon as the king departed the young wife set about ingratiating herself with her lord's negro janitor. So well did she succeed that in a few days she persuaded him to buy her a young shaikh's complete suit of clothes and a small tent. She next told him he must assist her leave the palace secretly, as she desired to go after her lord and master and play him a trick! Promising faithfully to return in three weeks' time, she was allowed to secretly leave the palace, but before going the slave arranged for his mistress's grey mare to be dyed jet black. This done, and extracting a promise from the eunuch to tell all and sundry who enquired for her that she was laid up with a fever, she sallied forth into the desert, and by a couple of forced marches she caught up her husband's company. The king was camped near some wells, and in the vicinity were some palm trees forming an oasis. Pitching her small tent among the trees, she carefully adjusted her male costume, darkened her skin and skilfully disguised herself as a young shaikh of a *sharif* Badawin tribe. Having got herself suitably dirty with the dirt of the desert, she presently presented herself at the camp of her husband, and sent him a message to the effect that a young Badawin shaikh had heard that the king was hunting in the vicinity and desired to pay his respects. His request for audience was duly granted and the young shaikh set about trying to please the king with desert stories talk of sport, horses, hawking and so forth.

So cleverly did the disguised girl play her part that the king was utterly deceived. Finding the young man's society very pleasant, the king asked him to come day after day, and the young shaikh complied, nothing loth. At the end of a week the king suggested that perhaps he had a sister, and that if he had and she was at all like her brother, he would like to take her in marriage, in the way kings do with the daughters of Badawin chiefs.

The youth replied that he had indeed a sister who was his twin, and that he would willingly let the king marry her secretly for a few nights, but after one week he must divorce her and let her go, as she was due to marry her *ibn 'ám* (cousin). The king, by that time thoroughly roused by the clever things said about the sister's charms by the supposed brother, agreed to the bargain. The marriage was arranged for that night, but the young shaikh stipulated that the king should have a small marriage tent pitched well away from the camp and close to the palm trees, so that the girl could come to him in complete secrecy. All having been arranged and the priest being in readiness in the small tent, the youth hastily went away, and after dark exchanged his man's clothes for those of a Badawin maiden of good family, and presented herself alone at the king's tent. She was veiled, of course, with *burqa*, etc., and the wedding ceremony over, she set herself to please the king.

After four nights of enjoyment, during the days between which the maid visited the king's tent in her male clothes, the king asked what reward he, the young man, desired for having arranged such bliss for him. To his surprise the youth asked that his black mare might be covered by the king's beautiful black stallion, Al Krushan. The king readily agreed, and begged to be allowed to add a money gift as well. The young shaikh, however, refused. That night when the king's bride arrived, so well did she please, and so unwary did the king become, that unbeknown to him she managed to remove his signet ring from his finger as he slept.

The young shaikh, having got the royal ring and had his mare covered by the royal stallion, was seen no more. Both he and his sister disappeared as mysteriously as they had come—strangely and unseen by any.

Twelve months later the king returned home, and sent trusty

messengers ahead to give his virgin wife news of his coming arrival, and expressed the hope that the conditions he had placed on her had been duly complied with. To his horror and dismay the messengers returned, saying, "We congratulate your majesty, the Queen, your wife, has presented you with a beautiful baby boy, and her grey mare with a lovely foal".

Mad with rage and mortification, the king hastened back to the city, and scarcely deigning to receive the deputation which had gone out to receive him, he went straight to his palace and to his women's apartments, vowing that if what he suspected was true, his queen should die on the instant.

In the inner women's rooms he met his wife, and sternly asked what foolishness she had been telling his messengers. In reply she presented him with her baby son, and said, "My lord, the story is true. You asked me to give you a son, and I have obeyed your commands. You instructed me to arrange for the grey mare also to have a foal, and similarly your orders have been carried out." Enraged at such barefaced defiance, the king drew his sword preparatory to killing her. "Stay," cried the girl. "I am ready to die by your hand, my lord, but first tell me if you did nothing to be ashamed of when you first went into the desert. Nay, a strange tale reached me of a Badawin shaikh's daughter whom you married secretly." The king, utterly taken aback, said, "What mean you, woman?" "Nothing, my lord," replied his wife, "except that she happened to give me my lord's royal signet ring, which now lies on my finger. See." The king, utterly bewildered, gave up the contest and begged to know all. His wife told him the tale from beginning to end. Delighted beyond all measure, and relieved as he had never been relieved before, he took her in his arms, and forgave her her great and clever deception. "Verily, you are the most famous and most clever of all women, and art worthy above all others to be my queen and adviser. You shall rule jointly with me for ever after." He kept his word.

IX. THE STORY OF THE FOX WHO TOOK TO RELIGION

The teller of the story likened H.E. Yasin Pasha al Hashimi, late Prime Minister of Iraq, to the cunning fox. Not feeling too secure

after he had come to power, he himself stirred up a rebellion in 1935 on the Euphrates, and then put it down by force of arms, imprisoning the shaikhs who had rebelled against the State.

The fox in his old age, and feeling he was losing prestige with his fellow animals who no longer feared him, decided that it was time to take to religion. He therefore bought a white turban like a *mulla*, put it on his head, and gave out that he was now a good Muslim, had turned over a new leaf and was going to *Bait Allah* (Mecca). He started praying five times a day, and fasted, and by his works appeared a changed character. Presently the raven came to him, and expressing astonishment at the change asked if he might accompany him to Mecca. "By all means," said Mr. Fox, "but you require instruction first." To this the raven agreed. Then followed the partridge and the house cock—though more cautiously. When all offered to be his disciples he told them to follow him to his cave in the hills, where they must purify themselves by fasting, prayer and a period of instruction. "For", said the fox, "only reformed characters and earnest souls can go to Mecca and find forgiveness of their sins."

So he took them to his cave in the hills, and closed the entrance with stones. He then explained that each must be examined separately, for their sins were great, and after confession they would receive such punishment as would be acceptable to God. After that they would all, as good Muslims, go to Mecca.

The first he called was the cock. "Oh thou of all birds the most accursed", said Mr. Fox. "Thou art he who wakes women and children and all honest men at three a.m. daily. Thy sin is great. Come and be punished." The unfortunate cock came forward, was promptly seized by the neck till he died, and was duly eaten.

"Come now, O partridge. Thy sin also is known, by the 'whirring' of thy wings thou startlest all men walking peacefully to prayers." With that he also ate the partridge.

Lastly came the turn of the raven. "Oh, worst of all birds of the air, shameless and bad, when men and brave combatants lie dead on the field of battle, it is you who come and peck their eyes out. You are worthy only of death. Come hither and be eaten." And the raven went the way of the others. Satisfied that his prestige had been recovered once more, the fox discarded the white turban, and did not

go to Mecca. It was better, he said, to rule the bird population once again and show the world that after all he was still the cleverest of all animals. (Told by Thuwairan abu Sifra at Kuwait on 6th June, 1935.)

X. NESÓP AND THE SNAKE

(Told me by Amsha, wife of Salim al Muzaiyin, whilst in camp at Araifjan on 1st April, 1933. It is mentioned here because of the resemblance it bears to one of Aesop's fables. The name Nesóp is significant.)

There was once a man named Nesóp. One day whilst he was walking in the desert he saw a snake shivering under a bush, for the day was very cold. The snake was a poisonous one. Nesóp, pitying the snake, picked it up and placed it inside his *ẓibún* (inner garment) where it lay close to his stomach for warmth. Later the wind changed to the south, and with it the day grew warm and balmy. So Nesóp said to the snake, "My friend, the day has got warm again and you need have no fear of being cold any longer. Let me put you down on the ground so that you can go and hunt for your supper." The snake replied, "I did not ask you to pick me up and warm me, but seeing that you did so, I am very comfortable where I am, and shall remain here. Moreover, if you try and pick me up with your hand I shall bite you and you will die." In vain Nesóp begged and argued, the snake was adamant.

For several days the unfortunate Nesóp was constrained to carry about his unwelcome guest, till at last he bethought him of Husni, the fox. So straight way he hied him to Al Husni's lair and laid his case before him. "If you will only settle this difficulty of mine, I will greatly reward you", said Nesóp.

The fox, anxious to befriend Nesóp from whom he had received past kindness, agreed to arbitrate the matter after he had listened, he said, to the full argument of both sides. The snake also agreed, confident that he would win his case.

The fox then asked Nesóp to sit on his right hand and the snake on his left, both slightly in front. The snake at first demurred, but the fox pointed out that unless both parties sat in full view of him he

could not go on with the case. The snake thereupon crawled out of Nesōp's voluminous *zibún* and took up his position opposite Nesóp, and in front of the fox.

The fox, when he had heard the story of both Nesóp and the snake, suggested to the snake that he should give way, and agree to evacuate his warm corner inside Nesóp's shirt. The snake, however, refused, saying, "I have been given a comfortable home. Why should I give it up!" The fox turned to Nesóp and said, "You have heard the snake's argument and answer, what suggestion have you to make?" "*This*", said Nesóp, and so saying promptly struck the head of the snake with his *mugwar* (club-headed stick), and crushed it out of all recognition.

XI. RAS AL DHÍB: A STORY WITH A MORAL

The Lion of the forest once decided to go a-hunting, so wanting companions he sent for the Wolf and the Fox. After a long day's hunting in the heat, they were rewarded by killing a buffalo, a gazelle and a hare. The party dragged their game to a burbling brook, which ran through a pleasant glade, and prepared to dine. When they had drunk and washed, the Lion stood up and said, "My friends, the feast is near and we are about to begin the repast. Say, friend Wolf, how shall we divide the meat?" To this the Wolf got up, and replied, "Oh, Lord of the forest and desert, may you live for ever, the division is a simple matter. Your majesty takes the buffalo, I the gazelle, and our little friend Fox, the hare."

No sooner had he spoken the words when the Lion, with a roar, struck him a great blow, which was so mighty and hard that the Wolf's head was torn completely off, and flew away bouncing and rolling along the ground till it lay still at last by the edge of the brook. "Aha," said the Lion, "that for your opinion, you rogue."

The Lion next turned to the Fox and said in a small purring voice, "Little friend, you were always reputed to have brains, and all say you are very clever. How would you divide the meat, so that both of us can be satisfied?" "Oh, great king," replied the Fox, "there is only one *fair* division. The buffalo is thine, the gazelle is thine and the hare is thine." "Oh, wise and wonderful Fox," smiled the Lion,

"that is wisdom indeed, but whence, oh tell me, didst learn such cleverness?"

The Fox, pointing to the Wolf's head on the ground, replied, "Oh, monarch of the world, the *Wolf's head* taught me my wisdom", and with that he bolted into the undergrowth without waiting for further happenings. (Told by Yusuf bin Ahmad Kano of Bahrain, February 1932.)

CHAPTER XXIV

Dreams and their Interpretation

The Badawin pays at all times great attention to dreams, and he will solemnly take any unusual dream to the local interpreter, be it woman or man, to ask its meaning. As an example, see the dream of Shagha, mother of Faisal al Duwish, in Chapter XXII (p. 281). The interpreters of dreams are mostly old women skilled in herbs, midwifery, sickness, in witchcraft and the various methods for averting the Evil Eye.

There are, of course, men interpreters of dreams as well, the most famous probably being the man employed for many years for this purpose by H.M. the King of Sa'udi Arabia, Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz Al Nimr* by name. I am told by the Shaikh of Kuwait that no dream of the King's was allowed to pass without this man's being consulted.

According to the Arab, the interpretation of dreams usually goes by opposites. That is to say, if something untoward happens to the dreamer, the dream is of good omen.

To dream of killing snakes nearly always means that a man will triumph over his enemies, and to dream of quenching a fire is equally propitious. A "dagger" stands for a "woman", a "sword" for a "man", and so on.

Some persons are recognised as having a special gift for dreaming prophetic dreams, and such persons always command respect and attention when recounting their dreams.

I myself was not a little fortunate in that three very vivid dreams of mine in Kuwait, which I was careful to tell beforehand to several persons, including the shaikh, came more or less true after they had been interpreted by a certain Um Mubarak, a local Badawin woman wise in this form of knowledge.

I quote the dreams in question purely as an example of how the interpretation was handled.

* It is uncertain if he is alive to-day, but if dead he will certainly have had a successor.

DREAM NO. I

On the night of 27th April, 1934, I dreamt that a great fire broke out in Kuwait town which rapidly spread till the whole city was ablaze. In my dream I saw very vividly the inhabitants pouring out of the gates of the city into the desert in panic-stricken mob. I followed them in my car taking only my family and valuables, and a group of persons who hung on to my car having begged for a lift. My flight ended 4 miles from the city on a hill called the 'Adaliyah. Thence I looked back and saw the whole town blazing from end to end, and wondered what would be the end of things. Then I saw the sea suddenly rise out of its ocean bed to a height of close on 50 feet, and slowly overflow and spill over into the town and quench the fire as if by magic.

So vivid was the dream in all its details that I decided for the fun of the thing to seek out Um Mubarak, and ask her its meaning. The good lady pondered long, and finally said that evil was shortly to come on the city, and that much of it would be destroyed (that was the fire), but the sea coming in and saving the situation meant that a great blessing was to follow which would entirely compensate the people for the harm done.

"The evil to come and the blessing to follow will not come from man, but at the hands of God", she was careful to add. Beyond that she would or could say nothing.

On 3rd May, exactly seven days after the dream, a remarkable cloudburst occurred over the State of Kuwait, and at a time of year when rain very rarely falls. It was the first day of the Ramadhan fast, and 3½ inches of rain fell in exactly three hours over the devoted town of Kuwait. As proper drainage is non-existent, and as the houses are nearly all built of sun-dried bricks, or mud plaster, the results can be imagined. In four hours over four hundred houses collapsed completely. Two thousand persons lost all they possessed and were rendered homeless. The streets were 5 feet deep in water for several hours, and had the rain continued another half hour, the whole city would have been levelled to the ground. As it was the damage done was enormous. This represented the fire of my dreams, my lady friend told me later on in triumph. "What of the sea overflowing into the

town?" said I very sceptical. "That", she said, "is the blessing (*rahmah*) which the rain brought to the Badawin world and the countryside generally." Indeed, though the rain stopped suddenly in the town, another inch fell in the hinterland. The desert, burnt up by drought, was turned into a green garden in a few days, butter, wool, mutton, etc., became cheap and abundant at a time when there was normally a scarcity, and prices dropped all round in truly astonishing manner. The year was 1934, a record year for Kuwait, as far as prosperity was concerned. "That", repeated the old lady, "is what the overflowing sea meant."

I tried to liken my lady interpreter of dreams to the witch of Endor—she certainly looked the part—just to help me believe, but I fear I remained shamefully sceptical. Fortunately I had told the Shaikh and other prominent Arabs of the dream before the cloudburst broke over the town, and I took care to tell them also of the Um Mubarak's interpretation before the event. It made quite an impression.

DREAM NO. 2

My readers will doubtless remember the dastardly attempt that was made on the life of H.M. the King of Sa'udi Arabia by three Yamanis in the Great Mosque at Mecca in 1934. Oddly enough, I dreamed exactly nine days prior to the event that Bin Sa'ud was in Kuwait and residing in the old palace of Mubarak, also that I lived close by in Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim's house, and that in the middle of the night as I slept on the roof, I heard seven shots from the king's house, then a great wailing. In my dream I woke up Shaikh 'Abdullah, and both of us made our way hastily to the king's house. The guards on the gate refused to let us enter in spite of the fact that we could hear the king crying out that he was sorely hurt by a rifle bullet, and demanding that Colonel Dickson (myself) should be brought to him. Presently the king died without our having seen him, and Ibn Jum'aia, the Court Chamberlain, came out and told us of the death of his master. What was more significant, he said, the murderers had not been caught.

Remembering my previous vivid dream and the fire, I again told the shaikh, who marvelled and made some wise remark or other

equivalent to *absit omen!* I also enquired from old Um Mubarak and asked her to give me of her wisdom. All she would say was that King Bin Sa'ud had enemies who were seeking to encompass his death, but that the Lord would deliver them into his hands, and all would be found out, arrested and killed in seven days (the seven shots). Nine days later the king's life was attempted but he escaped unhurt, and seven assassins were run down, caught and shot. The Shaikh of Kuwait marvelled still more, and told my dream to many of his friends. The story got about and my stock went up quite appreciably in Kuwait. My dreams are still given proper weight, but I am careful not to give too much away.

DREAM NO. 3

It was in the latter part of the month of September 1937 and when the Kuwait Oil Company (which I had joined) was boring its first well north of the Bay of Kuwait, in the lonely locality known as Bahra, that I dreamed a curious dream.

The well had been making slow progress and the American seismic party under Paul Boots was testing the area north-west and east of the well, using dynamite explosive methods in order to try and locate the hoped-for "dome" which would have been of such great encouragement to the staff. A section of the seismic party was at the same time surveying the area west of the Khor Sabiyah up towards Jabal Sanam on the Iraq border.

What was worrying the staff at Bahra was the fact that drilling had reached a far greater depth than was anticipated, and still there were no traces of oil.

My dream was in this wise. My wife and I were living in a large oil camp in a small bungalow with large compound. In the centre of the compound, on the south and rear side, was a large *sidr* tree—the bungalow looked out on a sandy waste.

One night a great windstorm arose and blew with a violence I had never before experienced. All through the night the gale blew and windows and doors rattled dismally, whilst the smell of the dust which came down with the storm penetrated thick into the interior of the house and made breathing difficult. It was a never-to-be-forgotten

night. When dawn broke my wife and I looked out and saw that the storm had abated, and strangest of all saw that the wind had excavated a great cavity in the ground near the *sidr* tree at the back of the bungalow, about 100 feet by 100 feet and 6 feet deep. Isolated and standing in the centre of the cavity was a sort of masonry table, surmounted by a large stone slab 6 feet by 4 feet in size. On this platform lay a prone figure, shrouded in an ancient yellow-coloured cotton cloth. My wife and I went out and examined the figure and removed with care the covering from the face and head. Age had rotted the cloth and portions kept coming away in our hands. To our surprise we saw that the face was that of a young and once beautiful woman, with skin hard and mummified, and in colour parchment brown. Clearly the storm had unearthed an ancient tomb, and had blown away the surrounding sand so as to leave the occupant lying on her original stone bed, now elevated like a table. It was a gruesome find, and I hurried in to find some servants to help me to dig a fresh grave. When I came out again my wife in great excitement pointed to the face of the dead woman, which showed distinct signs of undergoing a change—it was coming alive. As we watched in horror-stricken amazement, the parchment skin grew soft, colour came into the dead cheeks, and the body began to breathe. Then the eyes opened and the woman sat up and began slowly to disentangle herself from her shroud. Turning her head the woman saw us, and said in what must have been ancient Arabic, "I am cold after my thousands of years' sleep—help me with some warm clothes and give me to eat". She then handed us a very ancient copper coin. We took her by the hand and led her into the house, where our Arab maid washed and dressed her while we prepared food.

After partaking of a meal the woman expressed a desire to go into the garden and sit under the *sidr* tree. This she was allowed to do. Presently she looked up and said, "I am in great danger, and must go to the British Consul or to His Highness the Shaikh. They only can protect me." When asked to explain she said, "Certain wicked men if they knew that I had come to life will seek to kill me and bury me again. They cannot bear me to see the light of day. Save me from them, friends, for I want to live." Even as she spoke we heard the shouts of a crowd of men and saw bearing down on us many persons

carrying staves and swords obviously intent on harm. They were led by an old white-bearded man who looked like a Persian. In his hand was a long knife, and his face was very wicked to look on. Coming closer he shouted to his satellities to seize the now shrinking form of the woman and prepare to bury her alive. Whilst some bound her, others began frantically digging a deep grave, while a third party filled the grave with water. My wife and I seemed to become suddenly paralysed and were quite unable to move hand or foot to help the girl.

"We shall bury her alive and in a grave of mud", screamed the white-bearded ancient in a frenzy, and assisted by others dragged the girl to the graveside till her legs rested in the mud grave hanging over the edge. As she struggled I felt the spell break, and was able to jump forward and rush to the girl's assistance. Killing the old man with a blow on the head, I attacked the others in berserk fashion and in a few moments no one was left but the dead old man, my wife and the girl. Taking the poor girl by the hand and putting a cloak about her we took her into the bungalow. Then I woke.

So clearly impressed was every detail of this strange dream on my mind that I proceeded next day to old Um Mubarak, who was camped some 39 miles south of Kuwait, and told her the whole thing exactly as described above. Her slow reply was as follows:

"Go, my son, and tell the Mudír al Kabír (Mr. Scott), General Superintendent, that he will find no oil where he is now boring. Tell him to close down, and move camp from Bahra on the north of the Bay, to Burgan south of the Bay (35 miles south of Kuwait). When he arrives there let him search out the *sidr* tree that grows there, and tell him to bore for oil in the vicinity. He will find there as much of the 'black gold' as he wants. The interpretation of your dream is in this wise, my son. The woman who was uncovered and came to life is the oil which you are seeking for. The *sidr* tree near where she was found is the single *sidr* to be found near the Burgan hills. It is the only one in all the desert, and is near Al Ja'aidan wells.

"The old man with the grey beard represents hostile Government influences who do not want oil to be found in Kuwait. The girl's desire to be taken either to the shaikh or to the Political Agent means that both these are her friends and will insist on oil being developed

and will protect the new fields from all enemies. The ancient coins represents the wealth which will come to Kuwait."

I was so impressed with Um Mabarak's interpretation of my dream that I straightway informed the General Superintendent (Mr. Scott) and the drilling superintendent, Mr. Rakestraw at Bahra. Witnesses were Mr. Rhoades the Company's geologist and Mrs. Rakestraw. Next day I also told the story to His Highness Sir Ahmad al Sabah, Ruler of Kuwait. Two months later the seismic party started work round Burgan Hills, and almost immediately struck what appeared to be a "good oil structure" near the single *sidr* tree by Ja'aidan wells. Three months later the Oil Company shut down their "bore" on the north of the Bay, and were given a fresh location by London and America in which to bore for oil. A splendid oil well was tapped in fulfilment of my dream.

A famous dream of H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, the present Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, is often recalled in Kuwait. I shall repeat it as it has been told to me, but cannot vouch for its authenticity, or that it has been correctly told me.

In the year of the Battle of Jaráb, when Bin Sa'ud suffered one of his greatest defeats at the hands of Ibn Rashid, he on a certain night dreamed that he was at a well drawing water with a *dallu*, or leather bucket, such as the Badawin use. He dreamt that he had filled his bucket to the brim with water and was bringing it up to the top hand over hand. When the bucket was within arm's length and close to the top of the well the cord suddenly broke, and bucket and water crashed to the bottom. Bin Sa'ud duly asked Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz al Nimr for the interpretation of the dream, and the latter said that the bringing of the water hand over hand up to the surface meant that he, Bin Sa'ud, would go on conquering and being successful over the Arabs, but that within a short year he would suffer a great defeat and setback, represented by the breaking of the cord and the loss of the *dallu*. Within the year the Battle of Jaráb was lost and half the tribes deserted him.

CHAPTER XXV

Some Proverbs and Sayings

The Arab is for ever quoting proverbs or sayings of some poet or other, and he seems to enjoy this almost as much as story telling. This applies to the town Arab much more than to the Badawin, and one cannot dine with a local merchant without being treated to a volley of proverbs, anecdotes and quotations. Except for the sayings of the Prophet, which are always quoted with reverence and with a definite moral intent, most proverbs are brought up in a spirit of jest to amuse and divert those who are listening.

Not only does this practice give spice to conversation, but the person quoting clever sayings, and so forth, knows that he gains in the estimation of his fellows for showing himself a scholar and well read.

I give below a few examples of such sayings and proverbs taken at random from a collection I have made:

(*a*) Of very ordinary everyday Arabic sayings with English translation alongside;
(*b*) Ditto, with English translation only.

(*a*) EVERYDAY ARABIC SAYINGS AND QUOTATIONS

Inna 'l harim atyab ma 'indana hast.

Verily women are the best of all we possess. (Philby's *Falih abu Ja'sha.*)

Thalathatun illa dhalamtahum dhalamuk, fallahuk, zaujatuk wa 'l mamluk.

Verily there are three persons who will tyrannise over you, unless you tyrannise over them: your cultivator, your wife and your slave.

Uhibbu min dunyakum thalathau at tiba 'n nisa'a wa qurba 'aini 's salah.

I love in this world of yours three things: a sweet scent, women (beautiful women) and everything that is peaceful and good. (Said to be a saying of the Prophet.)

Thalathatun yuthibna 'an il qalbi 'l hazin Al ma'u 'l khudra'u wa 'l wajhu 'l hasin.

Three things verily of a truth remove care from a man's breast: running water, a green meadow and a comely face. (Probably a variant of the preceding.)

Jaruka, thumma jaruka, thumma jaruka.

Your neighbour, then your neighbour, then your neighbour (namely duty to your neighbour comes before everything). (Reputed to be a saying of the Prophet.)

Ya dhaifana, lau ja'tana, lau zirtana, lau wajattana, nahnu 'l dhuyufu wa anta rabbu 'l manzili.

O guest of ours though you have come, though you have visited us, though you have honoured our dwelling, we verily are the real guests and you are lord of this house. (Author unknown.)

(A welcome given me by H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud when I visited him in Hufuf in 1920.)

Udhrub il kalba wa yata' addabu 'l fahdu.

Beat the dog and the lion will behave himself.

Al baitu baituka wa 'l jami 'u adfa'u laka qarib.

My house is of course yours, but the mosque is more cosy or convenient. (An unpleasant hint to a guest that you do not want him, and the mosque is a recognised refuge for the homeless.)

Ma dumtum fi darihim, darihim.

When you are in his house, do as he does. (A play on words.)

Idha tadullu 'l badwiya 'ala babi baitika Fa awsi' il baba li yadkhula jamaluhu.

If you show a Badawin the entrance of your house, then open wide the door that his camel may enter. (Meaning that a Badawin is so grasping that if you invite him in he will bring his whole tribe with him.)

Aish laka fi shajaratiu wa hayatiha .

Why concern yourself with a tree and its existence.

Al mutafarriju ghairu 'l la'ibi.

The onlooker is different from the player (namely, it is easy to criticise if you are not playing the game yourself).

Ihfadhu 'ala hawaijikum bi 'l kitmani.

Look after your real interests with secrecy (namely, keep your plans secret). (Reputed to be a saying of the Prophet.)

Al khubza 'lladhi khabazti, ya Rafla, kuli.

The bread which thou hast baked, O foolish woman, thou must eat.

Inna 'l karim, idha akramtahu, malaktahu,
Wa inna 'l la'im idha akramtahu, tamarrada.

The kind man, if you give him gifts, becomes your slave,
But the ungenerous man if you give him gifts, he says you fear him.

Al 'ilm al zaghar khair min kitbat al hajar.

Knowledge acquired as a child is more lasting than an engraving on stone.

La tarkab al 'Umaniyah, wa la tujawwiz al Za'abiyah;
Al 'Umaniyah takharib al jaish, wa 'l Za'abiyah tukharib al harim.

Do not ride an Oman she-camel, and do not marry a girl of the Za'ab tribe. The former will upset the pace of the army, the latter will upset your wives.

[A Badawin proverb praising the swiftness of the Oman camel and the beauty and cleverness of the Za'ab women.]

Al sabr miftáh al faraj.

Patience is the key of success.

Min sabara dhafara wa min agala nadhama.

From patience comes success and from haste disaster.

Al faras al asíla, la 'iyibha jallál i ha.

The thoroughbred mare is not shamed by her trappings.

Min nawakh al bayír, dhaharat al sikkakín.

When the camel kneels down (with exhaustion) out come the knives. (A reference to the usual custom of an army or party on the march to slay and eat the camel that cannot keep up.)

(*b*) ARAB PROVERBS IN ENGLISH ONLY.

A man can like a thing greatly until he comes to buy it. (Quoted by Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim al Sabah, 8.3.35.)

Mistrust all men and slay whom thou mistrustest overmuch. As for women, flee from them for they are evil and will in the end destroy thee. (Reputed to be a Persian proverb. Quoted by Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Sabah, 7.4.34.)

Honour him who has been great and is fallen, and him who has been rich and now is poor. (Reputed to be a saying of the Prophet. Quoted by the Shaikh of Kuwait, 8.4.35.)

The slaughtered sheep does not worry about being skinned.

A slave is a slave even if he owns great pearls.

The work is done by the arsenic, but the lime gets the praise. (Referring to the removal of hair from a person's body.)

Do not count the days of an unprofitable month.

Deceit of the heart is often shown by a slip of the tongue.

Eat little and live long.

Every new thing is pleasing.

Blessed is the man whose opponent is wise.

If at any time trouble meets you, confront it with a brave heart.

If the lord of the house beat the tambourine, then do not blame the servants if they dance.

Adventure yourself that you may gain wealth.

Sitting idle with your family is disgraceful.

If your neighbour hates you, then change the door of your house.

If your friend is honey, do not eat him altogether.

A house built unjustly is certain to be ruined.

A pearl is like a prostitute, both will deceive you by night. (Meaning that a proper examination of a pearl should be made by day.)

I can only trust that any scholar who peruses these notes will not be too critical of the spelling or translations.

NAJD AND WHAT THE PROPHET THOUGHT OF IT

The following story is told by the people of Najd against themselves, and gives the reputed views of the Prophet on them and their country:

The Prophet was once approached by a Najdi and asked what he thought of Najd and its people. His reply was, "Damascus and Yaman are fair places and possess great men".

This being no answer, the question was repeated. The Prophet replied as before.

Four times he was asked the same thing and four times the Prophet replied in the same way. At last the impatient questioner pointed out

that he did not want the Prophet's opinion on Damascus and Yaman, but on Najd, his own country and home. The weary Prophet replied, with a sigh, "Najd is verily one of the two horns of Iblís (the Devil), for out of it all deceit is born, and every rascality evolved". History does not relate how the Najdi received this answer.

(NOTE.—The above is reproduced without comment, and as given to me by a Mutair Shaikh on 22nd February, 1933.)

CHAPTER XXVI

Badawin Warfare

Raiding is the breath of life to the Badawin. Prevent him from raiding and he becomes the most melancholy of men.

Just as in the civilised West man must have his various sports, football, cricket, tennis, shooting, etc., to keep himself fit and happy, so in Arabia the primitive Badawin must have his raids. These denote to him everything that is manly and sporting.

A famous raider is honoured above all men, and boys and young men pine for the day when they will be allowed to accompany their elders on forays, and so win their spurs.

Raiding brings out all that is hard, brave and skilful in man, so the occupation is honoured and encouraged, just as everything tending to make a man soft and effeminate is despised by all true desert men.

Desert raids do not as a rule entail much bloodshed. Raiders are primarily inspired by greed for camels, and with this goes the desire to score off their enemies. To lift an enemy's camels is the best way of all to hurt him and add to the raider's own stock, for a Badawin values his camels above everything.

There is no such thing in ordinary desert warfare as men fighting "to the death" or making a "last stand" in defence of wives, children and stock. That would be merely foolish. The Badawin appreciates at once the odds against him. If he knows he can drive off the raider he will stand and do so; if, on the other hand, he sees that he has no chance, he will desert family and camels and bolt into the desert to live to fight another day. He knows his women and children will be safe, why then risk certain death by fighting against odds? He allows his camels to be taken knowing his turn will come another day. *Nakhud wa nanwakhid* (We take and are ourselves taken) is his creed.

This is no reflection on the Badawin's courage. He is a brave man, but he has no false notions of standing up against an obviously superior force till he is killed.

If he sees that the odds are even, and the raiders are about as strong as he, he will fight, and fight superbly, encouraged by the cries of his women. In the case of the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, he is often helped by his womenfolk who bring him ammunition, water, etc. Women have been known to display remarkable indifference to danger and bullets on these occasions. It is only when he has no chance (and years of this sort of warfare have trained him to size up such a situation quickly), that the Badawin considers discretion the better part of valour.

A Badawin's passion is his camel, and if he has lost one by raid, or by simple theft, he will not rest till he has discovered where it is and what shaikh, individual, or tribe has got it in his possession. He has many methods of finding this out, the most common being by the system of *bilasa*, i.e. payment of money to a neutral to go and spy out the land and locate his animal.

As raids are often carried out from a great distance, this process of running down the raiders or camel thieves often takes many weary months. I have known camels which have been taken from near Kuwait located near Jauf, Rutba, Hufuf and Hail—each place over 500 miles away. If the raiders are known enemies, time is not wasted trying to locate stolen animals, counter-raid is promptly resorted to till a man gets his own back and more. If the raiders are unknown, or have worked a night surprise, then of course they must be discovered and the camels located, before counter-measures are taken. If peace reigns in the land, the discovered camels will be applied for and recovered by the laws of *'Arafa* (see Chapter XXXIII).

Stealing wandering camels, even though the owners are not at war with a man's tribe, is not wrong—it is merely clever, and a man finding a stray camel will not hesitate to pinch it, and take it along to his home. If the owner finds it eventually, it will be handed over, but if he does not, then so much the better. The 'Ajman and Dhafir are particularly fond of this game.

In Sa'udi Arabia the strong arm of Bin Sa'ud has done much to stop indiscriminate raiding and stealing, and this perhaps more than anything else has been responsible for that Ruler's unpopularity to-day. "If you stop us raiding you stop our source of life," says the Badawin, "for we have neither crops nor palm trees, nor are we shop keepers able to sell goods and make money." Not only is this state-

ment true, but the situation is yearly getting worse, especially since the motor car has practically killed the camel export trade of Arabia. Thirty years ago many hundred thousand camels were annually sold to Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Persia, and brought money to the Badawin world.

Bin Sa'ud realises the Badawin's grievance in this respect, but steadfastly refuses to sanction indiscriminate raiding, which tends to disrupt his kingdom. He tried to counter the evil by giving subsidies to high and low in the Badawin world, and rewarding all who come to visit him and pay respects. He no doubt hopes in time to get round the danger by developing the mineral wealth of his country, notably oil and gold. But will he succeed?

DECLARATION OF WAR

Should war be imminent between two tribes or primitive Arab States, there are regular rules which have to be observed. There must be a proper and honourable declaration of hostilities. The word *niga* is used to denote a declaration of war. It is never used between individuals. The offended tribe, either by letter or verbal message, informs the tribe it wishes to fight that *niga* has been sent them. This literally means the "warning of war". It is bad form and contrary to Arab honour to start a war by means of a surprise attack. *Niga* is the opposite of *hidna*, which means "cessation of war". *Allag* means a "truce". The expression *Mardud al niga 'alaikum* is the official warning of war, and was commonly heard in the desert in the old days.

I am told that in August 1933 when H.M. King Bin Sa'ud declared war on Yaman, the Imám Yahya sent the King a letter with the following words, *Mardud al niga 'alaikum, wa waladna Saif al Islam Ahmad yusalkum* (The war warning is sent you and my son, Saif al Islam Ahmad, will come to you). Bin Sa'ud is reported to have sent reply, "Your son is welcome. We also have a son Sa'ud, who will be pleased to meet him on arrival." The tale certainly was brought me by some Badawin friends from Riyadh, though the wording of the messages may have been the result of a too keen imagination.

When a tribe sends a challenge of *niga* to another, it is sometimes the custom to add by word of mouth or letter, that "such and such a

renowned warrior will also be coming up against you". The shaikh of the challenged tribe then calls together his warriors and elders and gives them the news of the declaration of war. He then fills a cup of coffee and calls out, "This cup stands for such and such warrior on the other side, who of you will drink it? Who will take him on in single combat?" A local brave who thinks to win his spurs will call out, "I am ready", and the cup is passed to him to drink. Similarly champions are found for every other well-known enemy warrior named as coming up against them.

Eventually when the battle is about to be joined, the opposing champions of each side come out, and after caracolling about and showing off on their horses' paces, will engage in single combat with their opposite numbers.

Hāji 'Abdullah Fathil* told me that he saw such an incident among the Dhafir (from whom he took his present wife) some years ago. The Shammar and 'Anizah, like the Dhafir, are also fond of issuing challenges to their enemy to single combat before battle.

CONCENTRATING FOR WAR OR A BIG RAID

Firstly it should be remembered that, as I have already explained, though every tribe admits the paramountcy of a certain section or *hamula* of the tribe as the one that always provides the shaikh (such as the Hithlain, Dushan or Suwait), it will only agree to follow that particular shaikh who possesses what they term the necessary "Luck" or "Good Fortune" in war. For instance, the Mutair always followed Faisal al Duwish in the past, because he proved himself times without number to be a "lucky" general. Had he not had this reputation the tribe would have selected another member of the Dushan clan and discarded Faisal.

Secondly, the chieftain of a tribe cannot simply send messages to the various sections of the tribe and order them to concentrate preparatory to his leading them on some distant raid or expedition. They would not obey. In practice he sends for the leaders of the tribe and discusses his plans with them in secret for a week, fifteen days or even a month, while the pros and cons of the proposed operations

* Mr. Williamson, the well-known English Muslim intelligence officer of World War I—now residing in Basra.

are examined from every angle. If a majority of the leaders are convinced of the soundness of the plan, the matter is settled, and a concentration of all fighting men takes place at a prearranged rendezvous, to carry out the plan agreed upon. Only the old and very young remain behind to guard the tents and camels.

A tribal army or force is called a *Qaum* (pronounced *Gaum*), e.g "Gaum ibn Sa'ud"—Bin Sa'ud's army.

The actual force that raids or attacks is known as a *Ghazzu.*

The term *harbiyah* is unknown among the Badawin of Najd, though it is commonly used in Iraq.

If Bin Sa'ud as king were in command of war operations in Najd, the tribes would be moved about at will, until launched to the attack, and at the point decided on by him. The actual method of attack would be probably left to the tribal leaders.

In warfare between the tribes as opposed to states, the main object is to round up and seize camels, and if you cannot capture stock, to inflict as much damage as possible on the enemy's young men.

During winter few raids take place,

(*a*) Because there is grazing everywhere and strong tribes concentrate where their camels and sheep are actually feeding, and successful surprise is therefore almost impossible.

(*b*) The movements of the tribes are not dictated by the question of water, which is generally found everywhere (rain pans, shallow pools, etc.).

(*c*) If a tribe is small and weak it can avoid its known enemies and likely attacks, by continually moving about and evacuating areas which may be dangerous.

In summer all Badawin are peculiarly vulnerable, for they must camp with tents closely concentrated over perennial wells, while their camels must of necessity go some distance away for their grazing. This vulnerability increases as summer progresses, for the grazing gets further and further away from the main camp. Nor can the tribe or community camped on water maintain its full armed forces with the camels, as food and water difficulties arise. They are compelled to leave the custody of their stock to patrols, a very unsatisfactory protection, for if the patrol cannot hold the raiders in their first rush, the latter simply round up the whole or part of the flocks and drive

them off, long before any supporting body can reach them from the main camp.

It follows that from a European airman's point of view desert targets will also always be bad in the winter season, for tribes then pitch their tents singly or in twos and threes, over a large area of country, each group of tents being separated from its neighbour by a distance of anything from a quarter to half a mile. This is done for support purposes in case of Arab attack, and to ensure that camels are well scattered, and get full benefit from the grazing. Therefore, just as the Badawin is difficult of location and attack in winter and spring, from the point of view of his own Arab enemies, so a European force operating from the air against Badawin would be handicapped and affect little real damage during the cold season, as the scattered nature of camps would assist the defence, and if necessary immediate and further dispersion would be an easy operation. The opposite is of course the case in summer.

RAIDS

For a raid pure and simple, the Badawin relies on the element of surprise for success. If he has reason to suppose his movements are known and are being anticipated he will abandon his project without hesitation.

For long-distance raids only camels are employed, and a stroke may be delivered from a hostile concentration 250 miles or more away, day and night marching being the custom. For short-distance raids, camels and horses are employed in equal strength, a horseman riding behind each camelman, and the horses being led until the force is within striking distance of its quarry. The horsemen then dismount and make their final charge on horseback. The camelmen act the role of the supporting force, and cover the horsemen when driving off the enemy's camels.

Camel and horse raids can be carried out from a distance of anything up to 100 miles.*

* A notable instance of such long-distance horse and camel raid was when Ajemi al Sa'adun swooped down on Basra from Khamisiyah near Suq esh Shuyukh on the Euphrates, a year or so before World War I.

In both cases, the principle of always seizing any Badawin found *en route* and making him march with the raiders to prevent his spreading news is strictly followed. It is also common for leaders to give out that they are going in one direction and then to double back and pursue a totally different direction when they are a day's march out. Attacks at dawn or in the thick of a duststorm are much favoured. A usual stratagem of the attacked is to seize wells by which the raiders must retire. 'Azaiyiz, the son of Al Duwish, was intercepted and his force destroyed in 1929 at Um ar Ruthumah in this way.

Organised attacks on a township, a fortified camp on water, or on an enemy trying to deny wells to a retiring force, are usually carried out on foot and in a series of lines in imitation of regular troops, horsemen and camelmen being kept in reserve. This form of attack was perfected by the 'Ikhwan and was specially favoured by them. They employed it when they endeavoured to capture Jahrah in 1920 in face of the combined forces of Kuwait, also in the operations leading up to the capture of Hail. On such occasions the first, second and third lines are found by irregular Badawin styled *'A'arab* by the faithful, while the supports and reserves consist of the *Mutadaiyanin* or "those with religion". These deliver the main stroke. Though invented by the 'Ikhwan, the above method would probably be employed in any future operations in which Sa'udi Arabia forces were engaged.

Flank attacks, rearguard actions and dispersing on the approach of enemy aircraft are well understood, and would no doubt be employed as occasion demanded.

In all forms of attack, water for men and horses is carried on selected camels in *jirbas* or goatskins. Camels get nothing till the attack is over.

The inviolability of women in war has been dealt with in Chapter VII.

For a brief period only during Arab history have women been treated in any other way than with chivalry and consideration; this was in 1925 and the following years, when the fanatical 'Ikhwan, evolved of Bin Sa'ud's genius for furthering his political ends, were at the height of their power and were raiding the Iraq, Kuwait and trans-Jordan tribes, and cutting up scattered detachments of the Muntafiq and Khazail shepherd tribes in the southern desert.

In these attacks the 'Ikhwan unpardonably butchered numbers of women and children. In mitigation of their offence it may be said that most of the women and children were shot down when the 'Ikhwan poured their first heavy volleys into the camps, preparatory to charging home, as was their wont, with the sword and dagger.

I have since had it on the authority of many of the then 'Ikhwan leaders that their killing of women was considered quite inexcusable, and many of them at the time felt deep shame and regret for their action. Some indeed of the more moderate fanatics went out of their way to spare and even save women and babes from their more fanatical brethren, while others deserted the cause of the 'Ikhwan and came into Kuwait. On my asking why they had so far forgotten their honour as to act as they did, I have been given reply by more than one, "We were infected by a great sickness, the Imám (Bin Sa'ud) had so filled us with rage and bitterness against all mankind who were not of our faith, and especially those holding the Shi'ah creed, that we were literally mad, and quite incapable of forming proper judgment. We had again and again been told of the great reward that would come to us from God for every infidel we slew, and we believed what we were told implicitly. Nay more, we were promised immediate Heaven and glorious *húris* there, if we were fortunate enough to get killed. Do not, therefore, blame us for those matters overmuch, for it shall never happen again."

Now that the 'Ikhwan have disappeared, or at any rate now that the movement has been definitely checked, and brought under control by the King, we may assume that the old Arab chivalry towards women in war or raiding has once again reasserted itself. The Arab of the desert says to-day that 'Ikhwanism is dead, and my own investigations and enquiries also confirm this. We must thank God that this is so.

I have myself such complete confidence in Badawin chivalry that I have for several years regularly taken my own wife and children into camp, and have left them there without guard or escort for days at a time, often as far as fifty miles away from Headquarters and on the very borders of Sa'udi Arabia. That they will always be safe I am quite certain; they are doubly safe because I leave them with Arab women for companions and friends. The Badawin world knows this and honours my trust.

WAR CRIES

Every Arab prince and Arab tribe has a special war cry. Some have several and some a single one.

These war cries, called *nakhwa* and *'iswah*, are yelled out in the heat of battle, and especially during the wild charge of horsemen.

The war cry is supposed to strike terror into the foe. It also enables the individual warrior to recognise friend from enemy in the general mêlée that follows a charge—for every man as he goes into action muffles up his face till only his eyes are seen, and no uniforms distinguish combatants or differentiate friend from foe.

SURRENDER

Among the Badawin the equivalent of the European or Westerner's "Hands up" is for a man to drop his rifle on the ground and place *the thumbs of both hands simultaneously between his teeth with the fingers of each hand extended outwards towards the person to whom he is surrendering*. This is the normal method, when for instance a man is a fugitive and is about to be caught up and killed by his pursuers. The meaning of the act is that he realizes that all is up, he has been caught, he knows death is his portion, nevertheless he casts himself on God's mercy and on that of his enemies. In nine times out of ten he will be spared.

Even in the heat of battle a man on the losing side can escape death if he recognises an old friend or acquaintance in the opposing ranks, by shouting out to him and saying, *Ya fulan, ana fi wejh-ak* (O So-and-So, I put myself under your protection). If the person so called upon has sufficient influence with his comrades to grant such protection, he replies, *Ataitak wejhhi sallam tufagtak* or *salahak* (I have given you my protection, hand over your rifle, or arms). Under such circumstances the suppliant is absolutely safe, and his guarantor goes bail for his life.

Should the man appealed to not be of sufficient importance among his fellow fighters to guarantee the life of the suppliant, he will call out to him and advise him to demand protection from someone more influential than himself, i.e. *Utlub wejh fulan* (Call upon the

protection of So-and-So), and he will forthwith point out where he is and who he is. Success is also assured this way.

When the 'Ikhwan were predominant in Najd, especially from 1920 to 1930, and for a time upset the laws of God and man, appeals such as the above went unheeded, and whether a man surrendered or not he was put to the sword.

The man granting protection to an enemy on the field of battle can always reserve the right to add such provisos as, "Your life or rifle only are guaranteed, not your horse," or "Your life alone is safe, not your weapons or horse," or "I give you your life subject to my master, the shaikh's final orders".

FAMOUS RAIDERS I HAVE KNOWN

(1) Shaikh Muhammad ibn Salim al Uthain of the Misra sept of the 'Ajman is perhaps the most dashing raider I have met. He did Bin Sa'ud's cause incalculable harm during the 1929–30 rebellion of the 'Ikhwan. A cheerful man and always laughing—short, of immense width of shoulder, with straight nose and a rather long jet-black beard with a pretty curl at the end of it.

His best piece of work was his raid from the borders of Kuwait (Wafra) to a point east of Abu Jifan Wells, on the direct Hufuf–Riyadh route. There he held up and captured several camel convoys, and ended by attacking, on 5th August, 1929, twelve cars full of armed men near Rumah as they proceeded across the Dahana sands from Riyadh to Hufuf. He captured and burnt them all, none of the crews escaping.

I happened to meet him on 22nd August, 1929, a fortnight after the event, when he tried to see the Shaikh of Kuwait in company with Farhan ibn Mashur, and beg supplies. He wore a large white turban after the fashion of the 'Ikhwan, and merrily told me how he had brought off his coup. He finished his story by handing me some sixty letters and cypher telegrams which the king had sent to Bahrain for despatch. These, he said, he took off a dead man. I was sorely tempted to take the telegrams and despatch them for the king myself, but thought better of it.

For several years after the above rebellion was put down, Muham-

mad ibn Uthain lived in exile in Iraq. Later he lived in the Kuwait hinterland. Recently (1935) I advised him to accept Bin Sa'ud's amnesty to the 'Ajman, and return and make his peace with the king. He took my advice.

(2) Another famous raider acquaintance of mine was Faisal al Duwish, late Shaikh of all the Mutair and a veritable king among the Badawin, a man who did more than any other Arab to help Bin Sa'ud to rise to power and fame, the conqueror of Madina for Bin Sa'ud, and perhaps, after Bin Sa'ud himself, the greatest Badawin strategist the century has produced in Arabia. In appearance broad-shouldered, short and with a remarkably big nose and head. Dour and silent, he scarcely ever spoke to those around him, yet he was worshipped by his own clan, the Dushan, and by all the Mutair tribe wherever found, as a super-leader and hero. As he walked, he gave one the appearance of being slightly hunch-backed, and he had a decided limp, due to an old leg wound. He died, a prisoner, in Riyadh in 1932. May his soul rest in peace!

I myself first met him near Subahiyah on 31st August, 1929, during the 'Ikhwan rebellion of that year against Ibn Sa'ud, when he, with the whole Mutair and 'Ajman rebel force, crossed over into Kuwait territory and camped round the Subahiyah wells. His army was very hungry and had no supplies, and he hoped to be allowed to buy food from the port of Kuwait. He must have had fully three thousand tents with his force, and camels could not have been less than a hundred thousand. It was an inspiring sight and one I shall never forget. Having reported the influx of this large force into Kuwait State, I was told by H.M.G. to warn the redoubtable Faisal al Duwish that he must withdraw across the frontier within forty-eight hours, or he and his people would be bombed by the R.A.F. stationed in force at Shu'aiba (Basra).

Against the Shaikh of Kuwait's very strong advice (he told me he feared treachery), I motored out to Malah,* where I had asked Faisal to meet me. At the last moment the Shaikh of Kuwait followed after me with four of his slaves, as if harm befell me he felt, he said, that he ought to share my fate. Faisal al Duwish arrived at the rendezvous

* 15 miles south of Kuwait town.

with the principal 'Ikhwan leaders, a tough and fanatical lot, but all well in hand. After saying what I had to say, and adding that I had got H.M.G. to hold their hand for two days simply because of the women and children who were with him, and who numbered several thousand, I begged him, for the sake of the women and children, to do as I asked and give me his word that he would retire across the border within the time limit. For a full hour he hesitated, arguing that he had no quarrel with the British, that he and his tribe were old subjects of the Shaikh of Kuwait and wanted to return to their allegiance, and that they were terribly short of rations. I was adamant, though deeply touched, and at last persuaded him to give me his promise. As he did so the red ball of the sun dramatically went down over the distant Manaqish hills, and Faisal said that he must pray. He himself gave the call to prayer and himself also led the prayers, every man in proper 'Ikhwan style, laying his rifle on the ground in front of him, so that muzzle and butt touched the muzzle and butt respectively of the rifles on either side. The solemn prayer over, and whilst still on his knees, the great Faisal turned to his leaders and generals and gave the *Salam* which follows the prayers. Then, still on his knees, he faced me and said, "I promise on my honour to do that which you require of me, go in peace", meaning to say that he would retire in forty-eight hours. I for my part assured him, as he arose from his prayers and joined me, that an aeroplane would even be sent to examine the strength of his force within the time limit. Faisal al Duwish kept his word, and our final parting was a solemn moment, for I felt I was in the presence of a truly great desert chief.

I never saw him again till his surrender at Jahrah, five months later on 8th January, 1930, when I made my way through R.A.F. bombs bursting round his camp and pleaded with him for two whole hours to surrender to the R.A.F. and not attempt to break through, as he intended doing, and try conclusions with Bin Sa'ud's forces lying in wait for him on the southern frontier of Kuwait.

His position was a desperate one, for entering Kuwait territory again against H.M.G.'s orders, he had been pursued and surrounded by R.A.F. ground and air forces, and there was little chance of escape. Faisal took my advice (though none but he and I were aware of the part I played in the matter) and with rather poignant ceremony rode



A STREET IN KUWAIT WITH A SMALL SUNNI MOSQUE ON THE RIGHT



THE LATE FAISAL BIN SULTĀN AL DUWĪSH

Paramount Shaikh of the Mutair and greatest of Arabia's Ikhwan leaders, Conqueror of Madina. Rebelled against H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud in 1929–30. Died in captivity.

From a sketch made by the late Sqdn.-Leader H. Stewart, R.A.F., shortly after his surrender to the British at Jahrah

out to the camp of the Chief of the R.A.F. Air Staff, Iraq Command (now Air Vice-Marshal Sir S. S. Burnett, K.C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.), who was directing operations, and handed over his sword.

Before being flown to Basra as a prisoner, later in the day, Faisal entrusted his wife, three sisters, two small children and twenty-seven other female relatives to me with the solemn injunction, *Ahli fi thimatak ya Abu Sa'ud* (I leave my womenfolk in your personal care and honour, O Abu Sa'ud). I took charge of these thirty-one high-born Arab ladies and their children and kept them as my guests in Kuwait for over a month and till such time as H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud sent lorries and servants to convey them to his capital.

The King appreciated, and warmly thanked us by letter, for what my wife and I had done for these noble ladies, for in such matters Bin Sa'ud is without reproach and full of Arab chivalry.

Much adverse criticism and at times bitter condemnation has since been levelled at Faisal al Duwish by people who suffered at his hands, more especially the inhabitants of Iraq. Yet lest future historians criticise him unfairly, I should like to place it on record that what I saw of him personally was favourable. I was one of two Englishmen, I believe, who ever saw him and had personal contact with him prior to his surrender, and I was privileged to have had two long heart-to-heart talks with him, which gave me insight into his mind.

Faisal was undoubtedly a great desert general. He was worshipped by his people and held great and noble ideas for Arabia's future. He fell out with Bin Sa'ud, his equally great master and king, because he was too earnest in his ideas, and could not see things from a politician's point of view. He genuinely believed that Bin Sa'ud was playing a dangerous and double game by having friendly dealings with the infidel English, and he could not reconcile his leaders' policy with the stern Wahhabi creed as preached and practised by the 'Ikhwan.

I believe also that though he was latterly such a thorn in Bin Sa'ud's side, the King will, to his dying day, respect his memory above all people in Sa'udi Arabia, and will remember only the boy that Faisal was in his childhood days in Kuwait, and later the mighty warrior and leader of men that he became.

Next to the famous twenty-three paladins who assisted Bin Sa'ud

to recover his capital Riyadh, Faisal al Duwish was in very fact his most constant companion, adviser and leader, in the score of other military undertakings which enabled Bin Sa'ud to reach his kingdom. Bin Sa'ud is too great a soldier to forget.

Perhaps Faisal al Duwish's most famous raid was when he reached the Red Sea from his headquarters, Artawiyah. The account of this raid was given me by Ibn Musailim, Shaikh of the Rashaida at Kuwait, on 27th January, 1935. I regret I did not make a note of the exact date of the raid in question. We were talking about long-distance raids and I had asked if he had ever done anything especial in the distance line. He said no, but pointing to a man in his tent he told him to tell me the story of his great four months' raid with Faisal al Duwish eight years previously. The man, nothing loth, recounted how his party under Al Duwish himself, left Artawiyah, moved to Ajibba, left Hail on the left, and proceeded by very rapid marches to Wejh on the Red Sea. The raiding party then swung north and raided a Billi concentration, surprised some Bani Attiya and returned finally with tremendous loot in camels via Lina, Arkhaimiyah, Hafar al Bátin and the Summán. The raid, he said, lasted almost exactly four months from start to finish, and the distance covered must have totalled at least 1,500 miles. "But those were in the good old 'Ikhwan days", added the man with a quiet twinkle in his eye.

(3) 'Abdul 'Aziz, son of Faisal al Duwish (universally known as "'Azaiyiz").

'Azaiyiz was the eldest son of the great 'Ikhwan leader, and a fair-haired, fine, upstanding lad. His father doted on him, and some say that the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 definitely began on the day young 'Azaiyiz was killed. The father (according to the Mutair), after he received news of his son's death, became morose, despondent and would eat little. He certainly seemed incapable of further thought or action, and a fatal indecision seemed to take hold of him. From that day the belief came upon him, so it was said, that he could not win, and he began advising all who would to leave him and make the best terms they could with the King.

Though only about twenty-five when he died, 'Azaiyiz had already done well in many a raid with his father. The story of his last and

epic raid was told me by Ibn Ashwan, Shaikh Mutluq al Sur and Faisal ibn Shiblan, all three of whom accompanied him.

On the 15th August, 1929, just before the rebel 'Ikhwan had attempted to cross into Kuwait territory, Faisal al Duwish decided to send his son on a long raid into the Harb, Shammar and Southern 'Anizah country for the purpose of convincing doubters that the 'Ikhwan rebellion was a serious and great menace to Bin Sa'ud, and that it behoved those sitting on the fence to join up with "the Elect".

'Azaiyiz was given a picked force of six hundred and fifty camel riders, the cream of the young men of the Mutair and 'Ajman, and was sent off in a north-westerly direction, accompanied by some experienced older men as advisers, such as Faisal ibn Shiblan, Ibn Ashwan, Mutluq al Sur and Abu Hagutta ('Ajman), to see that he did not allow keenness to override caution.

The raiding party started from Ark in the Kuwait Neutral Zone, and leaving Hafar al Bátin on the right, they passed through the Bashuk area, left Lina wells on the right, Al Turbiya wells on the left and reached Hazil (north of Hail). From here they turned north to the wells of Lifiya, captured vast herds of Shammar and Amarat camels as well as a Sa'udian convoy conveying ten thousand Rials' worth of *zakát* treasure to Hail, and started for home again, this time leaving Lauqa on the right, Jumaima on the left, and Lina on the right. Their intention was to halt at Um ar Ruthuma wells south-west of the Iraq Neutral Zone and water their camels. When near Lina they heard that Ibn Musa'ad, Bin Sa'ud's Governor of Hail, was trying to intercept them by seizing wells, and had moved across their line of retreat, with the intention of cutting off their most likely water. To this end Ibn Musa'ad had, it was reported, seized and strongly fortified the very wells they wanted to reach. The news was serious, for the August heat was intense, their riding camels had not drunk for four days; marches had been very long, and the vast herds of captured camels were falling and dying of exhaustion by the way. A council of war was accordingly held, at which old Faisal bin Shiblan counselled an immediate change of direction if they were to save their lives, and advised a north-easterly march via the Tawal al Dhafir towards Arkhaimiyah and Rigai (south-west corner of Kuwait), after which they would double south-east again, and try and reach the

friendly Neutral Zone south of Kuwait. It was their only chance, advised ibn Shiblan, while ibn Ashwan and others strongly supported him. 'Azaiyiz, on the contrary, was for having a dash at Ibn Musa'ad's force, for "God", he said, "was on the side of the 'Ikhwan his Elect, and it would be *'aib* to avoid battle". In vain the older men pleaded, and high words followed. Last of all, four of their scouts brought positive news that the Um ar Ruthuma wells were held by a force fully thrice as numerous as the raiders. This decided the older warriors, and Faisal ibn Shiblan gave out that he intended going north-east with his own contingent in any case, and invited all wise men to accompany him. Hot-headed 'Azaiyiz still refused to follow, and ibn Shiblan, Ibn Ashwan and others departed with some one hundred and fifty men, and several hundred captured camels. The unfortunate 'Azaiyiz with now only five hundred men to rely on pushed forward swiftly in spite of exhausted and dying camels, and reached the vicinity of the Um ar Ruthuma wells at midday. The scouts' reports turned out to be all too correct, over fifteen hundred fresh Shammar, Harb and Hathar Badawin were holding the wells and had thrown up entrenchments all round the water area. The situation was a desperate one. The heat was intense. Camels had to have water, and men like-wise. A survivor told me afterwards that at this point all water-skins kept in reserve for men had been long since empty and none of 'Azaiyiz's force had drunk for the last eight hours.

'Azaiyiz now called a halt within sight of the enemy who, knowing his strength, were curiously watching to see what would happen. Then 'Azaiyiz ordered the call to prayer, and the parched force knelt to pray. Hunger, thirst, privation and the prospect of a terrible encounter did not deter them for an instant. "Are we not of the Brotherhood, and the Elect of God?" cried their leader. "We must on and win the water, the Almighty will help his children." It was an agonizing moment. Half an hour later, 'Azaiyiz, taking farewell of his precious mare, which with one or two horses only had accom-panied the force, ordered the attack to be delivered with all the courage and *élan* still left to them. He gave a last command to the slave who led his mare to save *her* if possible, and the dreadful assault of the five hundred thirst-maddened men began. The defenders, as may be supposed, easily had the advantage, and with cool courage met

the charge of the 'Ikhwan. The latter were aided by the shimmering mirage which prevented good shooting and got to hand grips. A terrible and confused midday battle followed. For a time the wild and fanatical courage of the 'Ikhwan nearly won the day, but slowly and surely numbers began to tell, and Ibn Musa'ad brought up group after group of fresh reserves. The end came as the pitiless sun was going down. 'Azaiyiz, having lost over three-quarters of his men and seeing that the day went against him, was led exhausted from the field by five of his own personal servants, faithful determined men who made a last effort to save their beloved leader. They were never seen again alive, but their dried-up bodies and those of their riding camels were found two months later in the heart of the Hajira desert. They had perished of thirst.

The remainder of the 'Ikhwan died where they fought, and inflicted dreadful losses on the victors. Of the original force of five hundred men who joined battle, four hundred and fifty were killed where they fought. Ten men who, accompanied by Shaikh Mutluq al Sur and the wounded Shaikh Hazza ibn Badr (shot in the neck a week earlier by mistake by one of his own men, a Bara'asi) were guarding the *chessib*, or captured camels, and had halted five miles in rear of the main body, got away by moving swiftly after sunset via 'Aiwid, 'Arkhaimiyah, Rigai to Jahrah (in Kuwait), i.e. in the steps of Ibn Shiblan.

They eventually got to Ark with most of the captured camels, and reported to Faisal al Duwish.

This left forty odd men, all more or less wounded, whose adventures are recounted below.

As the sun went down and darkness fell over the field of battle, the forty escaped into the neighbouring sand dunes and lay low till next day. Mad with thirst they returned at dawn to try and get water, but found a Shammar rearguard of Ibn Musa'ad's force on the wells who gave them *wejh* (quarter), but disarmed them; Ibn Musa'ad with his main force had retired during the night towards 'Ajibba.

A day later this rearguard also followed, leaving the forty unarmed men behind. These were fortunately joined by one Shafi with rifle and ammunition, another fugitive. With three others he had escaped in the dark on the back of a mare, but had fallen off and lost himself.

Ibn Musa'ad, learning from his Shammar rearguard that the forty

unarmed men were still at Um ar Ruthuma wells, sent back six men to shoot them. These arrived at midday and were met by Shafi, who, hiding his rifle, allowed the six to draw near. As soon as they started shooting the defenceless men (they killed two), he suddenly let fly in their backs, dropped two men and a *dhalúl* and captured a second *dhalúl* loaded with four water-skins. The four remaining murderers bolted. The capture of the water-skins and camel enabled the thirty-eight wounded survivors to get away and eventually reach safety. Eight of the survivors had the ill-luck to be killed at Ingair a month later, when Faisal al Duwish fell upon the 'Awazim tribe. Ibn Musa'ad's force lost over five hundred killed in this battle alone, including such well-known personages as Ibn Nuhaiyir, Ghubaib, Ibn Arhan, Zubar al Zamil, Majid al Qahtani, Naif al 'Utaibi and Saiyah al Qahtani.

'Azaiyiz's thoroughbred mare, and his slave, eventually reached Kuwait via Jahrah—a truly marvellous ride. In spite of the fact that she got only one drink on the morning of the battle, the mare managed to travel a distance of 180 miles across wild open desert without water to Jahrah (20 miles from Kuwait) in three days. When one realises that the month was August, and the desert sun temperature by day anything up to 170° F., the feat must, to my mind, rank as one of the most notable ever put up by an Arab, whether horse or mare.

So ended the great adventure of 'Azaiyiz. Shaikhs Faisal ibn Shiblan (whose life I saved some six months later), Hazza ibn Badr, Mutlug al Sur, Ibn Ashwan and Abu Hagutta got safe away; also, by different routes, another two hundred men, with the booty they had with them. In fact, the forlorn hope of 'Azaiyiz saved Ibn Shiblan and party as well as Mutluq al Sur's ten men, for the victors had supposed that the whole 'Ikhwan force was present at the battle. The wounded Hazza was later brought into Kuwait and was taken into hospital and cured of his neck wound by the local doctor. It was touch and go with him.

The mare of 'Azaiyiz was brought into Kuwait from Jahrah a week after the battle, and it was my privilege to have her secretly stabled in a house near my own, where I fed and tended her for three months. She was just skin and bone when she was first brought in, and had a running sore the size of one's open hand in the centre of her back. My wife and I tended her till she got well. We gave her nothing but

lucerne grass, dates in the form of a mash, and milk to drink for the first fortnight of her stay with us. She was a beautiful animal with mouth and nostrils so small that they would easily go into a man's two hands held cup-fashion. She had great round eyes, full of sense and intelligence, with broad forehead. Her colour was dark bay, and her age was about thirteen years.

Her new owner, for she was secretly sold to avoid her falling into Ibn Musa'ad's hands, took her eventually to Iraq, where I saw her on several occasions during the next two years, though Ibn Musa'ad, the Mutair and the Dhafir tribe all claimed her by right of conquest, and wrote letters to Kuwait about her.

To return to the raid. I calculate that 'Azaiyiz's raid totalled 900 miles as far as distance went, though I have not been able to find out actually how many days it took from start till disaster overtook it. The ten different survivors who gave me details of the story were all unable to give reliable figures, their sufferings had been too much for them, I think, and they had lost count.

Another version of the escape to Jahrah of 'Azaiyiz's mare is as follows:

She originally belonged to a Dhafiri resident at Artawiyah, by name Fahad Husaini. The latter sold her to 'Azaiyiz, through one Thaifallah al Mutairi, just after Al Duwish raided the Sbei tribe at Ga'iyah the previous year. 'Azaiyiz promised to pay for her after returning from his great raid—and never actually took the mare with him. 'Azaiyiz never returned alive, nor did Thaifallah.

Fahad, the Dhafiri, after 'Azaiyiz's death, went to Faisal al Duwish and demanded the money promised by 'Azaiyiz. Bandar, second son of Faisal al Duwish (now Shaikh of the Mutair), to save the mare, claimed that he had handed her over to one Ghadaiyir al Nafah. The latter is said to have taken her (ten days after the battle) from Al Haba to Jahrah (a distance of 160 miles) in three days, on learning that Fahad the Dhafiri was claiming her back.

At Jahrah the mare was hidden for a fortnight and eventually sold to Farhan al Rahama (my man), when he married Hussa bint Sanaithan abu Sifra.

The above is placed on record lest my story of the escape of 'Azaiyiz's mare from Um ar Ruthuma is ever challenged or proved

wrong. Both stories have been told me by supporters of both versions. 'Azaiyiz's slave's evidence is hard to refute, so I personally favour the former version. As a matter of fact, whether the mare did her 160 miles or her 180 miles without water is immaterial, seeing that either feat would be very remarkable under a midsummer sun.

The gallant end of 'Azaiyiz filled the Badawin world and even the King himself with admiration, and it is interesting to record that the dead leader's two wives, Hussa bint Sahan al Mutluq and Al Jázi bint Faraj al Shiblan, were, at the close of the 'Ikhwan operations, taken in marriage by H.M. the King and his brother 'Abdullah al Sa'ud respectively. This act, which to our Western eyes may sound strange and heartless, was in reality a great honour to the widows, as well as a sure sign to the world that the King was the conqueror.

(4) Suwaiyan abu Jum'ah of the Mahfudh section of the 'Ajam (see Chapter XXII). This youth proceeded in 1934 to Najran with the Amir Sa'ud. From there he succeeded in penetrating to Sana, the Yaman capital, in supposed search of his brother but really as a spy. On his return to Najran proceeded with a raiding party of 'Ajman to the hinterland of Hadhramaut and raided the Sai'ar and Karab tribes of that district, bringing back camels as loot. I myself saw these camels near Kuwait. I met Suwaiyan abu Jum'ah in the spring of 1935 (29th April). He told me of his adventures in South Arabia, and their truth was vouched for by several 'Ajman leaders in a tent full of 'Ajman tribesmen. They all assured me that the man's story was true and not exaggerated.

(5) Farhan ibn Mashhur al Sha'alan of the Ruwala tribe 'Anizah, was at one time a favourite of the King, but joined the rebels under Faisal al Duwish early in the revolt. He eventually got back to his country via Baghdad, though in doing so he let down King Faisal of Iraq rather badly. He was slain near Damascus by Fawaz ibn Nawaf al Sha'alan on 20th April, 1935. He was undoubtedly a renowned raider, but not a very pleasant man to meet. He always struck me as insincere, and to this day I am convinced that he went over to Bin Sa'ud and then to the 'Ikhwan, not from real religious motives, but in the hope that he would some day succeed to the shaikhship of the

Ruwala when the Amir Nuri died. Ibn Mashur married an 'Ajman girl, the daughter of Muhammad ibn Uthain. She died in Iraq in 1933.

(6) Al Dahaina of the 'Utaiba tribe bore a good name in the Badawin world as a skilful and daring raider. He was one of Faisal al Duwish's stalwarts before and during the 'Ikhwan rebellion, and was present with Ibn Mashhur in the battles of Al Ritha and Ingair in Hasa, when the combined 'Ajman and Mutair tribes attacked the 'Awazim in their own home.

After the collapse of the rebellion al Dahaina fled to Iraq, and was given a pension by H.M. King Faisal. He was still there in 1935. I met him only once.

CHAPTER XXVII

Desert Guides and Trackers

On 27th November, 1935, I visited and had a long talk with Shaikh Mutluq al Musailim, the paramount chief of the Rashaida, in his camp. Among other things he admitted that his tribe was related to the great Hutaim group lying east of Madina. This is the powerful group whose paramount shaikhs are Ibn Barák and Ibn Naumas, and which as a whole is an "inferior" tribe.

He maintained that his people, the Rashaida, possessed without exception the finest guides throughout Arabia. He had men, he said, who could guide a stranger without any preparation from Kuwait to

(*a*) Damascus
(*b*) Amman
(*c*) Wejh
(*d*) Madina
(*e*) Mecca
(*f*) Ebha
(*g*) Najran
(*h*) Wadi Dawasır
(*i*) Riyadh and its environs
(*j*) Hasa and Qatar

The best guide in all Arabia was, in his opinion, Ibn Hadhabba of his tribe, now employed by Bin Sa'ud on his permanent staff. Ibn Hadhabba was one of a family of that name, all of whom, even the women, seemed to be endowed with the same skill. The gift was born in these men, he said, not acquired in any way, and was akin to the sort of fifth sense an animal possessed. It mattered not if the sun shone or not by day, or if the sky was overcast at night, the Rashaidi could find his way anywhere. He never forgot a desert feature once seen, however small and insignificant.

On the other hand, Shaikh Mutluq admitted freely that his own tribe were not trackers. The palm in this science went easily to the Al Murra tribe of South Hasa and Jabrin. Tracking, or *ma'arifat al jarra* as it was called, was entirely different from the science of guiding or *ma'arifat al dalála*. The latter implied perfect knowledge of ground with a perfect eye for country, stars, etc., the former was more un-

canny, and consisted in an almost animal faculty for following up the tracks of man, camel, horse or sheep, and describing from the tracks the exact type of person or animal that had left its spoor. For instance, it was easy for a Murri, he said, to say whether the tracks of a simple single camel were those of a white camel (*wadha*), or a brown camel (*humra*), or a black camel (*sauda*), and still easier to say if it was male or female, in calf or not.

The Murra skill was so great, contended Shaikh Mutluq, that in following the tracks of a human female a tracker could say whether the person was married or single, and whether she was pregnant or not.

I have myself observed some very remarkable examples of Murra skill, and have been told numberless others by men like H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, who would have no reason to exaggerate. The Murra tribe are related to the 'Ajman, and both claim descent from Yam, the ancestor of the Bani Yam of Najran in North-East Yaman. Possibly their origin is Himyaritic. All three tribes are considered *sharíf* tribes, and in appearance are all more or less alike. They have broad foreheads, eyes set wide apart, and chin running into a sharp small point. This is especially the case with the women. The apparently weak chin is, in the case of the man, usually hidden by a finer beard than is common among other Badawin.

The following is a personal experience. In February 1920 I was riding from Hufuf to Ojair in Hasa by a rather more circuitous and southern route than that usually used, as I wanted to examine the nature of certain ground. I had been the guest of Bin Sa'ud in Hufuf for some seventeen days. My escort consisted of twelve of Bin Sa'ud's braves under a youth called Báni. This fine young lad told me that he had just arrived in Hufuf from Riyadh for the first time in his life, and therefore had to depend on others' knowledge of the country. Half way to the coast we met an enormous herd of Murra camels with numerous baby camels slowly grazing in a northerly direction. The country was dune country and we did not see a soul, though no doubt all our movements were being watched by a hundred eyes.

Presently Báni suggested a drink of camel's milk all round. No sooner said than done. A she-camel was easily caught, milked into a panikin of wood (*jiddá*), and we all had a delightful drink. Coffee followed and we sat down for a twenty minutes' rest. Presently a

small Murra girl appeared from nowhere, aged probably seven or eight, and demanded to know why we milked her father's camel without permission. As we teased her and bandied words, her father suddenly appeared from behind a large sand dune. He approached silently, and coming up to us he gave the usual *salám 'alaikum* and got the usual reply. Without another word he looked us all slowly up and down, then moved up to Báni, our leader. *Kaif int?* he said, *Wa kaif hál al wálid?* (How are you and how is your father?) "Quite well, may God give you peace," was the reply, "but whence know you my father, and how doest thou know I am his son? I have never been in Al 'Ahsa (Hasa) before, nor do I know you to my knowledge." Without the slightest show of surprise the Murra said quietly, "True, but your father is called Shaja'an, isn't he? I knew him some twenty-five years ago, probably before you were born. But I do not forget a face, and I know you to be his son from your perfect resemblance to him." A truly remarkable feat of memory. The stolid Murra never guessed that he had caused surprise.

I came across a good example of Rashaida memory for country in 1932.

One day I was hunting with Shaikh Ahmad of Kuwait in Sa'udi Arabia, some 150 miles in the interior and in the Qara'a region south of the Musannat ridge. We had been chasing a certain covey of *hubara* in a car for some hour and twenty minutes and had followed up the subsequent kill by pursuing a runaway hawk who was out of hand. Our twists and turns had confused me completely as to direction. The sun was right overhead, and the plain was dead flat as far as the eye could see, without a recognisable feature anywhere, while the grass underfoot was *nassi* everywhere. We had halted for lunch, and I called up the shaikh's chief hunter Nazzal, a Rashidi noted for his knowledge of the desert. "O Nazzal," said I, "Can you tell me where Kuwait lies, and how far off we are?" Without a pause he replied, "There is Kuwait over that bush, and it is exactly five days' journey for a camel-rider taking things easy, and riding about eight or nine hours a day". I called up other Rashaida hunters and they independently all gave the same answer, though I questioned them separately. I then asked Nazzal where the North Star was. Again he pointed to another bush, and said, "Over there, O Abu Sa'ud". Upon this I

pulled out my compass, and found he was entirely correct as regards the north point, and by setting my map proved also that he was exactly right as far as the direction of Kuwait went. I was then able easily to fix my position in the wide Qara'a region, and found we were just about 150 miles from home. To me this was rather remarkable, but my companions laughed at me and my surprise, saying the test was not a difficult one, in fact it was no test at all, for they all knew the ground we were standing on almost to a yard, and in proof of their statement they chorused, "Exactly quarter of a mile away from here in a north-westerly direction is a piece of good truffle ground, where we always find truffles during the rainy season". "I'll show you what I mean," said Nazzal, "there should be some there now." He jumped into one of the cars, and drove off at speed. In ten minutes he was back with seven choice truffles. "I thought I was right," he said. "We are close to the place where I found So-and-So's watch, after he had lost it a whole year before. He dropped the watch when we were taking part in a raid." Nazzal then described how the man had dropped the watch as his party were beating a rapid retreat, and remembering the place had visited the spot a year later when the 'Ikhwan danger had gone, and found his watch just near where the truffles grow.

I ask the reader to remember that we were in absolutely flat prairie country covered with a sort of short hay, and with only an occasional bush here and there, and we were 150 miles from the nearest town, namely Kuwait. I thought the incident very remarkable.*

* Other excellent stories of the amazing cleverness of trackers of the Al Murra tribe will be found in Chapter I of *The Arab at Home*, by Dr. Paul Harrison, of the American Arabian Mission, Dutch Reformed Church, all of which I can vouch for.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Hawking

From the very earliest times hawking or falconry has been looked upon among Arabs as the sport of kings. It was probably introduced into Europe direct from Arabia, after the early Crusades, and certainly came into Spain with the Arab invaders. There is little doubt, I think, that the sport spread with Islam to Persia and even to far-off China, though the reverse process has been suggested by persons who have studied the subject.

Hawking is mentioned by the earliest Arab chroniclers, and many stories are told of how the ancient ruling house of Al Araiar, the hereditary shaikhs of the Bani Khalid in Hasa and Najd, encouraged the sport and preserved game for hawking's sake.

Northern and North-Eastern Arabia are to-day the home of the sport in the peninsula, for it is in this area that the first annual migration of the lesser bustard, or *hubara*, takes place. The *hubara* is the principal game hunted with hawks, though hare and even gazelle also give fair sport.

The *hubara* appears on the eastern and north-eastern seaboard of the Persian Gulf about October in each year, and birds continue to come till about April, when they gradually disappear again to cooler climes.

The local Arab says they come from the highlands of Persia, but more probably they come in the first place from Central Asia, and migrate south through Persia, to avoid the intense cold. Certainly Persia, Iraq, North-West India, Baluchistan and Eastern Arabia all see the migrating bustard.

A very few remain behind in Arabia each year and breed locally, but these are rare. I have myself seen a couple of *hubara* eggs (15th March, 1935) which were found 40 miles south of Kuwait.

From Zubair down to the Trucial Coast of Oman, the *hubara* season is looked forward to with the greatest keenness. Princes, Amirs, great shaikhs, petty shaikhs, and every tribesman who can scrape

together a few pence to buy a hawk, all go in for the sport. In fact, every self-respecting person owns, or hopes to own, his falcon.

The two most commonly used hawks are known locally as the *Hurr* or *Hurra* and the *Shâhîn.** The former is the aristocrat of the two, and fetches a much higher price.

The best hawks come from the Persian littoral, and nowadays fetch prices of from Rs.50 to Rs.150 a bird. Both *hurr* and *shâhîn* are also caught by Badawin hunters clever at snaring. The islands of Bubiyan and Warba, west of the Shatt al 'Arab Delta, are favourite snaring grounds for Kuwait Badawin, and I believe the Dhaharan peninsula, south of Qatif, is another.

On first reaching Arabia the *hubara* makes for the small new green shoots of grass that come up with the early rains or *wasm* season (October). As the rainy season develops and grass comes up everywhere, the birds scatter and proceed deeper and deeper into the interior, until they are found as far inland in the north as the Syrian desert, and in the south round about Riyadh and the oasis of Jabrin. Except in small numbers the birds do not penetrate much west of this line.

Round about Zubair, Kuwait and further south as far as Qatar, the birds are very plentiful throughout the winter, and many thousands of birds are each season killed for food by the local Arabs. In Kuwait the shaikh generally bags about two thousand birds every cold weather, and the combined members of the Al Sa'ud get about the same number in Najd proper, as also do the Shaikhs of Bahrain, both on their own islands as well as on the mainland where they regularly hunt.

The best trainers of falcons round about Kuwait and Riyadh are the Rashaida tribesmen, and in the south the Al Murra tribe. Both seem to have a very special aptitude for turning out skilled birds.

A good hawk will only kill four to five *hubara* in one day, an exceptional hawk has been known to kill as many as seven to eight. I have known "Petrol", the priceless hawk of the Shaikh of Kuwait, kill as many as eleven birds in a day, but this is unique in the annals of the chase.

* *Hurr* is apparently the name given to both "Saker" and "Lagger" falcons, and *Shâhin* is clearly the *Shahin* falcon of Natural History.

The famous "Petrol" indeed appeared always ready to try his luck with a *hubara*, and I have seen him after killing his tenth bird lie on his back in a fit of exhaustion, and appear to be at the point of death. A small dose of aspirin crushed in water used to bring him round on these occasions.

Hawks always bear good names, selected either after famous falcons of the past or after well-known historical heroes, for instance, "Sultán", "Shabíb", "Dhiáb", "Sáhud", "Sádáh", etc.

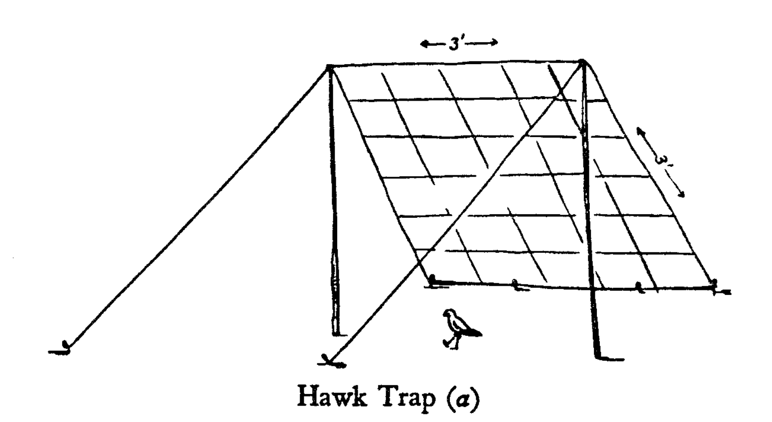
A falconer is called a *saggár*. It takes thirteen days for a good *saggár* to train a year-old hawk. If the hawk is a two- or three-year-old bird, the training period may last twenty to twenty-five days.

Hawks are in general called *tair* (plural: *tuyúr*). (Hurr and Sháhín falcons are particular hunting types mentioned above.)

There are two common methods for snaring hawks:

(*a*) The small square net and jerboa or pigeon method.
(*b*) The long narrow net with raven and pigeon method.

(*a*) A very coarse-mesh net of thin light texture 3 feet by 3 feet in size, is erected at an angle of 60° from the ground. The lower edge is pegged very lightly to the ground, while the upper side is supported



Hawk Trap (*a*)

on two light sticks, which are kept in position by two light cords also very lightly pegged to the ground. The net is sloped away from the wind, as the hawk always dives after its prey down and into the wind.

Under the net a jerboa (bounding field rat) or a pigeon is tied by the leg and pegged to the ground.

The hawk, seeing the animal from afar, and not perceiving the

'ADDAS, ONE OF THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT'S LEADING FALCONERS

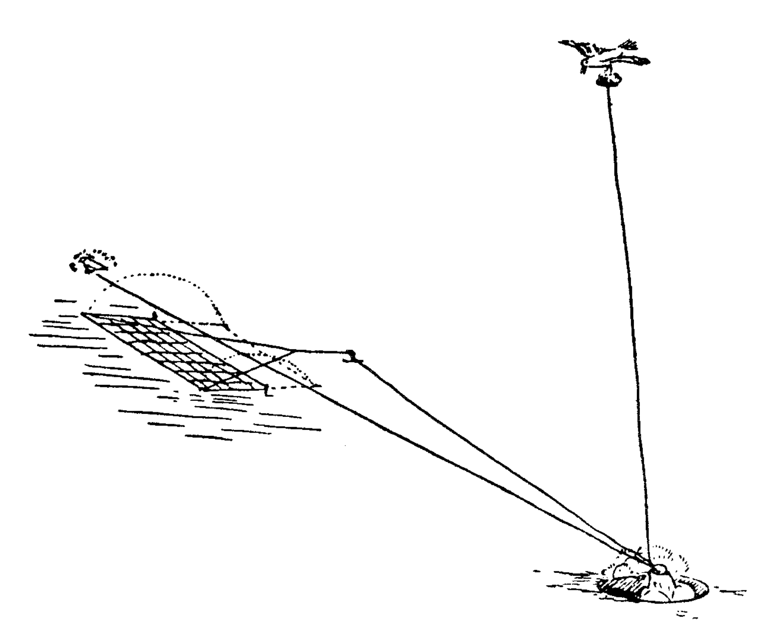


'ADDAS AND 'AWADH

light-coloured net, swoops down to pick up its prey and dashes into the net, which at once is torn out of the ground, the pegs being loose, and closes round him closely. The hawk is then brought struggling to the ground and is easily caught. In almost every case the hawk's head and neck go through one of the large meshes of the net and this entangles him even more securely.

This method is used only when a hawk is known to be hunting in the vicinity and has been seen.

The net folds up into a small ball and can be easily carried in a man's wallet when not in use. The thin supports are carried in a hollow bamboo tube and slung across the back, rifle fashion.



Hawk Trap (*b*).

Most Hasa and Kuwait Badawin during the autumn, spring and winter, carry the snare as part of their equipment, for in those months hawks are commonly to be seen.

The pegs securing the net and the stays to the ground are made of light metal, or are nails, so as to add weight to the net when the hawk gets entangled and tries to fly off with it.

(*b*) A net of much smaller mesh than the former is placed flat on the ground. The size of the net is 7 feet by 3 feet, with sticks and

string attachment 100 feet long. When the string is pulled it causes the net to whip up and over, imprisoning anything lying on the ground.

A captive pigeon is tethered by one of its wings to the ground near the net, but on the far side of it. The snarer sits in a hole 100 feet away, flanking the net, his head covered over and hidden by brushwood. He holds a long string attached to the decoy pigeon by a ring.

He next brings into play a tame and trained raven, which has a thick clod of black wool attached to its legs, to represent a bird in its claws. The raven is held captive by means of a third string some 200 feet long.

The snarer thus has three strings, one to the net, one to the pigeon, and one to the raven.

He now releases the raven, which, though held by the leg, flies up and over the net, circling round and round.

Any hawk within ten miles will see it, and thinking the raven has food or a bird in its clutches will at once fly to the spot, to snatch the prey.

The raven, seeing the hawk approach, caws violently and comes to earth, whereupon it is quickly pulled to cover by the snarer. The hunter then jerks the captive pigeon with the second string to make it struggle. The hawk, seeing it, at once swoops and kills it on the ground. While the hawk devours his prey the snarer slowly pulls it, together with the pigeon it is feeding on, towards the net. When he has got it in the right position he jerks the third string which operates the net and pulls it over the hawk by a whipping backward motion. The hawk is thus trapped.

As a rule the captive pigeon is put in a small hole in the ground and covered with brushwood till the falconer jerks it and makes it flutter as the hawk draws near.

When a hawk is first caught its lower eyelid is pierced by a thin thread which is passed over its head and through the other lower eyelid. This forces both eyes to close. The bird is then hooded with the *burqa*, or leather head-cap. For sketches of Hawking Outfit see page 92.

HAWKING

There are two common methods in use to-day (1935), of hunting *hubara* with hawks:

(*a*) The Zubair—Kuwait method.
(*b*) The Bahrain—Hasa—Najd method.

In Zubair and Kuwait the hunter ties together two end and longest wing feathers of the bird, in two places, with small pieces of string. This reduces its speed and prevents it from flying after a *hubara* which rises too far away from the falconer.

The method was invented by Ibn Mishri of Zubair, after he had lost many score of hawks. It was later adopted by the Shaikhs of Kuwait.

The old-fashioned and perhaps more sporting method allows the hawk full freedom of flight. In this way many hawks are lost even if perfectly trained, and this means expense. Slowly but surely the newer method is replacing the older, and in 1935 I heard of many members of the Al Sa'ud family in Riyadh adopting it.

Under the new method, a hawk is shown a piece of ground unhooded. If he sees a *hubara* ahead he will leave the falconer's hand and fly swiftly to his quarry, keeping close to the ground. Here he will swoop on his prey, fight and seize his victim by the neck till the hunter comes up, unless the *hubara* is able to get away with the assistance of another bustard or of his mate, who put the hawk out of action by squirting slime from their vent on to his feathers, eyes and head. Sometimes the *hubara* is able to lie so close that the hawk loses him when he arrives on the scene.

If the attack is successful, the spectator sees a white flutter of feather and tail, a scuffle on the ground, possibly several swoops on the part of the hawk, then all is quiet as the hawk seizes his quarry by the neck. White feathers soon fly in the breeze as the hawk plucks the breast of his prey preparatory to having a bite of its flesh. The falconer's job is to come up before damage is done, cut the *hubara's* throat, and then allow the hawk to have a couple of bites of its breast. After this he removes the bird by cunningly introducing a large round piece of leather between the hawk and its prey, with a sort of sliding

motion. The hawk is then hooded once more, and the *hubara* put away in a bag.

If other *hubara* come to the victim's rescue the hawk's work for the rest of the day is over. For the dark green slime exuded violently from the *hubara's* vent is of birdlime quality, and not only half blinds him but glues all his feathers together so that he cannot fly with any degree of comfort until he is washed all over with water and dried.

This extraordinary protective equipment of the *hubara* is of interest. The slimy substance is exuded with such force as to reach a distance of a yard or more.

If the *hubara* seeks safety in immobility, the well-trained hawk, knowing that its quarry is lying low somewhere in the vicinity, at once perches on a bush (the highest close by) and waits for the hunter to come up. The latter then walks up and down and round the hawk, as he would do if walking up partridge in a cabbage patch. As the *hubara* gets up the falconer shoots. Often half a dozen birds will be bagged by this method. All are terrified of moving so long as the hawk remains sitting on the bush, and will allow the sportsman to put his foot on them before getting up.

So wonderfully can the *hubara* crouch and camouflage itself in stony or pebbly ground that I have on many occasions been unable to see the bird I had marked down till I was within ten feet of it. My car has even passed within one yard of a crouching *hubara* without its rising (11th February, 1935).

If the falconer, whether on camel-back or in a car, thinks bustard are about, but are crouching low so as not to be noticed by the hawk, he will unhood his bird, hold him high up, and raise a slow shrill cry sounding like *'A-hoh—'A-hoh—'A-hoh*, and finishing up with a rapid fire of *Ha-Ha-Ha-Ha's*. The idea is to startle the crouching *hubara*, and make him raise or turn his head or show the slightest movement. The hawk will detect the movement, even if half a mile away, and speed from the falconer's hand after its quarry.

HUNTING GAZELLE WITH HAWKS

The Badawin goes in for this form of sport much more than the town Arab, purely from a desire for fresh meat. He often hawks

gazelle with the aid of his *salúqis*. Gazelle-hawking, however, is rare and not popular. This is how it is done.

A special hawk is trained to attack gazelle on sight. Singling one out of a herd it will start circling round and round its head very rapidly and at close quarters, and will frequently swoop and try to attack the gazelle's face and eyes with its talons. The wretched gazelle at first tries galloping off, but finding it cannot throw off the hawk this way, it stops still and tries to butt at the bird as it swoops. It soon becomes giddy and confused by the repeated attacks of the hawk, who now begins to inflict jagged claw wounds on the gazelle's face, sometimes blinding it. At this stage the gazelle lies down, and the hunter comes up and has no difficulty in seizing the unfortunate animal.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Salúqi

The Badawin, and especially those whose habitat is the eastern and north-eastern part of Arabia, all go in for keeping greyhounds, for hunting and sport, much in the same way as they train and keep hunting hawks and falcons. The pure-bred greyhound is called *salúqi* (pronounced *salúgi*, plural: *salag*), and a half-breed greyhound is known under the name of *lúgi*.

Great care is taken by the Badawin who owns a *salúqi* to see that his bitch is not covered by a common sheep-dog or stray *lúgi*. Hence when she is on heat (*tutlub*), she is either kept closely confined in the tent, or her hind leg is tied up by a leather thong to her collar. This is a somewhat uncomfortable position for the animal, which only finds rest in a lying down position.

The *salúqi* is kept primarily for hunting and is taught to run down hare and gazelle. The best of these hounds are capable of going out alone short distances from camp, killing and bringing back to their master any hare they can put up. I have in mind a beautiful grey *salúqi* bitch belonging to Shaikh Salim al Hamud al Subah of Kuwait, which used frequently to go hare-hunting on her own when her master was in camp, and two days out of six she would bring back game. She was an exception, however.

Ordinarily two or three youths will go out on foot with two or three *salúqis*, and will beat up likely stretches of ground for hare—the hounds being taught to work separately at intervals of twenty or thirty yards from each other. On putting up a hare they will run it down and break its back in best coursing style, or will run it to earth, when the master will come along and dig it out.

When hunting hares with *salúqis*, the huntsmen usually work on foot, but for gazelle-hunting camels are used. Their height enables the huntsman to spot a herd of gazelle from afar, and when the chase commences he can follow his hounds for miles, as they race after their game.

It is a curious fact that well-trained *salúqis* will rarely lose a gazelle when once it is sighted. They gallop after it for miles until their quarry, either from terror or exhaustion, collapses and lies down. The rest is then easy, for the hounds seize and hold it till the hunter comes up on his speeding camel, dismounts and cuts its throat. On most occasions, however, the gazelle gives his pursuers a run for their money before it is caught and killed. This cannot be said of the unsportsmanlike hunting down of gazelle with motor cars, so unfortunately practised in some parts of Arabia to-day. Here the unfortunate gazelle is pursued at great speed for a mile or so, and when the car containing the hunters catches up its terrified and exhausted victim, the latter is dropped in its tracks by a charge of buck or No. 1 shot, fired at point-blank range. I am glad to say this cruel form of sport, though it became common in Kuwait with the advent of the motor car, was frowned on by the present enlightened ruler, and so ceased to be popular as far back as 1934. In Iraq there is supposed to be a law forbidding the hunting of gazelle in motor cars, but I understand that both there and in Sa'udi Arabia this form of sport is still carried on.

To return to the *salúqi*. The Arabian *salúqi* proper must not be confused with his cousin, the Persian greyhound, though whether in origin he is a descendant of that animal I cannot say.

The Arabian species are two: (*a*) the entirely smooth-haired animal (commonly found among the Mutair tribe), with ears and tail like those of his English cousin, and (*b*) the smooth-haired animal with long silky hair on ears as well as on tail (common among the 'Awazim tribe).

The two types are entirely different, the predominating colours of the former being fawn, reddy brown or black, usually with black muzzles, and the latter with ruddy brown muzzles merging into the black head.

The common colours found in (*b*) type are white, French grey and pale fawn, the ears and tail being always of a lighter colour than the body. Occasionally a mottled grey and white animal is met with, but these most probably come down from the Muntafiq country on the lower Euphrates and are not true to type.

The Badawin *salúqi* tends to be small: he is definitely a good deal

smaller than the English greyhound. Whether this is due to centuries of poor food, or not, I cannot say. Judging from the Arab horse, born and bred in similar conditions, I should say not. I venture the opinion that just as the 14.2 and 14.3 Arab horse of Arabia is the probable natural height of the original species, the far bigger thoroughbreds found in Europe and America being unnaturally bred, so I should say that the small type of Arabian greyhound should be considered as conforming to the true standard of the breed, and not the larger and much more powerful type found in Europe.

I make the above remarks with apologies to *salúqi* experts in England and other parts of the world, but am constrained to say so, because at certain *salúqi* shows in England I have seen so-called Arabian *salúqis* taking prizes who had apparently been bred in two or three generations out of the true type, especially in this matter of size.

As regards the points of a *salúqi*, the Badawin pays attention only to the following:

(*a*) The snout or muzzle must be long and narrow—this for breed.
(*b*) The girth at chest must be deep, the deeper the better—this for staying power.
(*c*) The girth at waist must be fine—this for speed.
(*d*) The hocks must be well let down—this also for speed.
(*e*) The width between the tops of the thigh bones measured on the back must be good, i.e. at least the width of a hand including thumb—this for speed.

For the rest, the dog with two hair warts under the chin is better than that with only one, and the one having three or four such hair warts is very good.

According to the Badawin the *salúqi* is a particularly highly strung animal, and should not be struck or whipped when being trained. Such treatment will definitely spoil and cow the animal. The greatest patience, therefore, must always be shown in training these hunting *salúqis*. This was impressed on me by 'Awazim tribesmen on more than one occasion.

Similarly the Badawin will never take away and destroy unwanted puppies at birth, but will leave them at least a month with their mother. To remove puppies from their mother in the early stages is said to have the same effect as whipping.

From my own observations, during sixteen years' close intercourse with the Badawin, I should say that the 'Awazim tribe were the best breeders and trainers of *salúqis* in Eastern Arabia, and after them I should place the 'Ajman tribe, their cousins the Murra, and then the Mutair, in this order

Unlike other dogs, the *salúqi* is not considered *naqis* (pronounced *najis*) or unclean, and dog or bitch is allowed to enter the tent at all times and lie about on rugs and mats. They are not much handled, however, except by the women and children, although the Shaikh of Kuwait has assured me that those professing the Maliki views, have not the slightest objection to touching them.

In summer, when a bitch is about to have puppies, the women or servants of the tent dig a slanting pit in the sand three to four feet deep just outside the women's portion of the tent, and cover it over with sticks and brushwood, laying a layer of earth over the top. An entrance to the inclined way is left for the prospective mother to get down into the cool refuge which has been made for her, where she can have her young in peace and comfort.

Most prominent Badawin shaikhs endeavour to keep well-bred *salúqis*, just as they keep hawks and stud mares of special breed. It gives them prestige and a good name among their fellow shaikhs.

Among Arabs, one of the best-known *salúqi* breeders and fanciers in Arabia was the late H.H. Shaikh Sir Hamad bin 'Isa al Khalífah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Ruler of Bahrain. Shaikh Hamad's *saluqis* were, however, of a larger and more massive type than those ordinarily found among the tribes of the interior. This may possibly be due to the fact that they did little or no hunting, were fed well and fat rather than muscular. His stud was nevertheless a fine one, and it was the ambition of many Arabian *salúqi* fanciers to possess one of Shaikh Hamad's greyhounds for breeding purposes. The kind of dog bred by Shaikh Hamad was of the (*b*) type mentioned on p. 375, that is to say the animals were smooth-haired, except for the ears and tail, which had long silky hair on them.

Personally I am inclined to believe that Shaikh Hamad's *salúqis* have Persian greyhound blood in them, or possibly were originally imported from the Persian shore of the Gulf.

I have certainly never seen such big animals as his on the Arabian

littoral. It would be interesting to have a real expert's views on this question.

The Arabian *salúqi*, like all greyhounds, I suppose, feels the cold of winter very much, and is always given a coat by his owner when the winter season sets in.

Like the Arab horse and camel the *salúqi* is very fond of dates, and will eat them stone and all with relish and apparently no ill-effects.

Sometimes a *salúqi* will turn vicious and start chasing and killing sheep. According to the Badawin there is then nothing for it but to destroy the animal.

I was once asked (1934) by a lady fancier and very well-known breeder of *salúqis* in London if the Arabs kept different breeds of Arabian *salúqis*, in the same way that they have definite breeds of horses. On my return to Kuwait in the same year, I made enquiries on the subject from the shaikhs and many Badawin. I satisfied myself that there were no special breeds or names indicating different species, but that certain tribes favoured the all-smooth type (*a*) and others the silky-eared and fluffy-tail type (*b*).

The following are some of the most common names given to *salúqis* by the Badawin:

Turfa (f.)	Dhabba'án (m.)
Khatáf (m.)	Shihán (f.)
Sulfa (f.)	Najma (f.)
Khazza (f.)	Wadha (f.)

I am told, though I have not been able to verify the story, that at Samarra in Iraq there is a very good strain of *salúqis* known as the "Saglawiyah". These, it is said, are fine big animals rather like Shaikh Hamad's, while the ears and tails of these animals have the long hair mentioned above as typifying strain (*b*). This is the only case that I have come across of a definite name being given to a breed of *salúqis*.

Some of my Shammar friends also make mention of a breed of fine hunting *salúqis* without tails (like the Manx cat), but I have never seen any, nor can I say with any certainty that they exist.

CHAPTER XXX

The Arab Horse

As an ex-cavalry man, I have naturally interested myself very considerably in horses and mares during my sojourn in the Muntafiq and Hilla areas of Iraq and my wanderings among the Badawin.

What particularly attracted me was the study of the Arab horse in his home surroundings, the manner of his bringing up, his birth, how he was cared for, how fed, how treated, how bought and sold, what happened in his old age and how he died.

My notes on these points must be looked upon as addenda to the many excellent books that have been written and published on this subject by various world authorities. I have in mind particularly the book on the Arab Horse by Mr. Brown, published in the U.S.A. (copies of which it was my privilege to present to His Majesty the King of Sa'udi Arabia and His Excellency the Ruler of Kuwait in 1932), and to the various good books and articles which have been brought out from time to time by His Highness Prince Mohomed 'Ali of Egypt and Mr. Carl Raswan.

UPBRINGING AND TREATMENT

Let me say at once that the Arab horse at home is not the beautifully groomed, round-quartered and well-fed animal to be seen in the stables of European horse-fanciers or on the racecourses of Poona, Baghdad and Cairo—not to mention Crabbett Park.

The mares, for instance, in their Badawin surroundings are unkempt, dirty, long-haired and generally rather thin and miserable-looking creatures.

Except for the fact that they wear a set of coarse iron hobbles on their forefeet, and a Badawin-made coarse *jillál* over their backs when the weather is cold or chilly, they are treated in the tent much in the same way as the camels or sheep; they wander about in the vicinity

of the black tents, grazing where they will, and coming home to drink when thirsty. They are never given any grain, except when it is necessary to get them fit preparatory to a raid or a tribal war, or when summer grazing is so scarce that it is needed to keep them alive, and then only a minimum is doled out.

It follows that the ordinary Badawin's steed, however well-bred and however valuable, depends for its health and condition more on nature than on man his master. In other words, during the spring months and early summer months, when the grazing is rich and abundant, the condition of mares is wonderfully good, but in summer it is definitely bad; while among those who are not blessed with this world's goods the condition of their mounts is often deplorable.

Nevertheless, the Arab greatly values his horses and mares. It is no exaggeration to say that they are often given preference over the wives and daughters of the tent when it is a question of who shall starve first.

THE MARE AS A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY

The most pleasing feature of all is the way the family mare is treated by her master and the women of the tent. I say "mare" advisedly here, because while horses are got rid of and sold as soon as a buyer can be found, the family mare not only remains unsold, but literally is loved and cared for as if she were a daughter of the house. The fact that she is never groomed is nothing among a people who themselves never wash or bathe, except in the performance of their religious duties. In this respect the mare is only like her human sisters.

This making the mare a member of the family has a most delightfully humanising effect on Arab horseflesh generally. It is charming to see the way mares enter the tent for shelter of a night when it is cold, or walk into the women's quarters in the midday heat of an Arabian summer to escape the stinging rays of a fierce sun. No one says them nay. They take possession as of right, and they are welcomed, given some dates or a drink of water as a matter of course. This sort of treatment develops a strange gentleness towards those women who are always handling them, and especially towards the tent children. Indeed, every mare seems to understand that the little

ones are the children of her protectors, and treats them gently and with as much care, as if they were her own.

I have often seen little mites of boys and girls literally playing under the mare's legs. She merely looks down on them with big eyes as if they were her own young and perhaps occasionally gives them a shove with her muzzle, to suggest that they might go and get her a handful of dates. I have mentioned in Chapter X the magic uses of a mare at childbirth.

WATERING OF MARES

A mare is not watered at regular times. When she wants to quench her thirst she just comes to the women's quarters and whinnies or stands about expectantly. The women know what she has come for, and at once give her a drink. In camp it is not uncommon to hear the voice of a man calling: "Give the mare a drink, she is asking for water."

From close personal observation—and this I know will surprise some of my readers who are fond of horses—I have found that mares, like camels and sheep of the desert, drink very sparingly during the winter months, provided of course that the autumn rains have been good and grazing is plentiful. They can go for days without drinking at all. In winter and early spring (January and February) a Badawin's mare if doing no work can go as much as forty days without water, the moisture she gets out of the grass seems to be sufficient for her. She, however, will be given an occasional bowl of camel's milk at bed-time, when she comes to the tent for warmth. From the 1st March, as the sun gets warmer, she will require a drink once a day only. From 1st May and onwards she must have water three times a day, or even more.

VALUE OF MARES AS OPPOSED TO HORSES

Horses are not valued except for sale. They are got rid of in the coast towns of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf where they are used as pack animals, or are sold to horse-dealers from further afield, whence they find their way to countries such as Iraq, Syria and India where horse-drawn carriages are still in use. The mare is the thing that

counts. She is kept to breed with, and bring money to the tent, in the same way as a good she-camel.

More important still, a mare is looked upon as adorning a man's tent, like a woman or child, for to the Badawin "A house without a child in it is like a room in darkness". No mare will be kept unless she can be traced back to a thoroughbred stock—but even so, her value will be great or small according as she bears certain marks on her body (see below). For example, a man may breed a filly from his thoroughbred mare, which may have one white leg and three black or bay ones—this will make her unlucky and the filly will always be unwanted.

DIFFICULTY OF BUYING ARAB MARES

It is normally very difficult for a European to buy a thoroughbred mare, and the only way he can acquire one without great delay and expense is as a present from a great prince or shaikh, who owns mares in his own right. Even then, he is rarely given a first-class animal.

The reason for this is that no ordinary tribesman owns the whole of his mare, so he cannot sell her outright. He perhaps owns a leg, two legs, or three legs only and can only sell his part-right. At these sales conditions are also carefully laid down as to who shall have the first foal, the second filly, and so on.

As a rule half a dozen persons own, or have a share in each mare, and the joint-owners often live at great distance from each other, hence the difficulty in purchasing even a fairly ordinary mare—while to buy a thoroughbred is practically impossible for a foreigner.

It is amusing and rather disconcerting for a European who sees a good mare in the desert and wants to buy it to be told by the owner that he is quite willing to sell the animal's off-fore, but that the would-be purchaser must go to So-and-So, and So-and-So, living perhaps 100 miles away, if he wants to buy the other three legs. It is still more discouraging to be told that even if you can square each of these parties after prolonged negotiations, that So-and-So living 300 miles away at, say Buraida, has a lien on the first filly, so must be asked if he will agree to the sale. Lastly that the Buraida man may be expected to give a definite "No", seeing that if the mare goes out of the country he will in all probability see no filly.

BREEDS

The Arab calls a thoroughbred horse an *asíl* (noble), and *asíl* strains are many, but there are (*a*) five main strains which stand head and shoulders above the rest. They are known throughout Arabia as *Al Khamsah* (the five) or *Al Khamsat al Rasúl* (the five of the Prophet). These are the following:

The *Kuhailan* (fem. *Kuhaila*)
The *'Ubaiyan* (fem. *'Ubaiya*)
The *Saglawi* (fem. *Saglawiyah*)
The *Hamdani* (fem. *Hamdaniyah*)
The *Hadban* (fem. *Hadbah*).

There are also (*b*) five sub-strains, known as *Khamsah al Dinari*, namely:

The *Dahman*
The *Man'aqi*
The *Shuwaiman*
The *Jilfan*
The *Abu Urkub*.

Cross-breeding between the main strains (*a*) above and the sub-strains (*b*) have resulted in the following well-known sub-sub-strains (*c*):

Muwaj *Rishán* *Khuwaisán* *Wadhnan Khirsán*	from *Saglawi* male stock.
Milwah	from *'Ubaiyan* male stock.
Sa'adán *Radbán* *Samhán* *Khubaisán* *Mukhalad*	from *Man'aqi* male stock.

It follows that all *asíl* horses are descended from one or other of the above main, sub- or sub-sub-strains and number over two hundred, all with names of their own.

According to Badawin tradition, the first mare in the world was caught by Ishmael in the Nufudh sands south of present-day Jauf, and he tamed her. This wild mare when caught was in foal, and

eventually she became the mother of Al Kuhaila al Ajuz (Kuhaila, because of her black eyelids) It is also said that over one hundred and thirty families branched off from Kuhaila al Ajuz, but that only the five main types (*a*) above can be legitimately recognised.

Mr Carl Raswan, the eminent authority on the Arab horse, visited Kuwait in 1932 and stayed with me. He told me that after many years of study, he had come to the conclusion that out of twenty strains and over two hundred and thirty sub-strains of families studied by him, only three main types could in truth be established. These were:

The *Kuhailan*—representing strength.
The *Saglawi*—representing elegance and beauty.
The *Man'aqi*—representing speed and bone.

He added that the Hamdan and Hadban (the last two of the famous five (*a*) really fell into the Kuhailan group.

RABAT

Every Shaikh of standing is supposed to always keep his *rabat*, i.e. a mare or mares from which he breeds a certain particular strain. He gets name and prestige by doing this.

For instance, Ibrahim Beg ibn Miza'al Pasha al Sa'adun of the Muntafiq maintains some thirty or more mares all of the famous Dahman (Kuhailan) breed. The whole of Iraq knows this, and gives him credit accordingly.

The Shaikhs of Bahrain similarly keep the Roman-nosed Shawaf (Kuhailan) breed, and yet again Al Duwish, Shaikh of the Mutair tribe used in the past to keep the equally famous Krush strain (Kuhailan) and guarded it with pride and jealousy in the same way as his tribe guarded their strain of black camels known as Al Shurúf. They lost both after the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30, and the strains are now with the King of Sa'udi Arabia.

I will only mention one more instance, and that is the 'Ubaiyan strain of the late 'Abdullah bin Jiluwi, the Governor of Hasa. He was a great horse fancier like all the family of the Al Sa'ud, and had many famous mares in his stable, but he specialised in the 'Ubaiyan breed, and anyone in Arabia can tell you all about the time and money he



THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT'S FAVOURITE HAWK "PETROL"
AFTER A SUCCESSFUL FLIGHT. VICTIM: A HUBARA



TURFA, ONE OF OUR SALÚQIS



SBEI TRIBESMEN WATERING CAMELS AT SUBAIHIYAH

spent on his hobby. His son Sa'ud is carrying on his father's good work.

TYPES MOST VALUED

The Badawin put little value on a mare that is fast over a short distance only, and conversely put the highest value on a stayer. Hence in the frequent races which they arrange, the course will be 10 to 15 miles in length. The reason is not far to seek. The first use they make of their mares is for raids. It is of the highest importance that a man should make his get-away safely, if the day go against him. Only a stayer will ensure this for him.

STRENGTH AND STAMINA

Arab mares live to great age and at twenty are often doing good work; they certainly can have foals up to and after the age of twenty.

The Arab horse is equally long-lived, and I well remember in 1906 when I first joined my Indian Cavalry Regiment the 29th Lancers (now the 9th Royal Deccan Horse) we had a full squadron of Arab horses, many of whom, though they had reached the age of twenty, could not in fairness be cast, as they were doing perfect work.

I have described elsewhere the wonderful 180-mile ride of 'Azaiyiz al Duwish's fifteen-year-old mare after the Um ar Ruthuma disaster, and how in mid-August with a shade temperature of over 125° she bore her rider to safety in just under three days without a drink of water.

That incident alone shows what sort of stamina the Arab horse possesses. Incidentally it was my privilege to show the mare to Mr. Carl Raswan of American horse fame, and to Count Zietarski of Poland, some twelve months after she did the feat. Both were much impressed and took a series of photographs.

THE POINTS OF A FOAL AND A MARE

If a Badawin wants to determine the height to which a newly born foal will grow, he will measure the distance from the top of the foal's hoof (at the side) to the side bone of the knee. This distance never

alters from the day the foal is born, he says, so he knows the future height of the foal by the aid of a simple scale. This is as follows:

(*a*) If the distance between hoof and knee is 17 thumbs, the foal will grow into a 14.2 horse.
(*b*) If the distance between hoof and knee is 18 thumbs, the foal will be a 14.3 horse.
(*c*) If the distance between hoof and knee is 19 thumbs, the foal will be a 15-hand horse, and so on.

The Badawin makes his measurements by width of thumb, and runs up the foal's leg by placing one thumb above the other, till the knee-side-bone is reached.

A Badawin will tell you that any foal having a 17 and over thumb measurement will turn out good as regards height. An Arab normally measures a horse by passing a string behind the animal's ears and joining the two ends on the upper lip. This serves as the measurement from hoof to withers.

Not every Badawin is a judge of a horse, but those who know a good animal from a bad, understand the good points of an animal quite well. For instance, they know that a cow-hocked horse or one with narrow chest and turned-out toes is a "bad un", and similarly they know the difference between a good shoulder and a bad shoulder, and the meaning of a well-ribbed-up horse.

The desert rule is that a horse or mare with large eyes set well apart is a good one (*mabrúk* or *mabrúkah*), and if it has small eyes set close together it is bad. Similarly a true thoroughbred will carry its tail high and well to one side, never straight.

In judging a horse for shoulder and quarter, the Badawin will place a cane on the point of the shoulder and will let it pass upwards through the withers. He will place another cane along the line formed by the horse's hock and the projecting thigh bone. The lines formed by both these sticks produced upwards will form an imaginary pyramid over the horse's back. The lower the apex of this imaginary pyramid to the horse's back, the better the horse.

If my readers will try the experiment themselves, they will find the method gives sound results.

To judge a good hind- and fore-leg, the following method is employed. A cane or bamboo tent-stick is placed in front of the horse's

or mare's toe and laid against the point of the shoulder. A similar stick is placed behind the hock of the animal (as it stands at rest), which touches the rearmost fleshy point of the quarter. In a good horse the two straight lines formed by the two sticks, if produced upwards, will remain parallel: in a bad horse the lines will splay outwards.

BIRTH AND FOALHOOD

If a foal is born by day, the occasion is a lucky one and the youngster will, it is believed, turn out well. To commemorate this fact it is customary to slit the tip of one ear for about half an inch.

Every foal at birth has the tips of its ears sewn together, to ensure that they stand well erect when it grows up. The stitches are removed after a week. The foal's legs are also pulled straight, toes are turned inwards and hocks out and all four legs are well rubbed. This is supposed to ensure straight legs.

The Badawin considers it of supreme importance to let the foal be suckled by its mother for a full twelve months, and after that as long as milk lasts. The foal must not be weaned else it will develop small bone. They apply the same rule to human babies. In other words, the offspring is everything and the mother's convenience is not taken into account at all. At three years old and even at two and a half the foal is ridden, and is gradually taken for long marches, to bring out, as the Arab says, any splint or weakness that may exist in the bone. At four he is galloped about all over the place by a light rider.

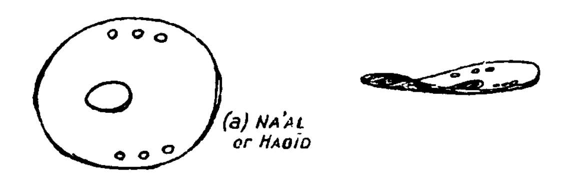
BREEDING

Thoroughbred stallions for stud purposes are kept by every prominent shaikh, and are placed apart from the mares. They are always hobbled with iron hobbles (*hadíd*), and generally kept well fed and fit. Some of them develop fierce tempers and should be approached warily. These stallions are usually placed in charge of a favoured slave, who is allowed to take a small regular fee from every person bringing a mare to be served. This, of course, can only be done by permission of the shaikh.

A mare is only brought to be served by a stallion when she shows clear signs of wanting a horse (*min tutlub*) or (*a'atifa*). The proper time for the service to take place is, in the case of a bay mare, at night and when the moon is full, and in the case of a grey mare when the moon is new. Results will then nearly always be good. When pregnant the mare is said to be *legaha*—(the same word is used when pollinating the female date tree with the male pollen)—and a thoroughbred will certainly look round at her flanks, as soon as pregnancy takes place.

SHOEING AND BITTING

Horses and mares in the desert are always kept shod. This is done very crudely by our standards, but the local shoeing-smiths rarely prick the sole of the animal. The type of shoe used is always the flat saucer-shaped shoe of the East, which is shaped like this:



The European type of shoe is unknown. The idea of covering the whole sole of the animal shod is to prevent stones and pebbles bruising the bottom of the foot. Animals are reshod only when the old shoe falls off, and the result is that often one sees very long feet and animals that badly need shoeing.

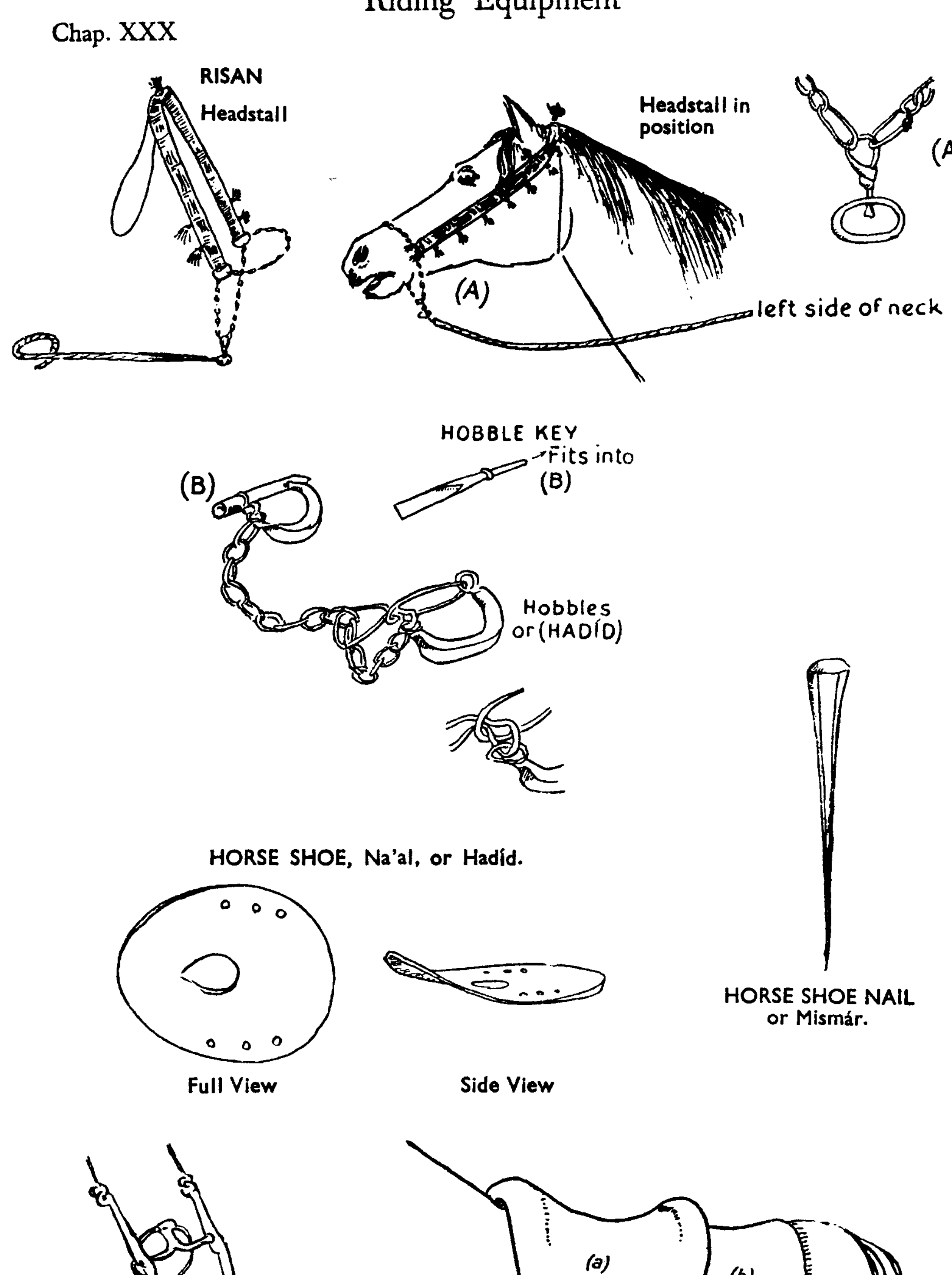
Among the Badawin a bit is never used,* and every animal is ridden on a halter (*risan*). This consists of ornamented cheek pieces made of coloured wools ending in a loose nose-band made of a coarse metal chain, which passes over the nostrils, as well as under the chin.

A round woollen head-rope is attached to this chain under the chin and forms the rider's only means of controlling his mount. To keep this rough headstall from slipping over the animal's head a piece of string is passed under the neck in throat-lash fashion.

The effect of the rider's continually holding the halter in the left hand, is that an Arab mare tends to carry her head on one side and to

* This does not apply to towns-folk, or Iraq Arab tribes, who all use bits.

Riding Equipment



Full View

Side View

Bit or Lijám

(a) Saddle (b) Numdah extension, not always found

the left. The leftward pull is, of course, accentuated when galloping or when the mount is tugging.

Readers may ask how the rider can control his horse at all without a bit. The answer is that the rough angular chain over its nostrils hurts the animal as the halter is pulled taut. This has the effect of checking the horse, but also of making it turn its head further round to shift the pressure from the top bone of the nostrils to the fleshy part at the side of the mouth.

The only places where bits will be found in use are among certain riverain tribal shaikhs in Iraq, and possibly among some of the Princes and Rulers of Arabia (I have not yet seen them in use in the desert, and Bin Sa'ud himself always rides with a halter, even to-day). The bits that are used follow the style used in Persia, Syria and North Africa, and in place of a curb chain there is a thin circular metal band which is attached to the cross-piece of the bit itself. This latter usually has an unpleasant-looking metal spike, which, as the bit is pulled, engages the roof of the mouth and causes pain. All Arab horses ridden on these bits continually throw their heads up, to the great discomfort of the rider.

SADDLES

The Badawin rank and file never use saddles or stirrups. All their riding is done barebacked, with only halters to control and guide their mounts. The wild state of non-control when a thousand howling riders is bearing down upon you can be imagined. No one can check the pace of the charge, the full weight of which is felt by the enemy. However damaging the fire, however much the individual rider may desire to pull out and beat a retreat, he is powerless to do so until the mass sense of the charging horses causes them to bear right or left away from the enemy.

When Badawin horsemen are loosed at each other, both sides ride bang through and go on galloping far beyond on the other side until they are able to pull up.

I once experienced such a wild Badawin charge at the battle of Shu'aiba (Iraq) in 1915.

We had a weak Indian Cavalry Brigade assisted by a horse battery, and had reconnoitred as far as Ratawi Mounds. There we made

contact with a much superior force of irregular Kurdish and Badawin cavalry who forced us to retire.

After conducting a steady retreat for a distance of some eighteen miles, we were about to skirt Barjisiyah wood, when our force was suddenly charged in flank by 'Ajaimi al Sa'adun and some thousand Muntafiq mounted men, who, unknown to us, were hiding in that particular wood.

As we were up to that point retiring on a very wide front in line of squadrons at two hundred yards' interval, each squadron covering the movement to the rear of its neighbour by dismounted fire action, our force was too widely extended to change front and present a suitable face to the flank charge, and for a time the direst confusion and chaos existed.

Fortunately for us, an infantry column had come out to assist our retreat, and was entrenched close by. It saved the situation. Otherwise, many of us would not be living to tell the tale, for to give 'Ajaimi and his men full credit, his charge was magnificent, and went right through our force, quite in accordance with the best tradition of cavalry tactics. As it was, our worsted force was driven right on to the friendly infantry trenches, and great was the Badawins' surprise to see themselves suddenly confronted at almost point-blank range by a long line of British bayonets comfortably ensconced in trenches. These turned what looked like a probable *débâcle* for us into a defeat for the enemy, and by their withering fire forced 'Ajaimi's men to beat a precipitate retreat, which was successfully turned into a headlong flight by accurate salvoes from a hidden battery.

Though the ordinary Badawin rides barebacked, the shaikhs and those who can afford it use for comfort a light cloth saddle, known as a *ma'araga*. This has no stirrups and is little more than a padded numdah strapped on to the horse's back.

The *ma'araga* is quite short from front to rear, just allowing a man sufficient room to seat himself.

MODERN WEAPONS, AND THE MOTOR CAR

As already mentioned, stallions or males are not wanted in Arabia, and are sold as soon as possible for draught or pack purposes in the

sea coast towns and in those countries still using *arabánas* or horse-drawn carriages. The market for horses is I fear going to get much worse as motor transport develops in the Middle East. The demand for horses is already so restricted that the Badawin of the interior has now started the miserable practice of killing off his male foals at birth. I am told (1935) by various shaikhs of the interior that this practice has become almost universal. It no longer pays the average Badawin to keep a horse till it reaches three or four years of age, for if he is lucky enough to find a buyer then he will only get Rs.80 to Rs.90 for his animal. As I write in 1935 a second-class (average) Arab horse in the bazaars of Kuwait fetches only about Rs.40 (about £3). Fortunately, Arab horse-racing still flourishes in places like Bombay, Poona, Baghdad and Cairo, and this will for some years to come insure a steady market for the best class of Arab horses. This, however, will only preserve to the world a small percentage of the best animals, and will not save the second-class or average horse.

Apart from the woeful killing of males at birth, I had it on the authority of His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud himself in 1932, that Arab mares are also on the high road to extinction since the introduction of the small-bore magazine rifle as a war weapon among the tribes of inner Arabia. As he pithily put it, "In the olden days when tribe fought tribe with spear and sword, the mares, which were always ridden in battle, came to little harm, for man sought to kill his opponent man, not his steed. To-day the fighter, whilst still a thousand yards from his enemy, is greeted with a rain of well-aimed bullets which slays infinitely more animals than riders."

Bin Sa'ud also told me that he was fully alive to the danger of the Arab horse becoming extinct, and in order to remedy matters had started five stud farms in Sa'udi Arabia all under his royal patronage. He added that he meant to try hard to better the situation, but was not optimistic.

In 1935, as I write, it is most pleasing to see that the King is still pressing on with this good work, and any one going to Riyadh from Iraq and taking with him one or more good mares, is given a special welcome and receives a good price for his animals. More important still is the help the King affords to his own tribesmen, who happen to have fallen on bad times and cannot afford even to keep their mares

alive during the summer. If they offer their animals to the King as a gift, they are not only relieved of the burden of keeping them, but get back from the King double and treble the worth of their animals.

In spite of all that has been and is being done by Bin Sa'ud, however, the motor car remains a real and increasing menace to that wonderful heritage of Arabia, the Arab Horse. Let us hope that the danger will be realised in time by the Governments of the Middle East. If Persia, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Sa'udi Arabia collaborated to save the Arab horse, they could do so. India also could help in no small measure if she could be persuaded once again to mount Indian cavalry regiments on Arabs, in preference to Walers from Australia. My own conviction is that in the hour of trial and need, the Arab will do twice the work of the Waler, and will always outlast him in age and stamina. Unfortunately, as compared with the Australian he is small, and does not look so well on parade. But what of this in these days when shock action has gone for ever, and fire-action *cum* mechanisation is the only thing left to the cavalryman.

Yet let us thank God that, in various parts of our wide-flung Empire, men mounted on horses must for many years to come still be required.

AGEING HORSES

The Badawin gives the following names to a horse according to his age:

During the first year he is called a *Fillu.*
As he enters his second year he is called a *Hauli.*
During his third year he is called a *Jidda* (ridden).
During his fourth year he is called a *Thena.*
During his fifth year he is called a *Ruba.*
During his sixth year he is called a *Khamás.*
During his seventh year he is called a *Subá.*
During his eighth year he is called a *Garah* (aged).
Above eight (aged) all are *garah.*

OLD AGE AND DEATH

When a mare gets old she is gradually ridden less and less till she is, so to speak, pensioned off and given no work at all. She is well

treated to the day of her death, and is never killed to put her out of her misery. In the end she just lies down and dies like her sister the camel. She has an even better time in her old age if she happens to belong to some prince or great shaikh, as these all retain for their own personal animals, whether mares, camels or sheep, large areas of good grazing grounds known as *hamah*. These are strictly reserved for the big man's own herds, and other animals are rigorously excluded. Old and faithful mares are not forgotten, and are turned out loose into these preserves to wander about at their ease till death claims them. They can always get what water they need from the tents of the official guards or rangers, and are given a small ration of grain to see them through the difficult summer months.

Carl Raswan, on page 121 of his book *The Black Tents of Arabia*, states that it is a curious but little-known fact that the horse of the Arabian desert is a distinct species. He has five instead of six lumbar vertebrae, also less than the usual number of tail vertebrae, sixteen instead of eighteen. He differs from other horses also in having an elongated pelvis, a prominent brain case, a depressed profile below the orbits, and a tapering, slender jaw. I strongly recommend those interested in the Arab horse to read and re-read Appendix A of Raswan's valuable book, which gives most exact information on the origin, breeds and various types of the Arab Horse. There are many other good books on the subject, but Mr. Raswan's is, I think, the most concise and most easily understood.

THE HORSE IN ARAB LITERATURE

The Arab says that God first created the mare, and afterwards the stallion, and to create the first mare God spoke to the South Wind as follows:

"I will create for you a being which will be a happiness to the good, and a misfortune to the bad. Happiness shall be on its forehead, bounty on its back and joy in the possessor."

The Arab also says that a mare should never be beaten, for misfortune will happen as soon as she is in foal.

It is written in the Qur'an that every man shall love his horse;

while according to the *Hadith* (traditions) the Prophet is said to have quoted the following about the horse: "The expression in a horse's eye is like a blessing on a good man's house."

According to Muslim law, if a man blinds his horse in beating it he must pay part of the price of the animal as a fine.

The same law forbids men to eat the flesh of a horse, but allows the drinking of mare's milk.

The Prophet himself likened the Arab Horse to "an arrow" and ordered every Muslim to possess one. "The Horse", he said, "brings fortune in defeat."

The Khalíf Omar, quoting the Prophet on a certain occasion, said of the horse, "He who loves his mare and treats her kindly shall have God's bounty, and he who illtreats his mare shall be cursed of God".

In another place the Prophet says, "After woman, came the horse, for the enjoyment and happiness of man".

HORSES OF THE PROPHET

It is said that the Prophet owned during his lifetime fifteen mares. The first was bought from a Badawin of the Bani Fasara tribe. Her name was Al Sakbah, meaning the Current. In the early battles of Islam, this mare was always in the van of the three hundred horses which led the charge. Al Sakbah was a black mare, with a white star on her forehead, and her off-fore was touched with white.

The second mare owned by the Prophet was called Murtagis. According to early records, she was a grey.

His third mare was called Sabha, a chestnut, bought from the Guhaina tribe. She cost ten camels.

The remainder were owned and named in the following order:

Al Julímah.
Thau al Agdál.
Al Lahif.
Al Lazaz.
Al Wardah (later given to the Khalíf Omar).
Al Zaglah.
Al Chahdýah (or the Long-striding one).

Al Sirhán (or the Lion).
Al Murtagal.
Al Yabub.
Al Ya'sub (the Bee, because she flew quickly).
Al Miruwihah (the Wind).

EARLY RACING

The Prophet is said to have encouraged occasional racing among his men, and according to Qadis ibn 'Umar, he himself bet on his own mares.

The first recorded races took place in the year four of the Hijrah, and the horse of Abu Bakr, the first of the Khalífs, is said to have won the honours of the day. The race was held at Kafiat and was run from that place to Saniyat al Wuda'a, a distance of some six miles.

The son of the Khalíf Omar once rode in a race, and his horse after winning could not be stopped till it reached and entered the Mosque.

HORSES AND THE EVIL EYE

From very old times the strength of the Evil Eye was feared where horses were concerned, and though the Prophet forbad this as paganism, and gave long denunciations against the futility of lucky charms and amulets, the belief in the Evil Eye persists to this day in most Arab countries.

A SPEEDY HORSE

Must, according to Arab standards, have:

(*a*) Big nostrils.
(*b*) Long ears.
(*c*) Wide forehead and widely separated lower jaw bones.
(*d*) Large ribs (i.e. be well ribbed-up).
(*e*) Long neck and round croup.
(*f*) Muscular quarters.
(*g*) Have a stride of 12 feet at full gallop.

BREEDING A HORSE

The Prophet in discussing breeding of a horse said, "Every man who has a horse is like a goodly man generous in almsgiving".

He advised the most careful selection of stallions.

To encourage the Arabs in matters of horse breeding, he forbade the demanding of money for the covering of a mare by a stallion.

He also forbade castration, and the cutting of a horse's mane or tail, which are God's protection against insects.

The following is a translation of an Arabic document made on 10th July, 1929, at Kuwait:

MARKS OF A GOOD HORSE

(1) A round spot on the forehead, formed by hair growing in a circle out of one centre and called *sa'ad.*

(2) A line formed by hairs growing inwards towards each other, on each side of its neck, commencing with a "cowlick". This line is called *saru.*

(3) If a bay horse has either of the above marks, and its hind legs and fetlocks be white, it is called *hajil*, and is a good one.

If the same horse have its near-fore white also, it is called "*hajil* of the three free from the right", and is a very good one. Should the horse have no lucky forehead or neck marks (1) and (2) above, then two or three white legs alone are very bad.

(4) A straight line, formed by hair growing towards each other, on both hind legs.

(5) A line similar to (4) above, down the centre of its belly, from the girth extending backwards. This is calledd *al azbak*. If two such lines or two cowlicks (known as *ja'ama*), be on the chest of a horse between the two forelegs, they are most lucky and act as a charm for the rider. He will never come to harm.

(6) All-bay is considered the best colour for a horse. An all-bay horse is sensible and calm by nature, and no accident will ever befall its rider.

(7) If a foal is born by day it is very lucky. Its near ear-tip should be slit to a distance of half an inch.

Notes on above.

Ref. (1). If this spot is below level of eyes, it is a bad sign, but if there are two spots below level of eyes they are no harm. They must, however, be close to each other (be covered with the thumb) for then, as the Badawin says, "one kills the other".

Ref. (2). The line of rough hair should be about eight inches long. If it exists on only one side of neck it is a bad sign.

Ref. (3). If a horse has all four legs white, and a white blaze (*abu saiyaha*) on its forehead reaching to nostrils, and has a cowlick as in (1) above), it is *the perfect horse* and will beat anything.

Ref. (6). If a bay horse has a host of unlucky marks on it, it does not matter, simply

because its colour beats all bad marks. Authority, Othman al Rashid of Buraida, 9th September, 1933.

MARKS OF A BAD HORSE

(1) A black spot on the palate, or an all-black palate.
(2) Two *sa'ads* which cannot be covered with the thumb are bad.
(3) A line, formed by hairs growing towards each other, on the throat, called *shaq zij*, is very bad, and indicates that "the rider will tear his collar with grief and mortification".
(4) One *fattalah* (a hair line joining two hair cowlicks) on his neck behind the ear is unlucky. It indicates that the rider will probably be stabbed with a spear.
(5) White stockings or socks (called *lattamat*) on the two forelegs. A horse having these is undesirable. Its rider will probably die and be lamented.
(6) A white hind leg or near fore leg is unlucky. The rider's desires and wishes will never be fulfilled.
(7) A white near hind leg, and a white off fore leg. A horse having these is called *shukaili*, and is undesirable.
(8) Two *fattalahs* of uneven length (see (4) above), one on each side of the belly (usually found going up and down in front of the thigh), and opposite to one another, called *suyúf* (swords), are unlucky.
(9) A *fattalah* (see (4) above) on the back under the saddle, called *mansiyah* (forgotten), is unlucky and undesirable.
(10) A spotted white and black coat is undesirable.
(11) A white coat spotted with small red dots is unlucky and undesirable. These dots point to blood. If, however, the line of *al azbak* be present, even though accompanied by all the above-mentioned marks of ill-omen, *al azbak* cancels everything, and the horse becomes a good and desirable one.

Notes on above.

A *fattalah* is a straight line formed by hairs growing towards each other, and joining two hair cowlicks, or having only one cowlick at the end of it.

Ref. (4). Two *fattalahs* indicate a good horse.

Refs. (6) and (7). A horse with one white foot is also bad, whether in front or behind.

Ref. (8). If it has only one *saif* (sword) it is still a bad horse.

CHAPTER XXXI

Sheep and Goats

SHEEP

Nomenclature (Central and North-East Arabia)

Na'aja—Ewe.
Kharúf or *Fahal*—Ram or male used for breeding purposes.
Ra'aiyah—Flock of sheep.
Al Baham—Flock of lambs and kids.

NAMES OF DIFFERENT VARIETIES

Najdiyah—Long straight-haired sheep from Najd (usually black with a white face).
Hukriyah—Iraq shepherd tribesman's sheep (brown or white in colour.)
'Arbiyah—Common to Kuwait and Hasa, and found among Mutair, 'Ajman, 'Awazim tribes (colour always jet black).
Na'amiyah—Sheep of 'Anizah tribe.
Habásiyah—Sheep of Qahtan tribe, small with coarse short wool.

NOTE.—The *Najdiyah* variety is not hardy, and is therefore never shorn.

SHEEP SEASONS

Mating time is in late spring.
Period of gestation—5 months.
Lambing season—October, November, December, January, February.
Shearing season—March and April.

Males are always kept with the ewes. To prevent them breeding at the wrong season a piece of loose cloth is fastened by a string tied round the loins which hangs down close to the ground. Another

method is to tie a piece of string round its genital organ for so many hours a day.

One ram is as a rule allowed to serve a hundred ewes.

SHEEP DISEASES

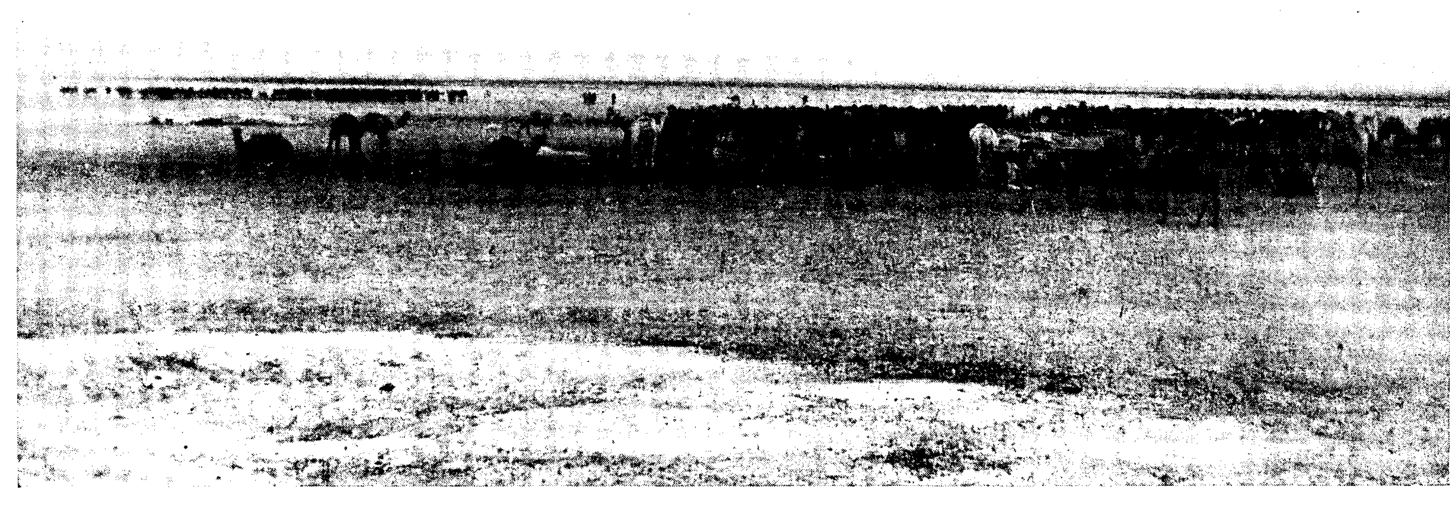
There are three well-known diseases of sheep.

(*a*) *Al Tahal.*
(*b*) *Abu Hajaiyir.*
(*c*) *Al Jidri.*

(*a*) *Al Tahal.*—Symptoms: The animal is apparently perfectly well, suddenly it passes blood with its urine, and is dead in about a quarter of an hour. The disease is said to be an affection of the heart. The animal seems to get giddy and falls dead. The Arab kills and eats a sheep affected by *al tahal.* When the heart is examined it appears to contain black congealed blood. According to the Badawin *al tahal* is not contagious.

(*b*) *Abu Hajaiyir.*—This appears to be the ordinary Foot and Mouth Disease of the West. Symptoms: The sheep gets very stiff about the knees and is unable to walk. It gets weaker and weaker and cannot eat. A froth appears from its mouth, and in about a month the animal dies. According to the Badawin there is no cure at all, and the disease is highly contagious. Other sheep must be kept right away from infected animals and from their grazing grounds. Actual death is from hunger and weakness. The disease would seem to be endemic and appears somewhere in the desert every year. The Badawin eats sheep so affected and kills him early. In 1932–33 in Kuwait many thousands of sheep died of the disease, especially in the Hazaim area south of Kuwait and in the Neutral Zone.

(*c*) *Al Jidri* (Smallpox).—Symptoms: Similar to those affecting the human species, though apparently a man cannot catch the disease from his sheep. Pustules appear all over the animal's body, face and head. Some sheep get over the attack and others die. It is very catching and one sick animal can infect the whole flock. The Badawin will kill and eat sheep affected by *al jidri.*



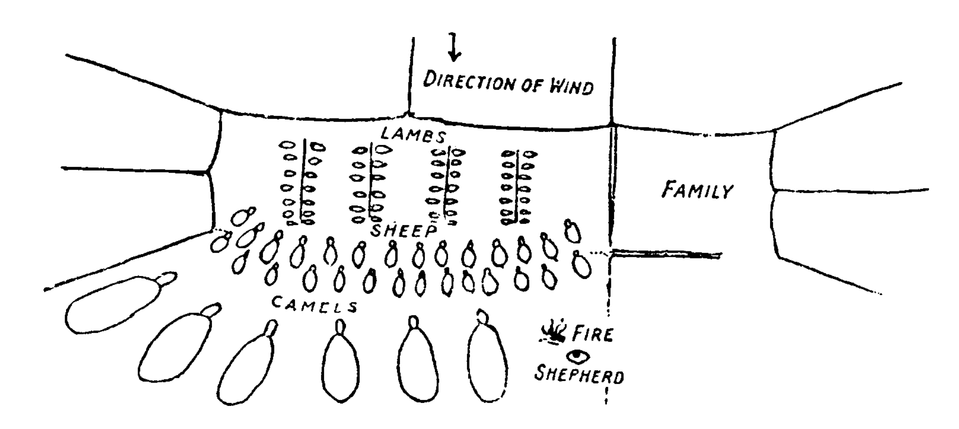
JAHRAH WELLS IN SEPTEMBER



CAMELS OF THE AL AMASH (DUSHÁN) SECTION OF THE MUTAIR AFTER WATERING AT SUBAIHIYAH WELLS

GUARDING SHEEP

At night sheep are driven up close to the tent on the lee side to ensure both warmth and safety from wolves. This is especially necessary in winter, when wolves abound and are very bold. So close are the sheep to the tent that half of them crowd actually under the overhanging flap. Lambs are tied by one leg and by the neck to a rope or ropes pegged down inside the tent. Sheep dogs wander round and round the tent all night and bark continuously if they scent a wolf. Should wolves be extra numerous as at 'Araifjan and North Hasa, well-hobbled camels are couched in a sort of zariba round the sheep, to prevent wolves getting at the sheep. Further a man lights a fire and remains on guard all night outside the ring of camels.



Despite these precautions a bold wolf will crawl in between the camels, seize a sheep by its neck, and make off with it, while a second wolf decoys the watch dogs in another direction. To prevent the wolf killing the sheep by tearing out its throat, and to give time for pursuit, it is customary to shear the sheep completely, leaving only a thick collar of wool round its neck. The wolf seizes the sheep by this collar and literally walks it away from its fellows, intending to kill it later, but if pursuit is immediate the same collar often gives the owner time to rescue the stolen sheep.

If one tent is not sufficient to hold all the lambs, two tents are joined together, the family and guests remaining at either end.

'Awazim shepherds always lock their tents together in the lambing season. This is one of the ways in which the 'Awazim are recognised from afar.

SHEEP'S MILK AND ITS USES

From sheep's milk are made *rauba*, *leben* and *igt*.

To make *rauba*, milk is heated to blood heat, and then poured into a special goatskin *makhmar*, kept for the purpose. It is then covered up with rugs, and turns into *rauba* after about four hours. As a certain amount of old *rauba* remains in the skin from previous brews, the Badawin needs to add no old *rauba*, as would be necessary if it were made by us in a bowl at home. When we made it we added a coffee-cup full of old stock to 2 quarts of warm milk, and covered all with a warm cloth. In our house at Kuwait we prepared the *rauba* at night ready for eating in the early morning. In cold weather it takes 4 to 5 hours to prepare; in hot weather only 1½ to 2 hours.

To make *leben* you take the skin containing cooled *rauba* which is ready for eating and transfer it into a *leben*-skin *mankhah*, which is then slung under the tripod stand *mirjahah*, and about a third of its weight in water is added. The skin is then rocked backwards and forwards for 2½ hours (usually done in the early morning two hours before dawn, otherwise butter will not form), until lumps of butter appear, leaving a thin butter-milk. This latter is the *leben*.

Igt, or "milk cake", looks rather like hard chalk lumps. It is made as follows. *Rauba* is boiled for at least 2 hours until it becomes thick and granulated. Then it is cooled, and as it hardens little round flat cakes are made by squeezing in the hand. To get good *igt*, the wild flower known as *burwa'g* is mixed with the *rauba*, and sometimes the petal-less daisy called *garese*.

Igt is sold in the Kuwait bazaar and all towns of Najd. It is much used by Badawin when travelling in the desert. In the summer when sheep, goats and camels are not giving milk, *igt* is pounded up, mixed with water and drunk as *leben*.

SHEPHERDS' LORE

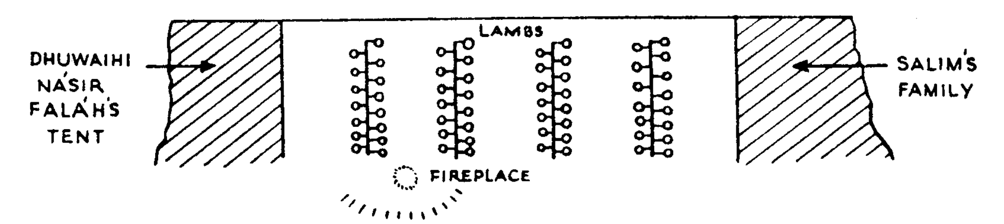
One of the most astonishing things about the Badawin and their sheep is the wonderful manner in which the shepherds know their sheep. I refer particularly to the 'Awazim tribe. Here every shepherd gives a name to each of his ewes as soon as she has lambed. From

that day till she dies or is eaten he knows her and calls her by name. Each ewe knows her name and answers to the call.

On 14th January, 1934, I made a point of being present when the lambs and sheep belonging to Salim al Muzaiyin came home at night, to see if I had been told the truth about this "naming" business.

The lambs, a month or two months old, had been out all day grazing under little Marzuk, the black slave boy, and Hamud, Maneira's son. They went only some quarter mile from camp and wandered about gaining strength and learning how to eat the dry stubble that had fallen from the *'arfaj* bushes. There had as yet been no rain, so there was no grass.

The lambs were brought in at sunset and were tied up as usual in their tent for the night. Each had its little loop attached to a long goat-hair rope like this:



At about 6.30 p.m., or an hour after sunset, the ewes were brought back to camp by Nasir and Faláh, the 'Awazim shepherds. It was pitch dark and no moon was shining. After keeping the mothers waiting 50 yards from the tents, until the shepherds had examined the lambs and ascertained where each was tied, the mothers were brought close up in front of the big tent. Apart from the small fire that Salim and Dhuwaihi had lit and were making coffee on, the whole place was in darkness.

The mothers, which numbered 51 (42 sheep and 9 goats), were kept back from the lambs by Faláh and Salim, while Nasir began to call them by name, and as each was allowed to come up Nasir slipped the noose off the young one's neck and gave it to the mother. He knew every mother and every lamb. An astonishing thing was that he called up each ewe and picked out her lamb in complete darkness. Out of the 50 mothers and 50 lambs I saw him make one mistake only. All through the process of loosing the lambs, calling up the

mothers and handing the baby to its dam to suckle, he was calling out name after name amidst the din of mothers' "baaing" and lambs crying for their food. To me it was pandemonium, to Nasir and Faláh an everyday procedure.

Those ewes whose male lambs had been killed for food were given strange lambs to feed, after the latter had had a short drink from their rightful mothers. In this case the rightful mothers had to be forcibly held by Salim whilst their little ones were fostered by another.

The mothers all appeared to recognise their own lambs by smell. The lambs on the other hand did not seem to mind much whether they drank from their mother or from a stranger. It was the mothers who made the fuss.

In conversation afterwards with Nasir, the shepherd, the latter told me that he named a ewe only when it gave birth to a lamb, not before. The purpose was purely utilitarian. The names saved time at night when the mothers came home. He had names for all the sheep and goat mothers. He could recognise each mother and each baby by the feel with his eyes shut. All were black, but by feeling heads and backs he knew by touch which was which.

This skill, Nasir said, was universal among all the 'Awazim tribes, and among the shepherds of Kuwait and Najd. None of the Iraq tribes or the Muntafiq shepherd tribes named their sheep, nor could they recognise them in the dark.

SHEEP NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

(1) *Al Hamrah* (The red one).
(2) *Al Suwaid* (The little black one).
(3) *Al Hadaid* (The hairy one).
(4) *Al Shahaid* (The white-shouldered one).
(5) *Al Sugaih* (The one with the white blaze).
(6) *Al Kahail* (Soft black-haired one).
(7) *Al Wada'ah* (The little cowri).
(8) *Al Ziuadah* (The wattled one).
(9) *Al Arthaim* (The white-nosed one).
(10) *Al Hajlah* (The white-stockinged one).
(11) *Al Dahrijah* (The stumpy one).
(12) *Al Suwaidan* (The black one).

Sheep which are fat and have plenty of grazing are inclined to get exhausted when the sun grows stronger with the advancing summer.

They seem to feel the sun on their heads more than on their bodies. They then have a trick of collecting in clumps of ten to fifteen with lowered heads to the centre, to get shade.

If sheep get frightened of a horseman or motor car, they bolt to their shepherd for protection.

The way to test a sheep's condition is to weigh its tail in your hand. If the tail is heavy the sheep's condition is good.

Sheep are watered according to the season of the year. In winter they do not drink, as grazing gives them the necessary moisture. In March they drink every other day—in mid-summer every day.

GOATS

Nomenclature.

Sakhla, plu. *Sakhul*—A goat (general).
Tais—He-goat.
'Ans—She-goat.
Ma'aza—Herd of full-grown goats.
Al Sakhu—Kids.

Names of Varieties in Kuwait and North-East Arabia.

Berberiyah—Small, white, black-and-white, and black goat, always short haired—long eared. Gives very good milk.
A'ardhiyah—Long haired, always black (with occasional white marking), also long eared.
Shatra—Short-eared goats.

GOAT DISEASES

There are only two recognised goat diseases:

(*a*) *Abu Rumah.* (*b*) *Al Jarrah.*

Abu Rumah.—A disease of the internal organs, probably lungs. Symptoms: The goat lies down, and appears to have high fever. It is unable to move and moans as if in great pain. The sickness lasts seven days and then the goat dies. The only cure is to kill one of the affected animals, cut out its lungs (*sahara*), and bury them. The lungs are left underground for approximately an hour. Then they are cut up into small pieces, which are mixed with certain herbs, viz. *myrr*, *sabír*,

hallit (not found in Arabia). The ear of the sick goat is sliced open at the top end until blood is drawn, and the mixture is well rubbed into the wound. Usually a small ball of the mixture is made and placed under the skin for an hour (the skin being cut and the ball placed underneath, and the skin flap placed over the ball to keep it in position). All goats of the flock, whether known to be infected or not, are treated thus, and if attacked have a good chance of recovery. The disease is highly contagious.

Under the above treatment 50 per cent usually recover. If no treatment is given the whole flock is doomed. The disease reappears in a district every two or three years.

Al Jarrah.—A virulent form of mange. The cure is to cut all the goat's hair off and smear the skin plentifully with an ointment made from gunpowder and clarified butter. This must be done three times to effect a cure. The mange does not attack sheep, dogs, camels or horses, and man is also safe from the disease. Ninety per cent of goats escape if treated in time.

GENERAL REMARKS

In the desert goats are chiefly kept for the sake of their milk and hair. The Badawin prefer sheep, but the more well-to-do try to keep a certain number of goats, for goats' hair is superior to sheep's wool for certain parts of their black tents.

In every Badawin hair tent the roof consists of a central broad strip, with two strips of black wool or hair on either side of it. The strip furthest from the central strip is always made of goats' hair, as it is stronger and takes the weight of the *ruag*, or back curtain, better.

GOAT-NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

Al Duaiya (no meaning).
Al Sha'ail (The yellow one).
Al Raktah (The spotted one).
Al Khaim (The white-headed one).
Al Daghaim (The black-headed one).
Al Tawil (The tall one).

Al Dugagah (The thin one).
Al Hasnah (The white-tailed one).
Al Bahhah (The small-voiced one).
Al Sayahah (The bleater).
Al Dabsah (The grey one).
Al Haraish (The coarse-haired one).
Al Hasa (The short-haired one).

The Town Goat.—Every town in Arabia keeps goats in large quantities. They need less grazing, are hardier and give better milk than sheep. It is a great sight to see the flocks of goats daily leaving Kuwait at sunrise and returning at sunset.

Every householder, according to his means, keeps one or more goats in his backyard. These are all she-goats and are kept only for milking. A man's social status may be judged by the number of goats he so keeps.

In different parts of the town, so as to be convenient to all, goat herdsmen reside who have a stable or yard where the women bring the family's goats to be taken out into the desert to graze. Goats are assembled about sunrise each day, and the herdsman then drives them (in herds of a couple of hundred or so) out of the town to a distance of some 5 to 10 miles according to the time of the year and presence of grazing. The goats thus get exercise and fresh food daily. At sundown the goats are brought home again, and driven into their yard. This is a common and interesting daily sight in the towns, though a dusty business in summer. Round about the entrance to each goat *haútah* or yard, the daughters of the houses, often tiny little girls, meet the herds, pick out their own particular goat and bring it home. Very often the goats leave the herd of themselves and go straight to their homes. They are full of milk, and are anxious to reach their mistress, who at once milks them, and gives them relief. Most of the goats, especially the Berberiyah, have so much milk that they can scarcely walk with comfort.

This daily home-coming of the goats is a familiar and very interesting sight. It is a joy to see the shouting children taking their charges home, and relieving the goatherd of his responsibility at the end of a hard day. Laughter and cries of pleasure are in the air. Little girls

and mothers usually lead off the recalcitrant goat by one of its long ears.

The goatherd is paid four annas (fourpence) per goat per month as his fee. At night when grazing is scarce, the household goat is given a bundle of lucerne grass and a little barley—nothing more. The goatherd is known as the *sháwi.*

CHAPTER XXXII

The Camel

TYPES AND BREEDS

For the different types and kinds of camels see further on in this chapter. The names given there, though favoured by the Mutair, are used more or less universally among the Badawin of Arabia. Needless to say, there is no such thing as the two-humped or Bactrian camel in Arabia.

Speaking generally, the camels of the more northern tribes of Arabia are larger and bigger-boned than those of the south. This is probably due to climatic rather than food conditions.

On the other hand, the finest and best-bred camels undoubtedly come from the south-eastern parts of Arabia, i.e. from Oman and the Trucial coast of the Persian Gulf. These are known under the general name "Oman camels", or *Umaniyah*, to use the well-known term given to the female riding-camel of that country. The best breed of the Oman species is known as the *Bátiniyah*.

Various tribes go in for breeding camels of a favourite colour. The Dhafir largely favour white camels and the Rawala ('Anizah) take a pride in their wonderful white herds. The great 'Utaiba tribe favour very dark camels, almost black; the Mutair, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, on the other hand, prefer the fawn- or red-coloured variety, but the Dushan (Mutair) boast a famous black breed (*al shurúf*). The Murra and Qahtan, like the 'Utaiba, prefer dark-coloured animals. Speaking generally, white and light-coloured camels come from the north, dark and black ones from the south.

Probably the best all-round camel to be found in Arabia, as opposed to the thoroughbred, comes from the province of Hasa. This because of the wonderful profusion in Hasa of the *'arfaj* bush (Rhanterium), which is one of the finest camel foods known to the Badawin.

I would go further and say that the best-conditioned camels, and the finest herds in Arabia, are to be found among the 'Awazim, who

roam the country between Kuwait and Ainain (Jubail) on the Hasa coast.

RIDING CAMELS

Riding camels are invariably females, and are not allowed to breed. As already mentioned, the best come from Oman, and are beautiful specimens of nature's art. Indeed the difference between the well-bred *Bátiniyah* or *'Umaniyah* and the ordinary pack camel, generally known as a *jamal*, or a *bayir*, is quite as marked as the difference between a thoroughbred racehorse in England and an ordinary carthorse.

Like the thoroughbred horse, the *Bátiniyah* or *'Umaniyah* possesses a small head, wide forehead, small nostrils, longish ears and large eyes, and is wonderfully gentle and understanding. In body she is slightly built with thin legs, giving the appearance of fine lines. Her movements resemble those of the gazelle, whether she is at rest and grazing or moving at full speed.

As regards pace, an *'Umaniyah* will travel when fully stretched at approximately 14 miles an hour. At this pace her head and neck are held horizontally straight out in front of her.

The chief characteristic of the well-bred and especially the *Bátiniyah* camel is its staying power.

Shaikh Naif ibn Humaid of the 'Utaiba tribe told me that when he escaped from Bin Sa'ud's prison in Riyadh, *circa* 1925, he got to Nasriyah in the Muntafiq (Iraq) in eight days, riding one of the best camels his tribe could produce. The distance as travelled was close on 800 miles. (Authority Naif ibn Humaid, February 1933.)

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud once told me that the news of the battle of Shu'aiba, near Basra, in 1915, when the British forces beat the Turks, was conveyed to him by one of his picked messengers, who was at Zubair waiting to report results. His name was Bani ibn Zaid, as far as I remember. He travelled the 530 miles separating the two towns in five and a half days. His *dhalúl* or riding camel died on arrival. (Authority Bin Sa'ud, November 1920.)

Near Ratawi Mounds, south of the Hamar Lake in Iraq, I once saw a young 'Ajman brave race the Baghdad train for some four miles out of sheer *joie de vivre*. For the whole distance he kept neck and neck with the centre portion of the train, the dining-car. This was in 1918,

when the state of the track did not permit of trains running at more than 30 miles an hour.

NAMES OF HERDS, ETC.

Herds of camels are spoken of as *al bil*, or *al dibbash*. This is a generic term in the same way as one might speak of "the flocks", "the herds". Other names for the camel are *bayír* (plural: *ba'arín*), *Al mudshi* is the name given to camels on the move and grazing, while *jamal* or *fahal* is a male camel or one reserved for breeding purposes.

To the Western mind there is a tendency to think of camels as beasts of burden only. We picture them pacing the desert tied head to tail, in long snake-like formation, conveying the necessities of life from town to town.

In Arabia proper, where the great Badawin tribes roam, the picture is quite a different one. This is the home of the camel, and vast herds sometimes as many as 100,000 at a time may be seen following the grazing from one area to another. The camel at home is like the sheep, and is kept primarily for its milk, secondarily for its meat.

The great herds consist almost entirely of females, the few odd males that are to be found being used only for carrying heavy loads such as tents from camp to camp, and for breeding purposes. The camel-stallions are kept strongly tied up and as a rule near tents during the cold weather (December and January) or rutting season. In summer, when grazing is scarce and breeding-time is over, they are allowed to graze with the females.

CAMEL BREEDING

One good *fahal* in a good spring season is capable of serving a hundred females.

The act of copulation is performed with the female in kneeling posture, her foreleg usually being tied up to the shoulder to keep her quiet. As a rule men are in attendance to assist in the process, but quite often the male is left to his own devices in the herd. At calving time the women and children all watch the delivery of the young

camel into the world. There is no false modesty or stupid hush-hush about such matters among the Badawin.

FAMOUS BREEDS

The following are the famous breeds of camels:

(1) *Al 'Umaniyah.*
(2) *Al Hurra.*
(3) *Al Bátiniyah.*
(4) *Al Arthiyah.*
(5) *Al Attiyah.*

Al 'Umaniyah originally came from the coast of Oman and Trucial coast, but it is found to-day along the eastern shore of Arabia from Kuwait to Oman, more especially at the southern end. The 'Umaniyah camel is not good for work in pebbly country, as its feet are tender.

Al Hurra comes from Shammar and 'Anizah country. It is supposed to have come originally from the Shararat tribe. This is considered the best of all breeds for summer work and on stony country, as its feet are tough and it can go longest and furthest without water. It is commonly said that in North-West Arabia there roams a breed of wild camels. It is the males of this breed which cover the female (which is left out at night tied up, etc.) and the resulting calf is the Hurra.

Al Bátiniyah comes from the Bátinah coast of Oman, and is the highest bred and most renowned of all thoroughbred camels. Before 1914 a Bátiniyah was worth Rs.1,000; in 1933, about Rs.400. It is tall but lightly built. Few ordinary Arabs can afford to buy one of them and they are usually given as gifts by rulers to rulers.

Al Arthiyah comes from South-Western Central Arabia (Khurma and Turraba region); it is said to be a good but not very remarkable animal.

Al Attiyah comes from Central and North-East Arabia. It has no remarkable features though shapely and pleasing.

White camels are much prized and a white herd is known as *maghathír*. A single white she-camel is called *Al Wadha*. Other terms in use are:

Jaish—Camels on which fighting men are mounted.
Rahla—Camels which are engaged in carrying loads (*musábilah*).

Malha—One black camel.
Mijaihim—A herd of black camels (e.g. *Al Shurúf*).
Sha'alah—One brown camel.
Sha'al—A herd of brown camels.
Safrah—One light-coloured fawn camel.
Ráiyah—A herd. Each herd has seventy camels in it.
Khalfah—Milch camel (generic term).
Nágá—Female camel that has had a calf.
Hirán—A baby camel (generic term).
Ga'ud—Young male camel.
Bakkarah—Young female camel.
Jamal—Young male, able to carry things (till twenty).
Nágá-tin-Bichir—Female when first put to a male and has her first calf.
Dhalúl—Female riding camel (not allowed to have a calf).
Huwár—Young first-born camel, from birth to one year old.
Mufrúd—From second year, and when it no longer drinks from its mother.
Hadz walad khalfah—Three-year old (ridden for first time).
Lidji—Four years old.
Jedá'ár—Five years old.
Jiniyah or *Rába*—Six years old.
Sidis—Seven years old.
Nágá—Eight years old (when she is first allowed to breed).
Hirish—Male camel over twenty years old.
Fátir—Female camel over twenty years old.

NOTE.—Period of gestation is twelve months.

WATERING OF CAMELS

In the winter when grazing is good, camels are not watered at all. When it begins to get warm they are watered every seven to nine days. As the summer gets hotter this period is reduced, until in the very hot months (shade temperature anything from 110° to 125°), the camel is watered every two days if possible.

Sheep follow in the main the camel rule as regards watering, but cannot go for longer than four days without water in winter.

Watering at wells is known as *al wird.* Water is drawn from the wells by long ropes to which are attached leather buckets (formed by gathering up the sides of a circular piece of leather by several strings). The water is then poured into the *haudh* or leather receptacle

supported on wooden stands which is kept in every Badawin tent, and the camel drinks its fill.

SALTING CAMELS

To be kept in good condition camels must be driven every ten days to *hamdh* areas, i.e. to areas where salty bushes exist.

If no *hamdh* is convenient, salt must be given to the camel by hand.

Caravans in Arabia proper, for instance a caravan going from Kuwait to Qasim, and between towns of Qasim or Najd, never go tied head and tail. They all move in a mixed mob and graze as they go along. They keep together naturally as sheep do. A few men mounted on camels to keep them moving are all that are necessary.

When camels go to water one man usually mounts a female and calls the herd to follow. The camels recognise the cry and slowly concentrate and follow the crier from near and far.

The common cries of the leader at such times are, "Ydoh Ydoh", "Yah Yah" or "Yohoh Yohoh". One man can manage 100 camels in this way.

CARE OF CAMELS

The camel is a delicate beast and requires careful attention.

If it is in good condition, gets proper food and regular salting, its hump grows large and fat. If the hump gets small and insignificant, the animal grows weak. Its hump, in other words, is its storehouse of fat, and indicates, like the fat in the sheep's tail, the general condition of its owner.

In the cold weather, if in good condition with large hump, the camel needs no protection at night, but if she is in poor condition, or has had young, a *jillál* or rug should be tied across her back, leaving a hole for the hump to protrude.

In very cold weather, when the wind is strong and cutting, camels are all brought to the tents at night, and made to kneel on its lee-side with heads and necks almost inside the tent. This gives shelter from the icy blasts. It also gives shelter to the guard or watchmen watching them.

In summer, on the other hand, camels wander about at night and graze.

Camel droppings (*jalla*) are collected and dried and form a much-prized fuel. When lit *jalla* gives a good hot ember, and is excellent for making coffee in camp or on the march, when no firewood is available. Hence all travellers carry a bagful.

Female camels' urine (*baul*) is caught and used throughout Badawin Arabia as a hairwash for women. It is supposed to strengthen and cleanse the hair, and kills all head vermin. A woman normally washes her hair once a week. *Baul* is also extensively used as a purgative.

HOMING INSTINCT

The homing instinct is strongly developed in the camel, but may be termed with greater accuracy the herd instinct.

A camel seems instinctively to know where its friends are, and is always anxious to get back to them.

A fairly common sight at Kuwait is to see a camel brought up to the town with a dozen others by a tent-dweller who has come to buy supplies, escaping and making its way with all speed across country to its camp possibly 30 miles away. The hue and cry after it has to be seen to be realised.

This instinct for returning home is strongest in young camels who have not often moved from the main herd before.

One way to deter a camel from acting on this instinct is to give it food, and especially water, whenever a strange place is reached—water appears somewhat to deaden the homing instinct.

Junaifir ibn Hawaila of the 'Ajman (Mahfudh) and Muhammad ibn Hajjáj, also of the 'Ajman (Al Sulaiman), both told me on 7th September, 1933, that of all animals within their ken the camel was the most clever and cunning at finding its way back to a place it came from. Its instinct in this respect was phenomenal.

Murait ibn Hawaila ('Ajman) once related to me how he lost his camel, which broke away at night from Abu Halaifa (Qusur), 25 miles from Kuwait on the coast, and was recovered 150 miles inland at Dulaimiyah with Shammar, from whom it had been bought some weeks before.

CAMEL FOOD

The staple food of the camel is the *nassi* grass, the *'arfaj* bush of the desert, and when in season wild flowers and grasses of every description. The first two grow in profusion over Central and North-Eastern Arabia after good rains. Camels near the Euphrates thrive on a thorny bush known as *a'agul*—but this does not suit the desert camel.

The salt diet of the camel is found in the *rimdh*, *thamran*, *'arád*, *'ajrum* and *gaghraf* bushes, all known under the generic term of *hamdh*.

The camel is also very fond of dates, which are given him with milk when he is being prepared for long and arduous work. He of course eats the date stones with relish.

A dainty dish for a sick camel is dates and barley mixed with milk into a mush, and followed by Arab bread broken up into small pieces.

CAMEL FLESH

Camels' meat is not unpleasant and is rather like coarse beef. It is widely eaten, especially in November and December, when sheep are in poor condition for lack of grass. Camels' meat is supposed to be good for man during the cold weather and to supply warmth.

Among the Badawin, camels are often killed on feast days or for rejoicing on festive occasions. I have found the hump to be the most edible part of the camel, and this is also the Arab opinion.

Camels' milk is, of course, universally drunk throughout Arabia. It is extremely nourishing, but contains no cream, and therefore yields no butter. It has a slightly purgative effect on most people, and Europeans should be careful not to indulge too freely in the desert.

GEAR FOR CAMEL TRAVEL (see Chapter V)

The main necessaries for a journey by camel are:

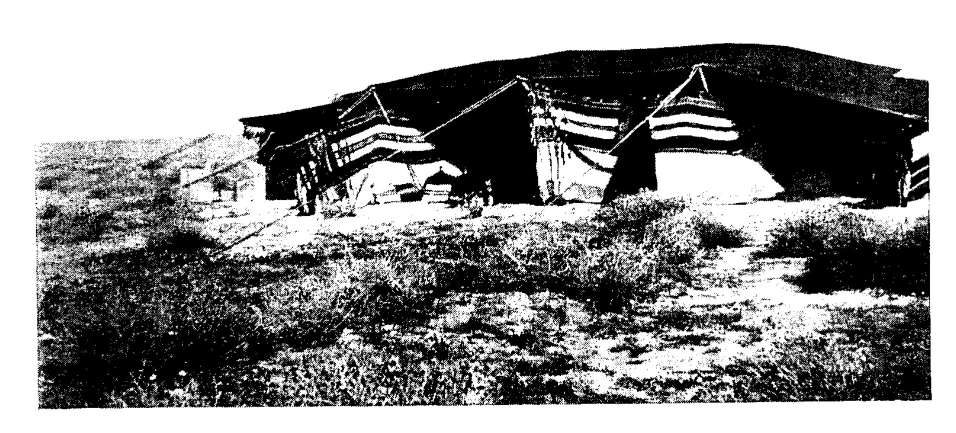
The camel saddle with two tall pommels fore and aft.

The large saddle bags hanging down on both sides of the saddle.

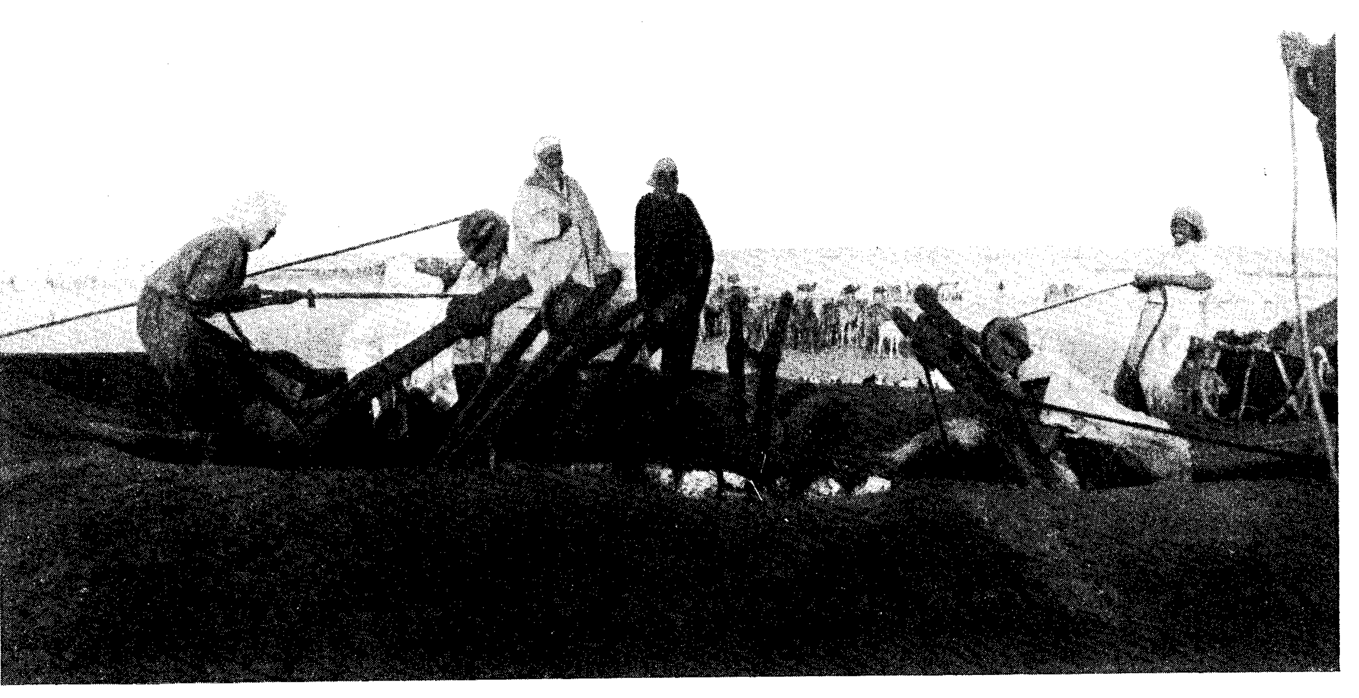
The finely-worked leather apron which hangs down in front of a camel's saddle and stretches down both sides of the camel's neck nearly to its knees.



A WELL SCENE. CAMELS DRINKING



OUR TENT WITH AMSHA STANDING IN FRONT
OF THE DIVIDE



A TYPICAL WELL IN THE DESERT (AL RUMÁH)

The leather bag for rifle.
The camel stick.
The leather bag for dates.
Package of *igt* (dried milk).
The bag holding coffee, *hail* (cardamum seeds), etc.
A man's ammunition is carried bandolier fashion on his person, while spare ammunition goes in a spare woollen bag, which with the date and coffee bags are stowed away in the saddle bags.

NOTE.—There is another sort of saddle, the *fuláni*, much used in the south among the Murra and people of the "great desert". It has no pommels, and the rider sits behind the hump (see sketch, page 87).

CAMEL PACES

The pace of an ordinary riding camel is approximately 4 miles an hour at a walk, 6 miles per hour trotting and walking, 8 miles an hour at a trot, 13 miles an hour when "all out" over a short distance and 10 miles an hour moving fast over a long distance of say 100 miles. A laden camel moves at about 3 miles an hour. Bin Sa'ud's express riders between Oqair and Hufuf take 5 hours regularly for the distance of 60 miles. Messengers going between Kuwait and Riyadh, a distance of 500 miles or slightly less, take regularly 10 days to do the journey.

In winter or when the weather is cool, travelling is done mostly by day, in summer by night.

Halts are made every 20 miles or so to drink coffee, which is carried ready made, and needs only to be heated up. Brushwood is usually found ready to hand by the way, if not, the camel dung (*jalla*), of which a small supply is always carried, is used. It burns like charcoal.

CAMEL DISEASES

Jarrab is the greatest enemy of the camel and is the ordinary camel-mange. This scourge breaks out every now and then among herds, and may be likened to smallpox.

It spreads through a herd with lightning rapidity, and if not taken in hand, kills the camel in forty days, especially during the summer season.

The cure is as follows:

The camel's whole body is covered with a mixture of lime and arsenic, which removes all his hair.

Then he is rubbed with *semen* (clarified butter) and powdered sulphur, mixed with red pepper.

This rubbing is repeated every four days with great care, till three rubbings have been well applied.

Lastly, he is washed in the sea, or if no sea is near, in fresh water heavily dosed with salt.

Al ghish, is caused by the *surra* fly which is found on the banks of the Euphrates and South Hamar lake. Probably introduced from India or Persia. This is a most deadly disease but is catching only in summer when the *surra* fly flourishes. When the fly bites, a microbe is introduced into the blood and the camel develops a sort of sleeping sickness with constant low fever. He refuses to eat, and turns his head constantly in the direction of the sun. In forty days he dies. In very rare cases only does he recover. The Badawin brands the camel's stomach with a X, but knows that this has little effect. No Badawin will take his camels up to the vicinity of the Euphrates in Iraq during the summer. Winter is safe.

During the Great War, 1914–18, the British Army in Iraq lost many thousands of camels imported from India for transport services. They were brought and landed in Basra in summer regardless of the advice of those who knew.

Al manhús is a disease of the lungs. The camel coughs a great deal, and if not taken in hand goes off his feed and eventually dies. The illness is said to be caused by eating too much *theleth*, a salty *hamdh* plant which grows in marshy country (e.g. Banáyat Araifjan and Taffat al Athami in Hazzaim region). *Al manhús* is said to be highly contagious. A camel attacked is removed from the herd at once. About half of those developing the disease die.

When a camel is about to collapse from thirst, and there is not sufficient water to give him a drink by the mouth, *nashuk* is resorted to. Water is poured up his nose to revive it. A camel so treated will go another whole day without water, and the treatment is said to cool his brain.

Philby records the treatment on pages 267–73, 328, 332–3, 338 and 346 of his *The Empty Quarter*.

A curious custom exists among certain tribes, revealing their firm belief in *'itiqad*, or sympathetic magic.

If a man has a white and a black camel, and one goes lame, say the white one, in the leg, he brands the black camel on the same leg that is lame in the white camel, and the white camel's lameness is believed to disappear. (Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 25th November, 1933.)

MILCH CAMELS

Male camels, as already mentioned, are kept away from females in winter, the breeding season. In summer the sexes are allowed to graze together.

Milch camels are not allowed to feed their young when grazing. The milk is wanted for the tent, and only after tent requirements are taken is the mother allowed to suckle the baby camel. The young camel is allowed to feed in the evening, and before going out in early morning.

To prevent a baby camel's illicit drinking, the mother's udders are tied to a piece of stick called a *sarár*. (*Saru al nágá*, means "tie the she-camel's teats up".)

The female has four teats and the stick is tied to two at a time. (See sketch, page 100.)

On 9th May, 1935, when drinking some camel's milk among the 'Ajman, I saw the tying-up process. To enable us to milk the camel the strings were loosed, and when the 'Ajman herdsman tied them up again he placed a piece of camel's wool between string and teats before fastening them to the *sarár*. In one case, having no wool handy, he used an old camel dropping (*jalla*). The piece of wool is to prevent damage or hurt to the nipples.

TRIBAL "WASMS"

Every tribe has its *wasms* or tribal brand marks, corresponding somewhat to our own family crests. The *wasm* is never placed on banners or war flags, and is primarily meant to show the Badawin world to whom such and such camels or wells belong.

Horses and mares are never branded, though sheep usually have a small slit or private brand placed on the ear to indicate the owner.

Camels on the other hand are all branded with some tribal *wasm* or other, wherever they are, or to whomsoever they belong.

Private property also, such as a camel load, which has had to be temporarily abandoned in the desert owing to the death of the camel carrying it, can be protected by marking on the ground near it the tribal *wasm* of the owner. As a rule, no one finding such property will touch it.

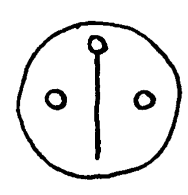
The tribal *wasms* which exist, and could be collected by anyone interested in the study, are legion, for the 'Awazim tribe of Hasa, as far as I can ascertain, is alone among all the tribes of Arabia in possessing one *wasm* mark only for the whole tribe. All other tribes have dozens and dozens of different brands in accordance with the number of sections and subsections into which they are divided, or the number of their shaikhs who think they ought to have their own special distinguishing mark for their camels.

Like the tattoo marks of the Iraq Marsh women, Badawin's camel marks are of extraordinary interest and it would be well worth while for some student to collect and classify them. I have myself collected a fair number of tribal *wasms* from various sections of the more important tribes I have come across, but space forbids to reproduce them here.

I therefore confine myself to giving a few of the more important *wasms* only, including those of the paramount shaikhs of certain tribes, just to show what they look like and on what part of the camel they are branded.

(1) His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (Bin Sa'ud):
Placed on the right thigh.

After the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 was put down, those camels confiscated by Bin Sa'ud from the rebellious tribes were marked with a special new brand to indicate that they were the King's property, but had been taken from rebels. This *wasm* was on right thigh.





BANI HAJIR CAMELS DRINKING

(2) Muhammad al Sa'ud (the King's brother):
Placed on right thigh.

(3) 'Abdullah* bin Jiluwi (Amir of Hasa):
Placed on right thigh.

* To-day Sa'ud his son.

(4) His Excellency The Shaikh of Kuwait (Bin Subah):
Placed on either thigh.

(5) Al Sa'adun (Shaikhs of the Muntafiq):
Placed on left cheek.
(The circle is known as *halga*.)

(6) 'UTAIBA TRIBE

(*a*) Ibn Humaid (Shaikh of Barqa group):
On off fore shoulder.

(*b*) Ibn Rubaiyan (Shaikh of Ruqa group):
On left side of neck.
(Rest of family same mark on right side of neck).

(*c*) Ibn Chamil (Shaikh of Muqáta group):
On left cheek.

(*d*) Ibn Hijna (Shaikh of Aufa group):
On right thigh.

(*e*) Ibn Ja'ama (Shaikh of Rusan group):
Halga on right cheek.

(7) DHAFIR TRIBE (Ibn Suwait only):
On right thigh.

(8) 'Awazim Tribe

(*a*) Ibn Jama (Al Amir): On left thigh

Also (Hadalin): On left neck



(*b*) Ibn Drai: On right thigh

Also

(Suwabir): On left cheek

or *hillal* on left thigh

(9) Mutair Tribe

(*a*) Al Dushan (all members): On left thigh

(*b*) Al Fuqum (Sahaba—Thawiaun):

On left neck

Also on left cheek

(*c*) Ibn Lami (Qa'aimat—Jiblan):

On right neck

(*d*) Ibn Shiblan (Al Yahya—Jiblan):

On right thigh

(*e*) Ibn Ghanaiman (Mala'aba—Thawiaun):

Over right eye

(*f*) Ibn Rashidan (Burzan—Jiblan):

On right thigh

(*g*) Al Ma'argab (Araqiba—Jiblan):

On left neck

Also On left cheek

(*h*) Al Sur (Bara'isa—Muwaha):

On left thigh

Also

On left cheek

(*i*) Ibn Jariban

Abu Sifra (Rukhman—Muwaha):

On right cheek

or *hillal*

(*j*) Ibn Shuwaiyat (Khawatirah—Muwaha):
On left thigh

(*k*) Abu Ras (Al Jubara—Muwaha):
On right thigh

(*l*) Ibn Mita'ib (Sa'anim—Muwaha):
On left neck

Also on left cheek

(*m*) Ibn Ashwan (Abaiyat—Wasil):
On right thigh

(*n*) Ibn Shuwairibat (Birzan—Wasil):
On left neck

(*o*) Ibn Jarbuh (Diyahin—Wasil):
They cut a piece out of the left cheek and off the left ear.

(*p*) Ibn Muhailib (Wisama—Wasil):
On left thigh

(*q*) Ibn Musaiyis (Sa'aran—Awlad Ali):
On right cheek
Also
On right thigh

(*r*) Ibn Jirnas (Al Maimum—Bani 'Abdillah):
On left cheek

(*s*) Ibn Thamna
Ibn Darwish
(Al Sa'aba—Bani 'Abdillah):
On right cheek

(9A) Rashaida Tribe

(*a*) Ibn Musailim:
A long plain line round neck under chin from side to side

(*b*) Ibn Awaiyid ('Awana):
On left thigh

(*c*) Al Shahir (Shahara):
On right thigh 

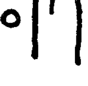
(*d*) Ibn Nimaan (Muhaizimat):
On right thigh 

(*e*) Ibn Sa'ami: On right thigh 

(10) The following 'Ajman *wasms* were given me by Mubarak Ibn Haif al Hajraf, Shaikh of the Sulaiman, on April 10, 1934:

Al Hithlain: On left cheek 

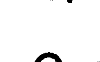
Al Hadi: On right cheek 

Al Hajraf: On left neck 

Al Sulaiman: On left neck, low 

Ibn 'Asidan (Shaikh Sulaiman):
On left neck 

Al Mahfudh: On left thigh 

Al Suffran : On right neck 

Al Hajjan: On right thigh 

Al Saleh: On right neck 

Al Rima: On left neck high up 

Al Hitlan: Right round gullet on under side 

Al Tháin: On left neck

(11) Bani Khalid Tribe

(*a*) Ibn Agál:

On right side of neck

(*b*) Ibn Ajran:

On left thigh (like Awazim)

(12) Bani hajir Tribe (Ibn Mubarak only):

On left side of neck

CAMEL STICKS (*Mishá'ab*)

These very often bear the *wasm* of the owner's tribe burnt on the crook end of the stick. I have three such myself, given me by members of the Dushan clan of the Mutair, which I keep as mementoes.

"WASMS" OR TRIBAL MARKS CARVED ON THE ROCKS ON NORTH-WEST FACE OF JABAL WARA (KUWAIT)

Names of tribes or sections of a tribe claiming some of those *wasms* are given below.

'Awazim

Subah (Kuwait)

Sufran ('Ajman)

Al Huwaila ('Ajman)

Hithlain ('Ajman)

Salim al Hamud (one of Al Subah Shaikhs)

Qahtan, also 'Utaiba

'Utaiba

'Ajman

'Ajman (known as Al Zézé)

Sa'aran (Mutair)

Al Saleh ('Ajman)

Al Dha'in ('Ajman)

Ibn 'Asidan—Sulaiman-'Ajman

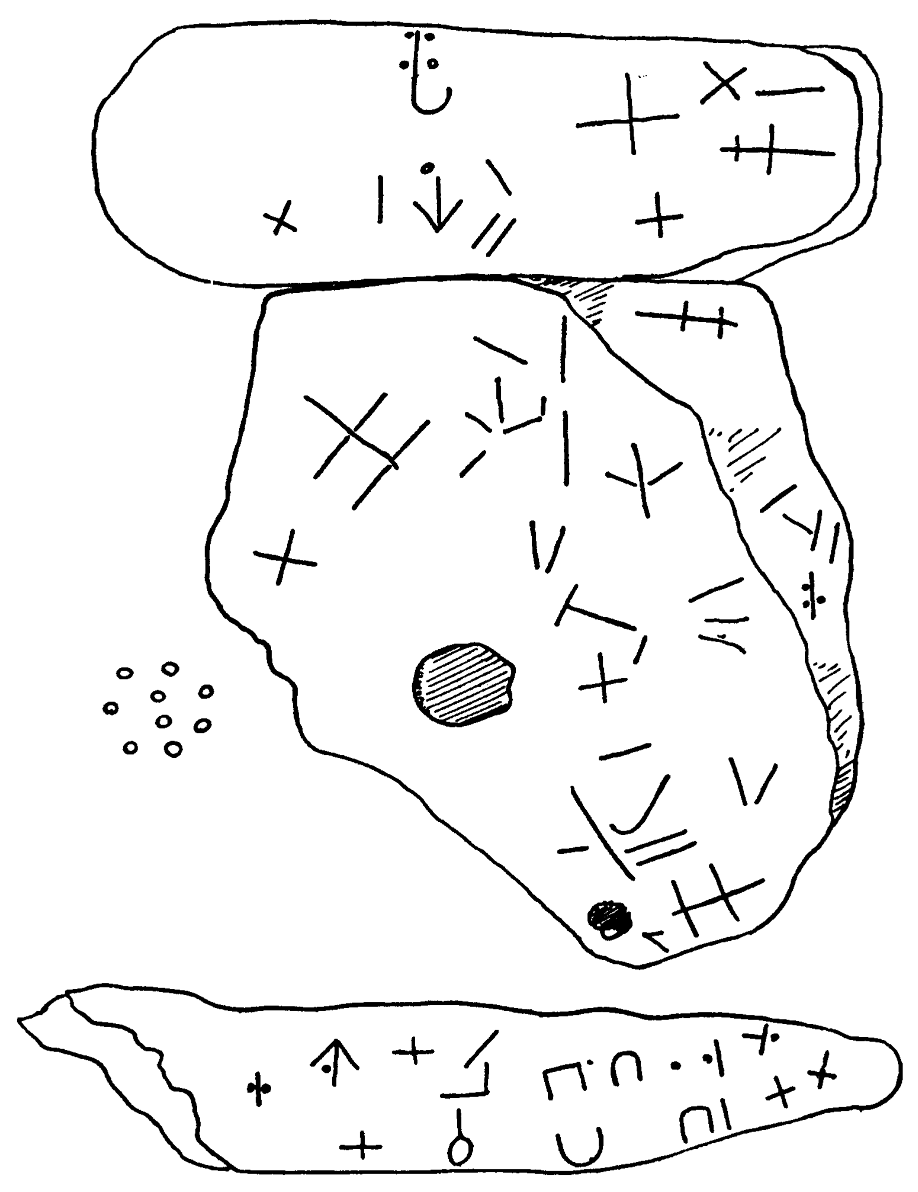
Ibn Rashidan (Mutair)

As Sur (Mutair)

Ibn Shuwairibat-Braih (Mutair)

Ibn Jáma ('Awazim)

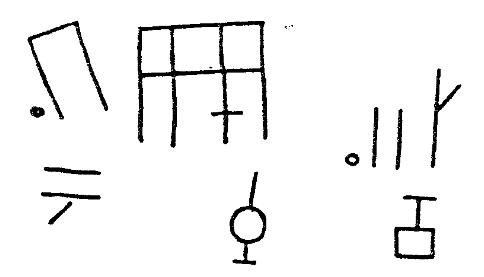
Ibn Drai' ('Awazim)



"WASMS" ON THE NORTH-WEST SIDE OF WÁRA UNDER LARGE OVERHANGING ROCK

On an adjoining flat rock are cut out nine small holes for the game of Umm al Judairah

Below are some odd *wasms* found on north side of Wára.



WELLS

Almost all the great permanent wells of Arabia belong to some tribe or other, and have been in their possession since earliest times. Hence, if they are examined carefully, the *wasm* of the tribe to which they belong will usually be found, cut in the rocky sides some way down on the inside, or engraved on one of the large stones built round the well mouth.

It is important to know this, as the ownership of disputed wells and their surrounding grazing grounds can nearly always be determined by such marks if it is known where to look for them.

This right to own wells is not confined only to tribes, but is also the prerogative of individual Badawin, and has in the past been the cause of many a fierce fight. For instance, supposing a man camping alone in summer selects a suitable site for his family's tents, near where he thinks he will find water, and does dig a well, and does find water, then that well becomes his *mulk*, or personal property, and no other person may draw water from it, or use it for the future except with the owner's express permission. In the Kuwait hinterland, where there is sub-surface water nearly everywhere, such wells are frequent, and many are the disputes that arise from strangers attempting to use them.

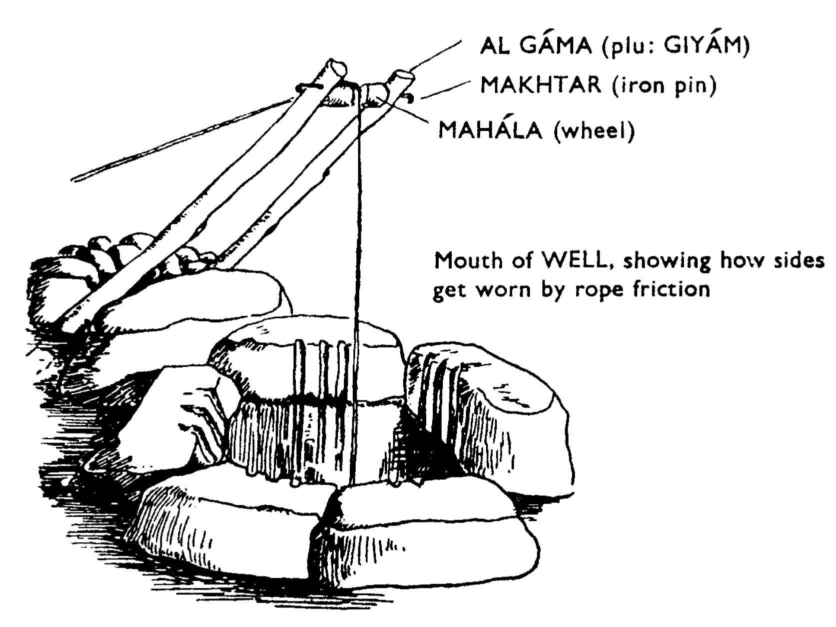
NATURAL WELLS

The Natural Wells (*dáhal*, plu. *duhúl*) of the Summán region occupied by the Mutair 'Ilwa (150–200 miles south-west of Kuwait).

There are some one hundred *duhúl* scattered along the northern

edge of the Dahana where it joins the Summán, but only some eighteen are well-known ones having permanent water.

The entrances are usually fissures in the rocks (or more often a hole like a well), which open out thirty or forty feet below into an



Desert Well.

open dry cavern. From these, passages leading to a series of other caverns lead off in various directions, one or more of which contain large natural cisterns or subterranean lakes.

The *duhúl* are excellent places for travellers or smugglers to drink from, but useless for camels or sheep, as the water cannot be drawn up to the top and poured into leather watering basins. A man has to go down with his water-skin, and crawl for many yards on his stomach, or on all fours, before he can even get one skinful of water.

The water is usually very good and clear, and is rain water pure and simple.

Some remarkable examples of *duhúl* also exist in the northern desert, fifty to one hundred miles south of the Amman–Baghdad desert route.

Following are the most important of the Summán *duhúl*:

Al Raggas	Um Jamd
Al Thaiyib	Bith al Ashafi

List of Natural Wells

Ab al Dhaiyán
Al Jarábi
Um al Qurún
Al Khalíja
Al Azaiyir
Um Warcham
Al Khuraishif
Um Nakhla
Abu Sudaira
Al Futaih
Al Shamshúl
Al Ajáji
Abu Sukhaim
Abu Tutaba
Al Mattár
Al 'Ikshámi
Abu Harmala
Al Furaih
Shilshum

CHAPTER XXXIII

Camel Disputes

In the Arab States of Arabia proper, the rights of an individual over his camel are looked upon as more sacred perhaps than life itself. It is possible that there may be slight differences in custom and details in various parts of Arabia, but speaking generally, the rules given below will be found to be understood and prevail in most of North-Eastern and Central Arabia. I cannot speak for Oman, Yaman and the Hijaz, but I see no reason to suppose that the basic principles of all desert camel laws are not the same.

After dealing with the important custom of *'Arafa*, I have touched on and given the meaning, as briefly as I can, of the Badawin terms *Jahámah*, *'Iblásah*, *Tiráhah*, *Khidmah*, *Zakát*, *Kháwah* and *Dhabíhah wa Maníhah*, all terms regularly heard in the desert man's daily life. I must express my thanks to His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait and his able Lieutenant Shaikh 'Abdullah al Jabir who is responsible for Kuwait tribal affairs, for the great assistance they have given by helping me to collect the data necessary for this chapter.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I. *The case of camels belonging to individuals or tribes, straying with friendly tribes.*

(*a*) If one or more camels stray from a tribal herd and are later found with a friendly tribe, the owners can send in a demand for their return to the shaikh of the friendly tribe in question. Providing there is no undue delay, restitution is made and the matter ends.

(*b*) Should the strayed camel or camels not be restored, the owners have the right to watch their opportunity and seize property, livestock or even men belonging to the offending tribe, and

retain such in their possession until their own plundered property is surrendered.

(*c*) Should the offending tribe still be obstinate (*a'asin*) and not return the camels, then the complainants have the right to hold what they have seized and must be satisfied with this. It is presumed that they have seized and held a number of camels equal to the number lost, neither more nor less.

II. *The case of camels straying away to a hostile tribe.*

The owner of the camel awaits his opportunity, and has the right to seize his enemy's camels and as many as he likes besides, by raid (*ghazzu*) or other stratagem, on the grazing grounds of the desert, in the summer or spring months, or on the caravan routes when his enemy visits a town or settlement to purchase supplies.

The injured party (owner of original stolen camels) retains what he has thus acquired from the enemy as a right, or he can make conditions with the enemy as he pleases. He can also if he likes cry "quits" entirely, provided everything is restored which he lost in the first place. Should blood be shed on such raids, the rule of the desert permits of revenge during five lives, that is to say, the party from whom a life has been taken, is entitled to kill a member of the slayer's family or tribe, down to the fifth generation, unless of course the family of the slain man agrees to accept *'idiyah* or *diya* (blood-money), which is generally computed in Najd and Kuwait to-day at Rials 800 (see Chapter XLII).

III. *The case of a tribe or tribes belonging to a recognised Government, raiding camels of tribes belonging to another Government.*

The Government of the raided tribe has the legal right to claim the stolen property back from the Government of the guilty tribe or to claim money compensation. The compensation is assessed by mutual agreement. Should the guilty tribe, however, refuse to obey the order of its own Government, and it becomes impossible to recover the property stolen, then the injured tribe has the right

to recover its lost property in its own time, and by whatever means it deems fit to employ.

IV. *The case of stolen or lost camels, recognised in a town or settlement by their original owners. (Both parties for example having come up to purchase supplies.)*

If the two parties are members of tribes which are friendly and on good terms with each other, and if their respective tribes are on good terms with, and under the authority of, the Ruler or Governor of the town in question, then the claimant must produce three witnesses to testify that the property he claims is his own. The words he himself uses to prove his claim before the authority hearing the case are, "I affirm that I neither sold nor gave away this my camel". Having completed this formality, the claimant will receive back his camel by order of the Ruler or Governor of the said town. (This sort of case frequently arises in Kuwait and towns in Najd.)

In the event of the person in possession of the camel having bought it from a third party unaware that it was the lawful property of a member of a friendly tribe, the procedure is different (see below). Again, if the person in possession of the camel has obtained it in war from a third party, the claimant will only receive it back if the custom of *'arafa* exists between his tribe and that of the person with whom the camel is found (see below).

V. *The case of a tribe of one Government attacking a tribe of another Government and a battle resulting.*

The attacked tribe has the right to ask its Government to demand and recover full blood-money for its killed and injured from the Government of the guilty party. Should the complainant's Government not be in a position to exact reparation or come to an agreement with the aggressor's Government, either as to the blood-money due or to the terms of peace acceptable to the injured tribe, then the families of the victims have the right to take revenge in their own time and way, without being responsible to their Government in any respect. (V is similar to III.)

THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA
OR
"RECOGNITION" OF ANIMALS BY THE OWNER

I. *The case of camels captured in a raid.*

Should two tribes *asta'araf* to one another (have made the special *'arafa* agreement between them), then one party may take from the other, camels once belonging to the former and now recovered from an enemy in raid, etc., by the latter.

Thus if a number of camels have been captured from the 'Ajman by the 'Awazim, and on some later occasion are recovered by the Mutair, the 'Ajman would have the right to take back their camels on application to the Mutair, without compensation, *provided the custom of* 'Arafa *existed between the 'Ajman and the Mutair.*

II. *The case of camels bought from one person by another and later recognised by a former owner as having been stolen from him.*

The case is settled in this wise. If the purchaser and the original owner are of the same tribe, or belong to two tribes with a "special agreement" by which their relations are those of *Bani 'Ám*, then the purchaser and the original owner, together with the animal in dispute, have to approach the seller and from him recover the purchase money. They give this to the man who has bought the camel, and the orignal owner takes back his property. For example, a man of Shammar recognises a stolen camel of his with a man of the Dhafir, and the latter states he purchased it from the Mutair. Should the Dhafir and Shammar have a *Bani 'Ám* arrangement between them, the men will both go and see the Mutairi. If the Mutairi had himself raided or stolen the camel from the Shammari, and the Mutair and the Shammar were at peace, he will return the purchase price to the Dhafiri, and the Shammari may then take the camel he claims. If the Mutairi has himself bought the camel from another, say an 'Ajmi, he will still pay back the price to the Dhafiri and will then go and claim his money from the 'Ajmi, and so on till they get back to the original thief. In other words, all intervening sales and purchases are step by step undone.

This method of friendly recovery of a man's camel is known as the *Sauq wa Qaud* system, a sort of family arrangement for the recovery of animals by mutual consent and without quarrelling over the matter. This system has the advantage of keeping Government officials out of the business, which from the Badawin point of view is always desirable. It is commonly practised in areas where Government writ does not run, and where one tribe is paramount under a strong shaikh who can enforce his will (example, the southern desert area of Iraq in Turkish times).

The system is open to variation according to circumstances, also to special arrangements between tribes, etc. So-called desert law is rarely a hard-and-fast thing. Many are the arbitrators who vary it slightly, or try to arrange a compromise in difficult or protracted cases. In most cases, however, precedent has a great deal to do with settling difficult problems, and so we have the *Ahl al khibrah* or experts, versed in legal precedent and able to state how difficult cases were formerly settled. These wiseacres have much to do with the interpretation of desert law. Nevertheless the two main principles of *'arafa* remain fixed:

(*a*) A camel taken in war or retaken in war by a friend of the original owner is surrendered without compensation, if the custom of *'arafa* exists. There is no selling.

(*b*) No camel bought for money can possibly be taken back by the original owner without compensation, even if the original owner be of the same tribe as the purchaser. There is only one exception, namely, if the original owner can prove that the buyer when he purchased the animal *was aware that it had been stolen* from a man of a friendly tribe. Thus if the 'Awazim bought Diyahin raided camels from Ibn Shuqair the day after his raid on the Diyahin near Kuwait in 1928, the latter could recover their camels from the 'Awazim without compensation. In no other case can anyone retake a purchased animal and leave the purchaser a loser. All sales must be undone, back to the original theft.

Border Cases

Chap. XXXIII

THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA ON THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN TWO STATES

The application of the *'arafa* law becomes somewhat less easy when two tribes which are perhaps hostile to each other, or belong to different states adjoining one another, are involved, or where strong Governments are functioning, as to-day in the case in Kuwait, Sa'udi Arabia and Iraq, and where border officials are interested in seeing that shaikhs and individual members of tribes in their areas do not raid, steal or take the law into their own hands, especially across the border.

In such cases, while the custom of *'arafa* is quite well understood, it is essential that a controlling authority enforce the rules of the game, otherwise nothing is done. The Shaikh of Kuwait put it in a nutshell, when he told me that the law of *'arafa* was a most excellent law for settling Badawin disputes, and it dated back to very ancient times, but unless Rulers or Governments were strong enough to enforce it within or across their borders it became quite useless, for then as always the strongest won the day. A Badawin, for instance, in the case mentioned below, would never hand over the camel he had purchased unless he was made to do so by his Government acting through its officials on the spot.

"A", a subject of some state, finds a camel which has been stolen from him in the past, grazing in the desert with "B's" camels (a subject of another state). "A's" and "B's" tribes are not on friendly terms. "A" does not waste his time in going and demanding it from "B", who quite naturally will refuse to give it up until made to do so. He goes instead to the nearest *Hákim* or Government representative in the particular area "B" is in, armed with a letter from his own frontier officer. (To-day in North-East Arabia it is Hamud al Baga'awi for Sa'udi Arabia, 'Abdullah bin Jabir for Kuwait, and the Iraqi Officer in Charge Southern Desert Police for Iraq), and will say that "B" has in his possession a certain camel which has been stolen from him, "A". The officer in charge of the area in question will send for "B" and in his presence will ask "A" to prove his claim. Here is where the Shari'a law comes in as practised in the desert. "A" can

prove his claim in two ways, (*a*) either by producing two witnesses who will corroborate his testimony that the camel was his property, and that he had neither sold nor given it away, or (*b*) "A" can produce one witness who must declare *on oath* that the camel belongs to "A" and that it was neither sold nor given away by him.

"B" can also if he likes insist that "A" states the same thing on oath, but this is not actually necessary, according to the law.

One or other of these courses having been followed, the Government officer in charge of the area in question does not even ask how "B" got the camel, but on the above evidence must order "B" to hand over the animal at once.

If "B" has stolen the camel himself, he will of course gladly hand over and hope "A" will not bring further witness proving that he stole it.

If, however, "B" has innocently bought the camel from say "C", then he can be counted upon to shout this fact from the housetops (this in spite of the fact that a rather dead order exists both in Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait to-day, which forbids a man buying a camel till the seller can satisfactorily prove that it has not been stolen). The officer dealing with the case will then proceed as follows: He must ask who the seller "C" was and where he can be found. When "B" has told him, "C" will be summoned, and in the presence of "C" "B" will have to produce two witnesses to testify that he bought the camel from "C" (or one witness to take oath). When "B" has done this to the satisfaction of the officer, the latter makes "C" pay the purchase money back to "B". If "C" claims to have bought the camel from "D", the officer will adopt the same procedure, working backwards till the original thief is found, who then is suitably punished.

The above method of settlement becomes somewhat more complicated if individuals concerned are subjects of different states. For instance, should "A" be a Kuwaiti, "B" be an Iraqi and "C" a Najdi, the procedure is the same, only three *Hákims* or frontier officers have to be brought in. For instance, "A" will go to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who will send him armed with a letter (usually also with a letter from the Political Agent) to the Inspecting Officer or Com-

mandant of Police Southern Desert area where "B" resides. That official will take action on the letter, and if proofs are clear will hand back the camel to "A". He will then send "B" with a letter direct to al Baga'awi, or such other Najd official as may be in charge of Sa'udi Arabian frontier affairs opposite Iraq and Kuwait, together with "B's" witnesses. Al Baga'awi will then get "B's" rights from "C" and so on. In conclusion, the easy working of the *'arafa* system along a frontier obviously depends on four things:

(*a*) that friendly relations exist between the Governments involved;

(*b*) that officers are placed in charge of frontier areas, and that their writ goes;

(*c*) that such local officials are empowered to deal direct with each other without having to refer to higher authority: this especially applies to smaller claims of tribesmen on both sides of the border. (Important cases would of course be referred to Central Governments.)

(*d*) That the Shari'a law, recognised by the Badawin of the desert, and not any form of civil code, be applied in deciding *'arafa* questions, especially where oaths are concerned.

Between 1929 and 1930 Captain Glubb, R.E., at one time in charge of the Iraq Southern Desert area, and I in my capacity of Political Agent, Kuwait, frequently dealt direct with each other in questions of claims between Iraq and Kuwait tribesmen, and we settled many cases on the above lines, everyone being satisfied and accepting settlement cheerfully. During the same period matters were not so easy where Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia tribes were concerned, because (*a*) relations unfortunately were not good, and (*b*) no official of officer status existed across the border who could be addressed on the subject with prospect of reasonable success. Later, however, His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud remedied the matter by appointing strong frontier representatives, with headquarters at Hafar and Jariyah Ilya respectively, and matters greatly improved.

In February 1931 His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud proposed to the Shaikh of Kuwait that all camel claims affecting both states which went back prior to February 1931 should be declared *madfūn* ("buried") because an enormous number had accumulated as a result of the

'Ikhwan rebellion, and it was impossible to deal with them. The proposal being eminently sensible, Ibn Subah fell in with it.

THE MEANING OF THE BADAWIN TERMS JAHÁMAH, IBLÁSAH, TIRÁHAH, KHIDMAH

(1) Should the tribes have a "peace agreement", and a man of the one tribe happen to lose some camels and later find them with a man of the other tribe, the original owner has the right to recover his camels without any compensation, but only provided the camels are followed up without delay. The term given to camels which have so wandered is *jahámah.*

Should a man from one of the two friendly tribes discover and care for some camels which have wandered as *jahámah*, and there is delay on the part of the owner in looking for and recovering his camels, then the finder who is looking after them can later recover Rials 2 per camel from the owner, provided he informs his shaikh of the circumstances at the time and gets an assurance from him that the shaikh will see that he gets this money. The shaikh for his part will give orders to the finder as to the proper care of the strayed camels, and tell him to treat them as his own, etc.

(2) A man of one or other of the two friendly tribes may find camels wandering as *jahámah*, and deliberately hide them from their owner. If in spite of this they are later discovered by an *'iblásah* (i.e. a man hired by the owner to spy out neighbouring camel herds, and discover where the lost camels are), the property must be restored in full to the owner, and the fee of the *'iblásah* will be recovered from the person concealing the animals. This fee may amount to anything up to Rials 20, a big sum to the Badawin.

(3) A man's camels may take fright and bolt into the desert. If they are caught and brought in by a man of a friendly tribe, and handed over to the owner, then the owner must pay Rials 2 for each camel as reward to the person who caught them. This fee is called *tiráhah.*

(4) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels

arises between two tribes, and the two sides are unable to agree on terms of settlement, then the matter will normally be referred to the Ruler of the country or local Governor, as the case may be. When the matter is finally settled, *khidmah* (or "service fee") will be recovered from the party judged to be at fault. This *khidmah* fee, which may run into a number of Rials, is paid over to the Ruler's *fidáwis* or retainers, who have had the labour of collecting evidence and finding witnesses.

BADAWIN CUSTOM OF WASÁQAH (OR WASÁGA) BETWEEN BANI 'ÁM

Among Badawin who are in *Bani 'Ám* relationship with one another, if camels are stolen from one party by another the same number of camels only as those stolen in the first place must be returned, never more. And war may never arise between them from such exchange of property. Restitution is normally arranged through the mediation of relatives or the heads of clans.

The arrangement of restitution is known as *wasáqah* (*waságna-hum*—"we arranged restitution").

It would be quite a different matter if members of a strange tribe or people, who were not *Bani 'Ám*, stole the camels. Then the robbed person (or persons) can rightfully take as many camels as he can lay hands on from those who stole from him, and if no redress is obtained, the case may result in war between the tribes.

Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah of Kuwait told me on 8th October, 1938, that among *Bani 'Ám* if a person for the sake of gain told tales against his tribe, or reported that a member of his tribe had stolen camels from another tribe, the penalty was that "he should be killed by lance thrust"; this was a very ancient Badawin law.

ZAKÁT TAX

The tax known as *Zakát* has religious sanction, and payment is one of the five duties incumbent on every true Muslim. The word means "purification" and is applied to the legal alms that an individual has to give to the religious tax-gatherers of the state each year;

it works out to about 1/40th of what a man possesses. To the Badawin, *zakát* means the unpleasant annual contribution which his King, or head of the state, has a right to take from him, and is calculated as follows:

(*a*) One *Rial* for every full-grown camel.
(*b*) Half a *Rial* for every young or half-grown camel.
(*c*) One sheep or its value (8 *Rials*) for every forty sheep, whether small or large.

No *zakát* is paid on riding camels, or on camels used for carrying Badawin camp equipage from camp to camp. The head of the state has also the right in the event of war to call upon all those who have paid him *zakát* to fight for him, failing which he can confiscate all their live stock.

Should a tribe fail to pay *zakát* to its lawful Ruler the latter is entitled:

(*a*) To confiscate its property.
(*b*) To refuse to be responsible for its defence or protection from others of his tribes.
(*c*) To refuse to come to its assistance should it be attacked by outside enemies.

Conversely if a tribe pays the *zakát* tax due from it, then the Ruler or head of the state is bound to defend that tribe (actively as well as by diplomatic means) from all comers, and whether aggression comes from inside or outside. He is responsible for all the members of the tribe as though they were his own children, or so at least says the desert law.

The head of a state has no right to take *zakát* from a foreign tribe which visits his state for grazing purposes and intends only to stay a short time, and will return home and pay *zakát* to its rightful Ruler. This is an old and well-established law in Arabia, and is understood by all.

Should the visiting tribe, however, ask for and obtain permission to settle for the summer on wells in the local Ruler's state, then the latter has the right, by unwritten law, to take full *zakát* from it. The idea underlying this custom is that the foreign tribe eats up his grazing and drinks his water to the detriment of his own tribe (The great

Bin Sa'ud has on more than one occasion broken this rule, and has endeavoured to send his tax-gatherers after his tribes into neighbouring states, because he did not approve of his people migrating for summer into adjoining states.)

The case of Mishal al Timiat (Shammar) and his people who camped at Subahiyah in Kuwait in the summer of 1935 is a case in point. Instead of inviting the Shaikh of Kuwait to take the tax, Bin Sa'ud took it himself and upset the local political situation not a little. The Shaikh of Kuwait naturally did not ask for the tax to be paid twice over, as he had the right to do, for it was not worth having a row with his powerful neighbour. There is a definite season for taking *zakát* throughout Desert Arabia. This is in June and July of each year, when the Badawin have settled on water for the summer. The authorities know they cannot move, so the collection of the tax is easy. At any other time of the year the Badawin would be able, by their mobility, to evade the tax-gatherers.

When the tax-gatherers start on their work, and find "strange" Badawin not yet camped on water, but obviously about to do so, they give them warning and say, "If you intend to come to such and such wells for the summer, you realise that you will have to pay *zakát*, don't you? If you are not willing to do this, then better depart at once"; in other words, "either stay and pay, or don't pay and get out."

Although these *zakát* customs are as old as the hills, there is nothing to prevent one state, say like Sa'udi Arabia, making a special agreement with another state like Iraq, whereby each state takes *zakát* from all tribes of the other state which come wandering into its territories, whether the intention is to make a short sojourn or stay the summer through. Such arrangement would have the obvious advantage of preventing foreign tribes from crossing the border to evade payment of home *zakát*.

KHÁWAH

(only paid by inferior tribes and caravans to superior ones)

Khdwah is a sort of *insurance tax* paid by strangers who enter territory which is not theirs. For instance, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe

entering Harb country in Sa'udi Arabia would pay *khdwah* to the Shaikh of the Harb. The tax would consist of a few sheep, possibly some *dehen* (clarified butter) also, and usually is a fee agreed upon. With the rise of Bin Sa'ud, the taking of *khdwah* has been officially banned, but it continues nevertheless *sub rosa*. The Iraq Government are said to be also trying to abolish the tax and follow in Bin Sa'ud's footsteps. Whether they will succeed or not is as yet uncertain (1936).

A caravan passing through a great tribe's territory would also before the rise of Bin Sa'ud have paid *khdwah*. On one occasion the 'Ajman and Bani Hajir tribes blockaded Kuwait because Qasim merchants refused to pay them this *khdwah*. This was in Mubarak's time, and he retaliated by forbidding 'Ajman *musábilah*, that is, he prevented them from coming up and buying supplies in Kuwait town, and arranged with Zubair and Jubail to do the same. The payment of *khdwah* entitles the payer to protection.

DHABÍHAH AND MANÍHAH ("SHEEP AND SERVICE")

(only paid by inferior tribes to superior tribes)

A curious custom has its origin in the days of Shabib al Sa'adun, the ancestor of the present family of that name and shaikhs of the Muntafiq. When Shabib first entered Iraq and settled in 'Ajwad country (Gharaf), his son happened to get killed by some shepherd tribes. Being anxious to strengthen his position he refused to take a life for a life, or to accept blood money, but made a condition that (1) he should never be required to rise if any 'Ajwad shaikh entered his presence; (2) that every shaikh should kiss his cheek or shoulder and their sons his knee or his feet, according to seniority; (3) that when he went among the 'Ajwad tribes they should always provide free his requirements of sheep's milk, wool, or young male lambs, for food.

The 'Ajwad tribes of the Gharaf gladly agreed, and the term *Dhabíhah wa Maníhah* was applied to the conditions imposed by Shabib al Sa'adun, which interpreted means *sheep and service*.

To-day *dhabíhah wa maníhah* is well understood in North-East Arabia and has become a recognised custom among shepherd tribes. For example, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe enters Kuwait in search of

grazing. It sends men ahead and offers (*a*) *kwáhah* and (*b*) *dhabíhah wa maníhah*.

The former insures that the Shaikh of Kuwait will, if necessary, fight all comers in their defence; the latter is a promise that if Kuwait is attacked by outsiders, the shepherd tribes in his territory will faithfully serve and fight for him, whilst they are grazing in Kuwait territory. The payment of *dhabíhah wa maníhah* is a graceful way of saying "I am your servant to order, so long as I am in your country". Half a dozen young sheep is the usual amount offered. As often as not the gift is accepted and remitted by the big man—*Qabaltu wa rajá'át'u*, or, I have accepted your gift and hereby return it again to you. The present Shaikh of Kuwait has for some years ceased to demand either tax.

PROPERTY LOST IN THE DESERT

Alois Musil, in his book, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, gives a striking and accurate picture of what happens in the desert when a nomad loses part of his tent equipage, a camel or a mare when on the march. I cannot do better than recommend my readers to study what he has to say about it.

Under the desert code it is not, of course, considered a dishonest act to pick up and conceal an article which has been lost or dropped by another person. The finder is not required to go out of his way to seek the owner of the article; on the contrary, it is up to the owner to find his own lost property. This applies to all articles of camp gear, male and female attire, bags of food, strayed camels, horses, sheep, etc.

Should the finder really fear God (*khaf Allah*) he will probably tell his shaikh, or let it be known generally whilst he is on the march that he has found such and such an article, obviously dropped by someone, but he need not necessarily do so. Only when the owner publicly notifies his loss is the finder required to act. He must then and there hand back the goods if he is to escape the charge of being a thief. If the lost or strayed thing be a camel, mare or sheep, he will get a small reward in return. This is his *haq* or right.

When Badawin are on the march with their families, and especially

when the tribe as a whole is migrating, rugs, garments and articles of tent gear are frequently dropped: this is especially the case at night, when camels laden with tents bump against each other or suddenly start trotting. On such occasions anything may fall and its loss will not be noticed till after the next camp has been reached. The person who picks up such dropped articles can, without much difficulty, hide them and appropriate them later to his or her own use. For whether such articles belong to the tent or consist of men's or women's clothing, they bear such a similarity to what every one else uses that no one will ever be able to prove previous ownership. The following is the procedure open to a man who finds he has lost something he values. When evening falls and the migrating nomads have camped for the night, the owner of the lost goods will mount his camel and ride slowly through the camp. As he does so, he will call out in a loud sing-song voice that he has lost so and so that day, and will adjure any person who has found the missing article to restore it on pain of angering Allah. Should a man who knows something of the lost article hear the shouting—and it is astonishing how many will respond to this appeal to God—he will come out of his tent and say, "Come here and take away thy thing" (*Ta'aal khud gharádhak*) or "Thou owner of the goods, come hither" (*Ya rai al gharadh, elhak, elhak*). The person advertising his loss often uses most picturesque language to persuade his fellow Badawin to disclose who has got the lost article in his possession.

When I was camped with Bin Sa'ud at Khabari Wadha in the winter of 1930, I vividly remember hearing the long-drawn-out plaintive cry of a man, advertising the loss of an *'abba* which he had dropped on the march. He kept riding backwards and forwards through the serried lines of tents after dark, and every minute or two shouted out words which roughly reproduced were as follows: "Has any one of the Muslims seen such and such a thing, or received news of it, or known anything of it? If he has, let him remember God and not conceal it," and again "O thou Muslim who hast seen and picked up such and such a thing, and dost fear Allah, disclose what thou hast concealed," and again, "O thou who hopest to keep quiet about a thing of little value, take heed lest in the hour of thy need God himself will keep quiet about thee." At last after about half an hour of such crying,

came the distant shout of "*Ta'al ta'al ya Muslim khud 'abbatak*". I knew then that the owner had been lucky and got back his property.

Ibn Juma'a, the King's henchman—*Muthaiafchi*—who was sitting with me and my old friend Farhan al Rahama round one of the camp fires, amused me by remarking that it was surprising how often men recovered lost goods in this way, and that it proved how honest and God-fearing was the King's army.

So high is the Badawin code in such matters, that were the person who had the lost property to conceal it and afterwards to be found out, he would get short shrift from his fellow tribesmen. They would revile and beat him publicly, and make things so unpleasant for him that he would find it profitable to leave his fellows for a season.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Locusts

Truly blessed are those countries and states which know not the Locust, nor have experienced his visitations.

When the word locust crops up, the average person thinks of the plagues of Egypt, and recalls vivid descriptions in the Old Testament. He pictures a mighty swarm of flying grasshoppers which settle on fruit trees, hedgerows, vegetable gardens and wheat fields, and after taking their fill, pass on. This is not an entirely false picture, but the reality is far worse. In a country like Arabia visitations are comparatively common, and one locust year is invariably followed by a second, third, and possibly a fourth. Locusts destroy not only all living bushes and available green grass, each blade of which is vital to life in a desert country like the Arabian peninsula, but cause untold hardship to townsmen and villagers. Sheep die in hundreds after a visitation because there is no more green or dry grass left for them to feed on. Though I speak with particular feeling for the Arabia I love, the locust problem is not confined to that country. Locusts annually devastate large tracts and districts of North Africa, Central and South Africa, Baluchistan, India, Persia, Iraq and Turkey.

The insect's home seems, however, to be Africa, and as far as Arabia is concerned, the general route followed by these pests in migration would seem to be from Abyssinia to Yaman in the first place. Thence the swarms apparently select one of two routes—one swarm going to Baluchistan and India via the South Arabian seaboard, and the other moving up into the Hijaz, Najd, North-Eastern tracts of Arabia, and on into Iraq and Persia. There are naturally many subsidiary migrations, but in the main as far as Arabia proper is concerned, I think—though I speak with diffidence—the theory of swarms coming over from Abyssinia and then dividing into two main streams, is fairly near the truth. This is the theory generally accepted among desert Arabs.

I am aware, of course, that the locust also enters Palestine and Northern Hijaz probably via Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula, and also crosses the Red Sea, north of Jiddah, but I think it is recognised that the main swarms and visitations come from the direction of Abyssinia and South-West Arabia.

I am not competent to enter into a discussion on the various species of locust. The flying ones we see and know in Kuwait and North-East Arabia are of two main types, the carmine or red-coloured ones known locally as the *Yakhakh** (*Nomadacris septemfasciata*) and the Common Desert Yellow variety with brown markings (*Schistocerca gregaria*) known as *Jarád.* The red locust is the kind most eaten by the inhabitants of Arabia. They eat only the females—and quite good they are, fried in butter with salt, or boiled. They taste much like roast chestnuts, and no doubt one pleasure the Arab has in eating them is the feeling that he is avenging himself for all the damage the insect has done him—at least this is what my Badawin friends say, and I can understand it.

Of recent years most important work has been done by the Belgian, French, British, Spanish and Italian Governments in the matter of Locust Research and Control, and the urgent necessity of co-ordinating the work of these various Governments has been fully recognised.

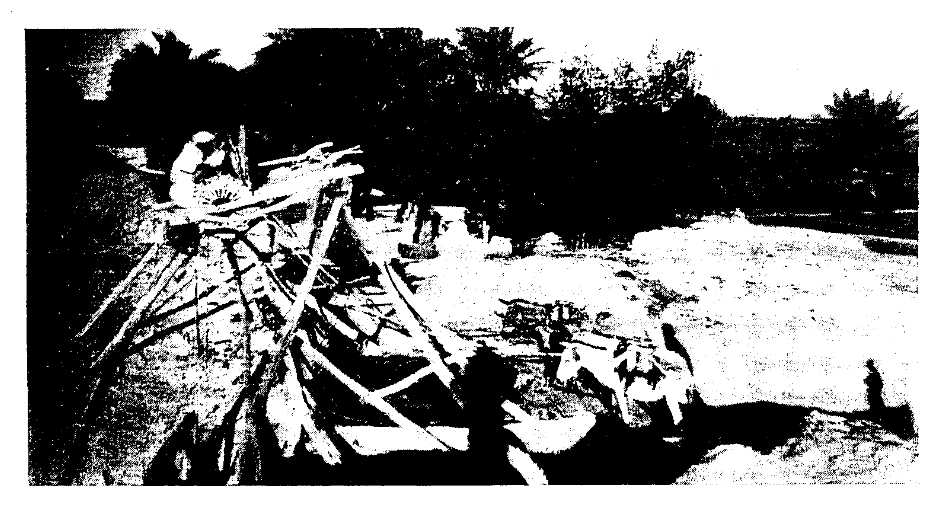
On 29th April, 1929, the late Earl Balfour, then Chairman of the Committee of Civil Research, appointed a Sub-committee on Locust Control, with directions to consider and report on (*a*) the best means for the destruction of the Desert Locust (*Schistocerca gregaria*), and (*b*) methods for ascertaining the reasons for the periodic swarming of this species, with a view to its control. This Committee, between 1929 and 1935, compiled six or seven reports which made interesting reading, and the value of the work already done by it is incalculable.

We in Kuwait, and by this I mean the Ruler and his Government, are particularly grateful to Mr. B. P. Uvarov, Senior Assistant, Imperial Institute of Entomology, London, a member of the above Committee, for the disinterested advice and help which he has given in locust-control during the last few years. I personally am doubly grateful for

* Strictly speaking this is the name given to any kind of grasshopper, which it is *harám* (unlawful) to eat as opposed to the locust proper, which is *halál* (lawful). The red locust is definitely *halál.*

JAHRAH OASIS

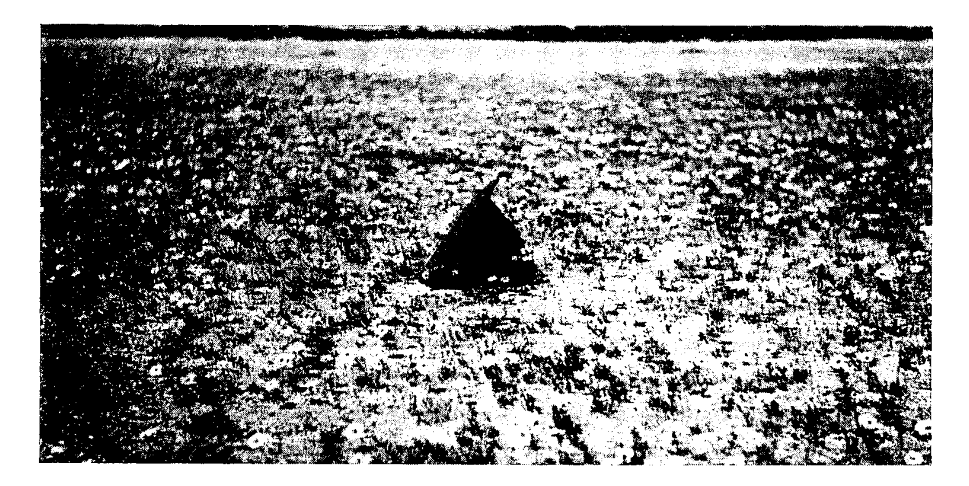
Twenty miles west of Kuwait



(1) A Water Well



(2) Date trees and lucerne beds



(3) The desert in flower in spring (my hat in centre of picture)

JAHRAH OASIS

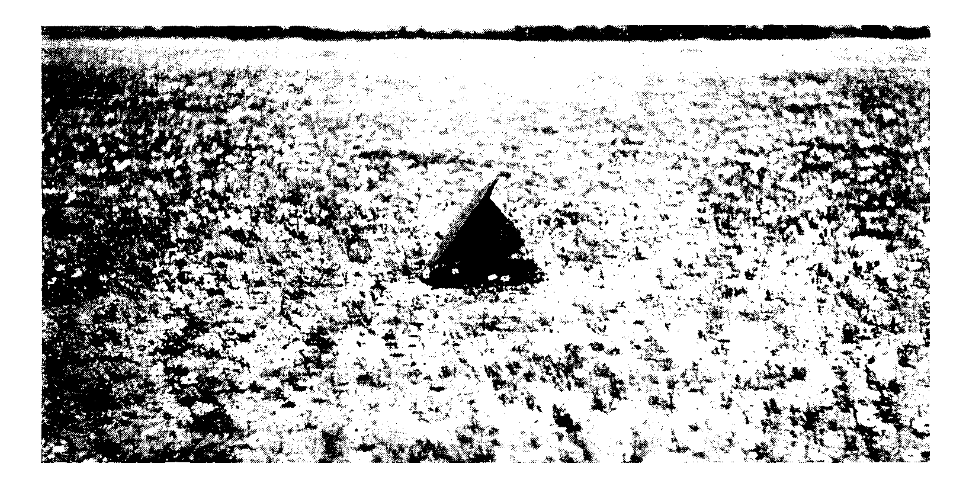
Twenty miles west of Kuwait



(1) A Water Well



(2) Date trees and lucerne beds



(3) The desert in flower in spring (my hat in centre of picture)

his kindness in classifying the many specimens which my wife and daughter have sent from time to time of locusts and grasshoppers found in the Kuwait hinterland. His appreciative letters have given us much encouragement.

Extracts from my official diaries of 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932 are reproduced below, and will, I think, give a fairly complete picture of the depredations of locusts in and around Kuwait, at a period when their activities were causing considerable alarm among the Governments of the world.

Extract (*a*).—"The Spring and Autumn of 1929 have been marked by the number and the vastness of the flights of locusts, which have ravaged the North-East coast and corner of Arabia. Grazing everywhere has suffered, more especially in the S.W. portion of Kuwait State. The Autumn rains of 1929 appeared to have killed off millions of these pests, but they reappeared again in the winter from the direction of Hasa and in still greater swarms. The Spring of 1930, according to local opinion, should see the arrival of the *dibba* or locusts in the dreaded 'hopper' stage. Early in 1930 Kuwait town suffered a visitation, and for a few days the inhabitants had literally to fight to save anything they had. Indeed one instance was reported of a child deserted by its mother, being almost completely eaten by them, though I cannot vouch for the story myself. The date trees of the Qusur villages and Jahrah were stripped to such an extent that they had the appearance of having been burnt down by a great conflagration. What finally saved the State was a violent southerly storm which blew the 'hoppers' into the Bay of Kuwait."

Extract (*b*).—"Early in February 1930 alarming stories of the approach of locusts from the South began once more to be current. These were followed by reports from the Kuwait Neutral Zone (50 miles to the South of Kuwait) that very many sheep had died as the direct result of the countryside being denuded of fodder by the locusts.

"On 25th February it became certain that Kuwait State would have to withstand a visitation of the dreaded *dibba* or locusts in the crawler stage (i.e. without wings). The Shaikh made some rather crude plans for an organised campaign against the insects should they march on the town.

"On 10th March messengers from the South brought news of the hatching of the *dibba* everywhere, for the females lay their eggs in the warm sand. (The Arab has it that each female lays 100 eggs and so reproduces herself 100 times.)

"On 28th March a vast army of black 'crawlers' was reported 10 miles South of the town, while other armies were reported to be converging on Jahrah, the oasis 20 miles west of Kuwait.

"On 7th April my wife and I visited the area South of the town and found the *dibba* advancing on a 4-mile front with a depth of 2 miles. The ground was seething with them, like a moving and undulating carpet, each *dibba* marching shoulder to shoulder with his neighbour, and in such a thick mass that as the car drove through them the wheels left regular lanes, as if we were driving through yellow-black snow. The millions of insects which were crushed in this process were instantly devoured by their companions and in a few seconds our car tracks were obliterated. The country through which the insects had passed was stripped quite bare, and where bushes had previously been seen, nothing but bare desert sand remained. Even the thick stalks of large bushes 3 feet high were entirely devoured.

"On 11th April we again proceeded to Jahrah to see what could be done to help the Shaikh's officials in the serious situation that had arisen there. I found the village and oasis in process of being attacked and overrun by a still vaster horde of *dibba* than that seen South of Kuwait. The villagers were making a gallant fight, with fires and trenches, and were covering the walls of their gardens with newspapers, strips of tin and glazed paper purchased in Kuwait, this latter to prevent the insects from climbing. But their efforts were in vain—before our eyes the verdant gardens comprising the oasis of Jahrah were all overwhelmed and destroyed. I estimated the attacking army to have a 5-mile front with unknown depth, there being two forms of insects—the all-black ones of two weeks' growth, and the black ones with bright yellow bands on them of a month's growth. None of them yet had wings.

"On 22nd April the first and southern army mentioned above reached Kuwait, and myriads upon myriads of the *dibba*, in spite of all efforts to check them, swept over the city wall into the town, in a horrible sort of yellow-black wave, destroying on their way every

single garden lying between the walls of the city and the houses proper. The ravages of the creatures and the persistent way in which they swarmed over every building and invaded the innermost apartments, had to be seen to be believed. The Agency Building, my own house endured a five-day assault, and in spite of gauze doors and windows everywhere, a great many got into the public rooms, where they did much damage to carpets and furniture.

"On 28th April relief came and there was an easing off of the plague. The *dibba* began to grow wings and to fly off. In this process many millions must have fallen into the sea.

"On 1st May none were left South of the Bay of Kuwait, though the now flying hordes continued their depredations towards the North. Curiously enough, all seemed desirous of going in a northerly direction, none appeared to have any desire to go right, left or even South again, the general direction was North all the time."

Extract (*c*).—"In March 1931 and for the third year in succession Kuwait has been visited by locusts. Large flights of these insects appeared in the State on 24th and 25th March, and on 28th, 29th and 30th March dense clouds of these pests flew continuously over the town of Kuwait, all going in a northerly direction.

"From news previously received from Najd (February 1931) it was anticipated that locusts would reach the Kuwait frontier by the end of March, but it was not thought by those who knew the ways of the locust that the dreaded *dibba* would follow after. It was, I believed, thought by experts that the swarms had arrived and laid their eggs too late in the season to allow of their offspring surviving the torrid heat of a specially early summer, after hatching.

"These prophecies unfortunately proved incorrect, for on 19th April 1931 the *dibba* made their appearance simultaneously in different parts of the State, but mostly to the South of it. At once, and in accordance with the strange instinct of these insects, they began to advance northward in the direction of the Bay of Kuwait.

"The 30th April saw some of them reach the outskirts of the town —as before they at once began to devour the vegetable gardens lying to the South of the city proper.

"On 7th May, the vanguard was reinforced by the main army, consisting of billions more of the crawlers, and the yellow-black mass

once again surged over the walls of the city much as molten lava tips over the edge of a crater of a volcano and progresses slowly down the side of the mountain. They now invaded the whole town from its eastern to its western end. The horrible scene of 1930 was again re-enacted, only this time the shops in the bazaar seemed to attract the insects more than in the previous year, and hundreds of yards of silk and cotton material were devoured or rendered useless. Again the loathsome swarms invaded private houses, kitchens and food, and dishes were served up with dead *dibbas* disconcertingly floating about in the gravy or embedded in the rice. For a full ten days we bore with this last but worse plague, and by the 17th of May the situation became well-nigh intolerable, and day and night was one long nightmare. Apart from food, clothes, bedclothes and even furniture being attacked by these voracious creatures, their bite was most unpleasant.

"As in the case of the plague of Egypt, relief came in the shape of a 'mighty' wind which blew with gale force for 15 hours from the North-East.

"The *dibba* army was driven out of the town in a westerly direction and along the southern shore of the bay. Countless millions of the insects must in the process have been drowned in the sea, but the plague was removed, and the exhausted people of Kuwait breathed freely once more.

"The *dibba* did not reappear. They grew their wings and flew away, but it was unutterably sad to see the damage they had done over the countryside. The very scanty grazing which usually lies to the South of the town was all devoured for a depth of some 30 miles. The immediate result was starvation for sheep, and before they could be marched to another district several thousands died.

"Fortunate it was that the original flights which settled and laid their eggs, arrived late in the season, for there is little doubt that only a small proportion of the eggs hatched. Countless millions of the newly hatched insects must also have been killed by the hot sun, and what we actually saw could have been only a fraction of what we might have seen."

Extract (*d*).—"In February 1932 a flight of locusts passed over Kuwait moving high. It took 2½ hours to pass over the town and darkened the sun like an eclipse. An official of H.M. King Bin Sa'ud

who arrived in Kuwait on 27th February reported that he had seen further large flights in South Hasa and Qatif at the end of January and early in February, also that Hufuf had had a bad visitation in January.

"It was thus anticipated that March would see another invasion of Kuwait.

"Very fortunately except for the swarm mentioned above no locusts actually reached Iraq or Kuwait and the previous years' invasions were not repeated."

"On 23rd May Professor B. P. Uvarov of the South Kensington Natural History Museum, visited Kuwait to collect data regarding the previous three years' visitations, and the lines of approach of the various swarms up from S.W. Arabia to Najd and Kuwait. He prophesied that Kuwait would see no more locusts in 1932 or for another three or four years, as all evidence went to prove that they appeared in cycles of three years at a time. His prophecy came remarkably true, and between 1932 and 1935 there have been no locust visitations at all. Let us hope that 1936* will not see a reappearance."

So much for my own experience, and the damage done to town dwellers, and owners of gardens and sheep.

The Badawin proper, that is to say the great migrating camel tribes, do not mind the locusts much, in fact they rejoice in a way when they see them, for they indicate that the year is going to be a good one. Locusts, they say, only come in prosperous years.

It does not worry these nomads if large tracts of country are denuded of fodder; they simply move off to country which has not been visited. They know that the damage done by locust swarms is more or less local, and that the insect will move to more favourable country lying to the north (Iraq) and will not bother them for long. They also enjoy the wonderful opportunity to satisfy for once in a while their ever-prevailing hunger. Nor is this all, for their horses, camels and dogs all get their fill, as well as foxes, bustard, monitor lizards, kites, shrikes and a dozen other denizens of the desert.

I remember once, when coming home with my wife from the Bátin by car, meeting a swarm of locusts flying very low, moving across the plain west of Jahrah. It was near sunset, and we saw several

* They did not appear in 1936 or 1937.

full-sized *dhubs* and *wurral* monitors on the side of the track chasing the flying locusts and jumping in the air to catch them. We were so much interested at the sight that we stopped our car and watched for some five minutes. There were eight large monitors, and in their excitement they appeared oblivious of our presence.

On another occasion I remember visiting a Badawin camp which had just received a visitation of Carmine or Red Locusts. The whole camp had turned out to slay and collect the insects for food, and from the numbers collected it was evident that they had had a most successful day. The roofs of all the black tents were strewn from end to end with dead locusts spread out to dry, every available mat, rug and *laháf* was also laid out to take the excess catch, and camels, dogs, mares and human beings were hard at work eating the insects, whilst cooking pots, bags, paniers and water-skins were crammed to overflowing with dried ones.

I, personally, never could fancy locusts much, but my wife and daughter, especially the daughter, revelled in them. I am told that even the Badawin enjoy them for a few days only, after which their gorge seems to rise against the food, and they give the remnants of their catch to their animals.

CHAPTER XXXV

Wild Birds

This chapter like many others gives merely such observations as I have been able to make and record in my diaries during my many treks and camping experiences with the Badawin.

From an ornithologist's point of view, Kuwait, and the promontory on which the town lies, is one of the most interesting spots in the Middle East for the study of migratory birds. Kuwait can be likened to the northern end of a long narrow corridor or tunnel through which migratory birds moving up from South-East Arabia and India along the western shore of the Persian Gulf, or travelling south again from northern climes, have to pass. Thousands of migratory birds pass over Kuwait town and the strip of coast, about 20 miles wide, which stretches south along the Arabian shore. The phenomenon may have to do with the fact that birds flighting to and from northern climates and the Tropics, who choose for their route the western shore of the Persian Gulf, are inclined to hug the seacoast, as being cooler and having more watering places than the interior. Certain it is that every variety of migratory bird is so common during the spring, and to a lesser extent during the autumn migration, that almost all the youngsters of Kuwait town and the tribes lying on the coast to the south of it, go in for catching and trapping these birds as a regular pastime. The birds caught are either eaten or sold as playthings to amuse other children and ladies of the harems, or again are sold to falconers to provide a change of diet for their birds in the non-hunting season. The price is about ninepence for just over four pounds of small dead birds. On almost every house roof in Kuwait and the villages to the south of it, as well as on the ground in the vicinity of Badawin encampments, small artificial trees are to be seen made of clumps of bushes tied together, and placed in prominent positions to attract birds in flight. Each of these bushes contains several traps of the kind known as *al sulába*

(see p. 463), and it is astonishing how many birds are caught daily* and brought down from the housetops by the youth of the city to be eaten, sold, or done to death by small children of the town. Though it is all very heartless and cruel from a European point of view, I must admit that the sport affords great happiness and joy to thousands of youths, young boys and girls, who have little else in the world to brighten their lives. And the skill with which these young Esaus set their traps and entice birds to come and be caught is little short of marvellous.

To turn now to the types of birds that pass over Kuwait. These may be classified under three main heads:

(*a*) Those like the lesser bustard, plover, stone curlew and the peregrine falcon and eagle variety, which would appear to come over from North Persia and North Asia Minor, and settle for the winter months on the Eastern Arabian seaboard, gradually working inland and westward.

(*b*) Those of the Imperial sandgrouse, ordinary sandgrouse, Persian doves, waders, kestrel hawks and small-bird variety of every species, which merely pass through on their distant migrations north and south as the case may be.

(*c*) Those of the duck, teal, snipe and water-bird variety which also are on their way to distant climes.

Of the above (*a*) usually make their appearance in ones and twos midway through October when the first rains fall. The migration strengthens in November, and by December, January and February thousands of these birds are to be found all over the hinterland. By March and April, and with the whole desert turning green, they scatter inland and become scarce. By the end of April they disappear to their northern and cooler feeding grounds once more. Their actual return route is not easy to determine, but I should say those on the Persian Gulf seaboard cross over to Persia and then go north, while those in Central Arabia travel in a north-easterly direction over Iraq and over a very wide front. As may be expected, a very few remain in Arabia, lay their eggs and probably stop on through the summer.

* One small garden owner near the Braisi gate when asked how many he had caught, said he had only got twenty-five, usually he got fifty.

I have been shown *hubara* eggs, which had been found 80 miles west of Kuwait in the middle of May, along with sandgrouse eggs; and it is stated that the great Bani Khalid Shaikhs of Hasa and Najd, in the heyday of their power several centuries ago, made it a capital offence for any Badawin to carry off or destroy such eggs.

NOTE.—We found a Courser plover on Dhahar ridge on 11th March, 1937, with "chick" which looked like large pebble.

As regards (*b*), these settle in Kuwait and on the coastal region to the south in large numbers purely for rest and feeding purposes, and pass on again in a continuous stream; laggards and exhausted birds sometimes stop on, lay their eggs or die, but these are very few. In 1935, when rains completely failed in the north, many sandgrouse remained and bred in Kuwait territory.

The arrival of this class of bird in Kuwait usually falls approximately between the 5th and 13th April (northern migration), after which they disappear. The same birds moving south again appear about the 15th September and, except for a few laggards, are gone again by the 16th October.

As regards (*c*), these nearly all pass over Kuwait by night, there being no lakes or marshes to tempt them to pause in their flight. The calls of curlew and duck are frequently heard during the night hours of September and October and again in April.

In the winter of 1933 Kuwait enjoyed exceptionally good rains, and many small lakelets were formed which remained for a month or more. During that year my wife and I got quite a lot of duck- and teal-shooting 40 miles south of Kuwait, at a place called Araifjan. My wife also bagged one snipe, a record, I think, for Kuwait. In 1935 winter rains again fell but only a very little, and again we got a little duck-shooting in the same place. On this occasion my wife had the unique experience of being attacked by a couple of hawks, from one of whom she had rescued a shoveller. The two hawks had been fighting over their victim and sheered off when my wife approached them. When they saw her take possession of the bird, they swooped about her head and she had considerable trouble beating them off.

The above are the only two occasions on which duck actually appeared in Kuwait in any numbers during my sojourn there.

Pelican, flamingo, cormorant, oyster catchers, etc., are to be found in the bay of Kuwait (western end) all the year round, the first two in enormous quantities at certain seasons of the year. Probably they come down from the Hamar Lake marshes of Iraq to get a change of diet and fly back again.

On the deserted islands of Warba, Auha, Maschan and Um al Maradin (all appertaining to Kuwait) sea birds of every kind lay and hatch their eggs every spring. I am told the eggs lie so thick at times on Auha island, as to make it almost impossible to walk without crushing some. Many of these eggs (cormorant and seagull especially) are collected by fishermen in late May and early June, boiled hard, brought over to Kuwait and sold to the public. My daughter had a baffling and amusing time on 4th June, 1936, trying to blow some of these eggs for her collection, not knowing that they had been cooked.

Sir Percy Cox, Mr. Cheesman and others visited one or two of these islands immediately before and during World War I, and reported the results of their most interesting investigations to the Bombay Natural History Society and South Kensington Natural History Museum.

When Sir Reginald Spence of the former Society flew through Kuwait on his way to England (on retirement), I suggested that it would be well worth the Society's while to send an expert to sit in Kuwait for a period of six weeks or a month to study bird migration. He heartily endorsed my suggestion and said he hoped to be able to arrange it. I unfortunately heard nothing more of the matter.

Below I give certain extracts from some of my field notes, which may be of interest.

(A) *Sandgrouse* of Kuwait (mostly spotted and pintail).

(1) Migrate northwards from southern climes, over Kuwait in vast numbers, usually from 10th to 30th April.

(2) In 1935 Kuwait had very fine rains and excellent grass, and generally the spring season was very cool. All migrations appeared to be delayed for nearly a month in consequence. This affected other bird migrations also.

(3) Early in May 1935, the normal northward migration of sandgrouse had ceased, but on 4th, 6th, 11th May, when camped

with details of the 'Ajman tribe west of the Dhahar ridge (22 miles from Kuwait) my wife and I saw a considerable number of birds which evidently had remained behind to nest. On 4th and 11th May we actually found sandgrouse nests on the Dhahar ridge (a stony and pebbly ridge some 30 miles long), each containing two to three eggs.

(4) The nests were found mostly on the top of wind-swept mounds (*siyahud*) covered with sparse scrub and various coloured pebbles (*hassu*), and so were wonderfully well camouflaged, the pebbles being like the back feathers of the male and female birds. The eggs, lying in their small shallow cavities, looked exactly like the surrounding pebbles.

(5) One of these nests we saw lay in the open, another under the lee of a small bush a foot high (*'arfaj*). The nests were not lined with anything, being just a round shallow hole 3 inches across and dug in gravelly sand.

(6) One particular nest was found with eggs broken and freshly eaten, obviously by a bird of the shrike family (migrating also with sandgrouse).

According to our Badawin, if a snake sucks birds' eggs, the shells are not damaged in any way, but if a fox, monitor or other bird finds and eats them, they are invariably crushed.

(7) Other eggs which were brought to us by wandering Badawin almost daily, showed that a considerable number of birds had remained behind during migration, to nest and lay.

(8) The egg is shaped like a pigeon's egg, but is slightly larger; in colour the eggs are cream or sandy buff, with different-sized spots all over the egg. These range from dark brown to shadowy mauve. In every case when we found eggs, the mother bird appeared to be of the pintail variety. She ran off her nest as we approached to about 30 yards distance, and sat watching us. She then flew off uttering a curious cry of alarm, quite different from the ordinary sandgrouse call.

Southward Migration.—Two spotted sandgrouse were snared and brought to me on 16th September, 1934. Three others were seen flighting on 19th September, as we were bathing at Shuwaikh.

(B) *Yellow and Grey Wagtails* (*Asfúr and Saláhi*).

Very friendly little things, and in spring especially are always to be found catching flies and insects in the vicinity of the tents, and among the sheep. They are liked by the Badawin, for they generally come with good rains and pasturage and so are looked upon as "luck bringers."

Often in the early morning with my tent open and before I have got up, I have watched these little birds darting backwards and forwards outside in their efforts to catch the common housefly.

(C) *The Shrike* (*Hammámi*).

Several varieties are commonly to be seen round Kuwait and are most interesting to watch. The bird usually keeps his larder in an *'ausaj* bush. This stands some 4 to 4 feet 6 inches in height, and is very thorny. If you examine such bushes carefully you find impaled on the thorns the various animals and insects which the shrike has killed and is "hanging" for his dinner. I have found a lizard, a small snake, a locust, several varieties of small beetle and a large roller beetle all on one bush.

The shrike follows the usual migrating season. I have seen and verified many of these birds in April 1933, April 1934 and April 1935, clearly on the northern migration. On the 25th August 1935, I saw several extra early arrivals of these birds in Kuwait, obviously migrating south. On the same day Dr. S. Mylrea, O.B.E., of the American Mission, and Dr. A. L. Greenway of the British Agency, also saw and verified specimens of this bird. I quote the above as the arrival of this visitor in the hot month of August is quite exceptional for Kuwait.

(D) *Hoopoe* (*Hud-Hud*).

Seen and verified by me in Kuwait on 8th August, 1935, and on 30th August, 1935. I found the bird outside the walls of the town. Dr. S. Mylrea saw a specimen on 10th August in his garden. Like the shrike of the previous paragraph, these birds were probably moving south towards India, but were especially early arrivals.

(E) *Swifts*.

Seen on the 1st September, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1938, and verified. All going south.

(F) *Quail.*

One fell exhausted in my compound on 9th September, 1935 (going south), and I have put up odd ones at Adaliyah when riding in March and April.

(G) *Persian Doves.*

Always seen in large numbers in the end of May and early June (going north), but do not seem to pass through Kuwait on migration south. They are shot and netted in large quantities and are eaten by the local people.

(H) *Swallows.*

These appear in the early days of March (going north) and continue passing through till the end of April. They appear again in much larger quantities in October, when they seem to collect on the telegraph wires in preparation for the long sea journey south. On several occasions when we have been out in camp in the desert in the beginning of March, exhausted birds would come and roost inside our tent, on a rope or cord for hanging clothes on. On one extra cold night one fell off the rope and crept into my daughter's bed for warmth, where we found it dead next morning.

BADAWIN NAMES FOR CERTAIN WILD BIRDS.

'Aqab—Eagle.
Abu Haggab—Black-and-white Crow.
Asfúr—Yellow Wagtail.
Darāya or *Darjalan*—Cream-coloured Courser.
Gharmuk—Flamingo.
Gatta—Sandgrouse.
Gúba—Crested Lark.
Gharráb—Raven.
Hubara—Lesser Bustard (plural *Habari*).
Had-Had or *Hud-Hud*—Hoopoe.
Hammámi—Shrike.
Hammám al barr—Spotted or Persian Doves.
Hurr—Falcon (Saker and Lagger).
Karwan—Stone Curlew or Goo-goo eye.
Kadhéri—Wild Duck.

Murrái—Quail.
Nasr—Vulture.
Qubaisa—Owl.
Rigaiyah or *Riqá'i*—Swallow.
Saláhi—Grey Wagtail.
Shabbuth—Kestrel Hawk.
Sháhín—Peregrine Falcon (Shahin).
Simanab—Redstart.
Wazz or *Bat*—Goose.
Zarzúr—Sparrow, also Blue Jay (Roller).

BIRD TRAPS

There are three very common forms of bird traps for snaring small birds. They are known as:

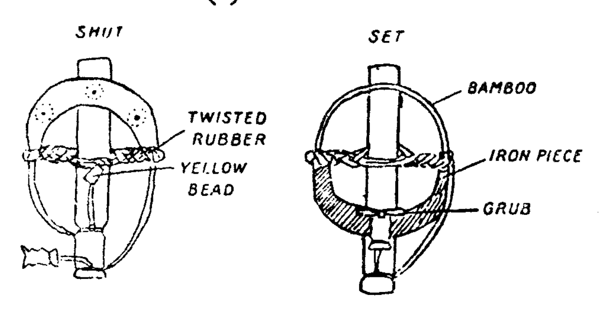
(*a*) *Al Fakh.*
(*b*) *Al Sulába.*
(*c*) *Al Sália.*

They should not be confused with the bird traps described in the chapter entitled "Hawking", which are for snaring large birds.

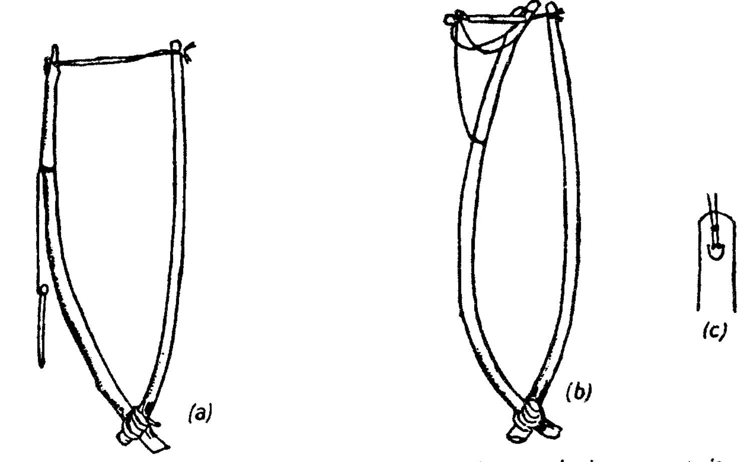
(*a*) The *Fakh* is mostly used for snaring the lesser kestrel hawk, which in some years appears in tens of thousands over Kuwait town during the end of March and April. These birds are caught with a decoy. A captive kestrel is obtained, and tied by both legs to a heavy stone, by means of a strong cord about 2 feet long, in a place near some trees, where the birds are known to roost. All round this bird are placed *fakhs* carefully covered over with a light layer of sand, and pegged to the ground, with only a wriggling grub visible. The hawks, seeing a fellow kestrel on the ground, out of curiosity circle round and round and above it, and eventually settle close to it and are caught in the traps as they peck at the grubs attached to them. The boy trap-owners, who are lying hidden behind a wall or in some shallow pit in the vicinity, then rush out and capture the flapping birds.

The traps are carefully adjusted, so that the bird's legs are never broken, but the trap is just too heavy to enable them to fly away with it, although birds very often drag the peg out of the ground which holds the trap.

(1) AL FAKH

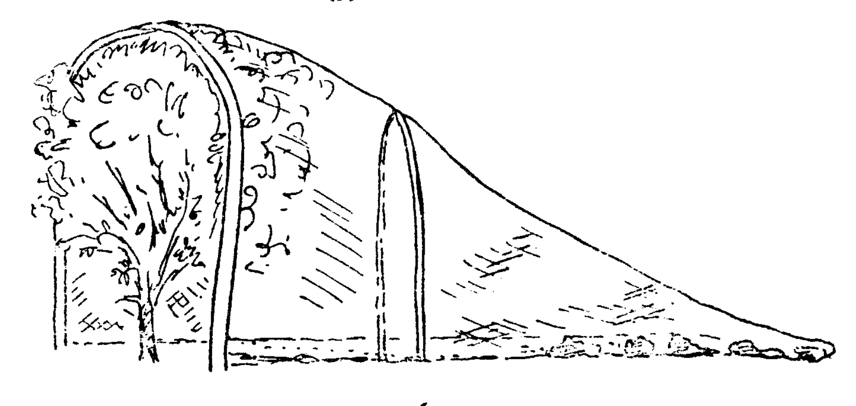


(2) AL SULÁBA



(a) Trap sprung (b) Trap set (c) Position of cord before placing peg in hole

(3) AL SÁLIA



These lesser kestrels are a great joy to the boys of Kuwait, who walk about with them on their wrists imitating the shaikh's falconers.

The Kuwait Oil Company's rig, which has been erected this year (1938) some 35 miles south of Kuwait town, has curiously enough attracted these birds to roost at night on it in thousands.

Shrikes and many other small birds are also caught by means of the *fakh* trap, when placed near a small tree where birds come to settle. The same grub, known locally as a *ghubbiya*, is used, but the trap is only covered with sand and not pegged down.

(*b*) The *Sulába* is usually placed sticking out above artificially prepared bushes erected on the house-tops of Kuwait. As many as six of these traps can be put into one bush. In the small gardens outside the town these traps can also be seen placed against low mud walls, or perhaps in a bush of flowers or other prominent place. They are not baited, but attract merely as a perch in a land where trees and large bushes are scarce. The bird alights on the peg along which the fine string is carefully arranged, and its feet are caught in the string as the peg falls and the two sticks spring apart.

Birds which are trapped are placed in small palm-frond baskets and are sold in the streets and bazaars, the seller earning thereby quite a lot of money.

(*c*) The *Sália*, or net trap, is the third method used in snaring birds, and is used on the small trees which grow in the *haútahs* or private pleasure gardens situate south of the town of Kuwait.

It is composed of a fine fishing net fastened to a curved bamboo frame. This is thrown over a small tree such as a *sidr* or tamarisk, with its sides and end sloping to the ground, where heavy stones are placed on it, giving the appearance of a net tunnel with the end over the tree as entrance.

Small birds go to roost in the tree, and in the early morning are driven down into the net on the ground where they get entangled and are easily picked out.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Wild Animals

The common wild animals which are to be found in Arabia as a whole are as follows, and I have marked with an asterisk those which are to be found in Kuwait and North-East Arabia.

(1) Cheeta—Badawin name *Fahada.**
(2) Wild Cat—Badawin name *Hirr.**
(3) Lynx or Catalan—Badawin name *'Itfah** (very rare. No difference is apparently made between the two).
(4) Badger—Badawin name *Dhrambúl* (described as smelling very unpleasantly. Found especially in Summán region near Safa).
(5) Porcupine—Badawin name *Nís.* Edible, common in Summán region near Safa.
(6) Hedgehog—Badawin name *Qumfidh* (edible).*
(7) Panther—Badawin name *Fahad* or *Nimr* (very rare).
(8) Wolf—Badawin name *Dhíb.**
(9) Fox—Badawin name *Hasni** (eaten by wilder Badawin).
(10) Jackal—Badawin name *Wáwi* (found in Hasa round Hufuf and Qatif, not in Kuwait).
(11) Hyena—Badawin name *Dhaba'a.**
(13) Jerboa—Badawin name *Jarbu'* or Gaurti.*
(13) Jerboa, long-eared variety—Badawin name *Sharáthi.*
(14) Snub-nosed edible monitor—*Dhub.**
(15) Snake-nosed poisonous monitor—*Wurral.**

ANTELOPE, GAZELLE, ETC.

Oryx—*Wudhaihi*, found in the Nufudh North of Hail and in Southern Arabia, mostly on the borders of Rub' al Kháli.

Gazelle—*Dhabi* or *Ghazal* is the name used collectively. According to the local Badawin, and I can support this by my own experience of some fifteen years, there are three distinct varieties in North-East Arabia.

(*a*) *Rhim*—This is the biggest and most handsome of the gazelles, and is said to be the best eating. It is sandy-red in colour with white flanks, hind parts and belly: the face is white except for a central

band of sandy red which merges into a blackish nose. Seen in the distance the animal looks white.

(*b*) *'Idmi*—This is a smaller type than the above, with brown colouring and less white on the flanks. Belly white.

(*c*) *'Afri*—This is the smallest of all the gazelles, brownish in colour, with very little white on the under part.

The length of the horns does not appear to differ much in the various species.

Ostrich—*Na'am*—Still to be seen though rare in the Nufudh desert between Hail and Jauf. I have not heard of it anywhere else, though quite unconfirmed reports say that it is found also in Rub' al Kháli.

Wild Goat—*Wa'al*—Hijaz, Asir and Yaman mountains. This is presumably the Arabian Ibex, but has to be verified.

Oman Wild Goat or *Thar* of Dr. Jayakar—*Sakhal Wahshi*, found in Oman mountains and Jabal Akhdar behind Dubai and Sharjah on Trucial Coast of the Persian Gulf.

WILD ANIMAL LIFE IN THE DESERT

The desert round about Kuwait and North Hasa teems with wild animal and insect life of every description, although in recent years, and with the advent of the motor car, animals valued for food by the Badawin, such as gazelle, have been having a very poor time of it, and are becoming scarcer every year. I have already touched in another chapter on bird life generally. I propose giving here only a few short notes extracted from my field diaries on such animals as monitor lizards, beetles, snakes and insects, including grasshoppers, all of which will, I think, be found of interest. I should have liked to give for sportsmen further detailed descriptions of the many gazelle (*Dhabi*, *Ghazal*) which range over the Gara's and Dibdibba regions of the Kuwait hinterland in winter and spring, but neither time nor space permits.

Nor can I deal with the wild cat (*Hirr*), a specimen of which my wife sent to the London Zoo in 1933, nor the Arabian Wolf (*Dhib*) which roams during winter all over the coastal regions south of Kuwait.

THE WURRAL OR SNAKE-HEADED MONITOR

This grows to about 3½ feet. It has a long forked black tongue which it protrudes like a snake. It is very fierce, and if cornered

will rush at man, emitting a fierce hissing sound like a cobra. It can move very fast when in flight. It is the great enemy of the dhub lizard, which it attacks at sight, and three times out of four defeats and kills it after a battle of giants.

The wurral's bite is said by all the Badawins to be poisonous, but it only occasionally kills a human being. Its bite causes great pain, and a person bitten gets no relief "either from shade or sun" (to use a Badawin expression). The wurral is considered unclean and is not eaten, it is rather preserved because it rids the neighbourhood of snakes. The wurral feeds on grass (*'ashib*), snakes and insects, and like the dhub is very fond of locusts.

In 1933, during the flight of a swarm of locusts west of Jahrah near Al Atraf, I saw five wurral and three dhubs, all full sized, madly rushing about and jumping into the air catching the flying insects. I was in a car with my wife, and we stopped and watched them for twenty minutes, at a distance of less than fifty yards. In their excitement they forgot all about fear of the car and human beings.

The wurral is sandy coloured and has a long, powerful but smooth tail, salmon coloured but verging into scarlet near the tip. Round the tail is a series of dark rings. It has a cream belly, and possesses no scales.

After the dhub, the wurral's chief enemy is the snake, non-poisonous or poisonous, which it eats. If bitten by a poisonous snake, it is said straightway to go off to the *ramrám* bush, and roll itself well in the bush and eat some of the leaves. This is said by the Badawin to act as an antidote to the snake's poison. In any case, the wurral apparently comes to no harm if bitten by the most poisonous of snakes. From watching the wurral's methods and its ability to escape the consequences of the snake's poison by eating and rolling in the *ramrám* bush, the Badawin has learned to value the *ramrám* as an anti-snake medicine, apparently with satisfactory results. The *ramrám* is the *Heliotropium cignosum* of the botanist.

THE DHUB, OR SPINE-TAILED MONITOR

This interesting lizard is known by its snub-nosed head, and its massive tail covered with horny spikes, which forms its main defensive weapon.

It is found over the whole of North-Eastern Arabia, and prefers hard gravelly ground to loose sand. It lives in a hole, anything up to 4 feet in depth, which it excavates in spiral fashion. It is a common sight to see this animal basking in the summer sun close to its hole, and silently diving into its recess on the approach of danger. It disappears entirely during the winter months and reappears during the late spring and summer months, so it would seem to hibernate. It grows to a length of approximately 3 feet, and is very fierce.

Its greatest enemy is the wurral, or snake-headed monitor. The dhub has an ordinary-shaped tongue, and is armed with a row of vicious-looking sharp teeth, but its principal weapon of defence is its tail.

It has long, sharp claws and a white stomach, and hisses loudly when angry. When it first appears in spring, after hibernation, it is brilliant yellow-ochre in colour, and as summer arrives it develops a grey-green tint with pale yellow bands across its back. Rings of the same pale yellow go round its tail between rows of spikes.

Its name is not to be confused with *dáb*, the Badawin name for snake, or with *dhabi*, a gazelle.

The dhub lays between fifty and sixty eggs at a time in the sand, and covers them up. When the young are about to hatch, the mother is said to come back again and eat them all up except three, which she places on her back—one on her head, one on the middle of her back and one on her tail. This curious story is vouched for by the Badawin, but I have so far failed to find a dhub lizard with young, and cannot verify the statement.

The dhub will eat a certain amount of grass, but its natural food is obviously grasshoppers and other insects. It certainly devours voraciously any locusts that it comes across. All Badawin consider it fit for food.

Throughout Arabia there is a saying that the dhub is held in special sanctity by the 'Anizah tribe. Certain it is that no member of that tribe will kill, much less eat, this lizard.

Hence when wanting to annoy or anger an 'Anizah tribesman, rival Badawin will say that the dhub is his ancestor (*Al dhub jidd al 'Anuz*). This jibe ṛefers to the story that an 'Anizah ancestor was

turned into a dhub by the Prophet. The true reason for the sanctity of the dhub is obscure.

AL KHASWI

Al Khaswi is a small lizard delicately built; when full grown does not exceed 7 inches in length. It is commonly met everywhere in the desert of North-East Arabia, and is very fast. It may be seen rushing about at lightning speed from one *'arfaj* bush to another, switching its long thin tail from side to side. It has a fine skin, spotted on the back, and is greyish white in colour.

Another variety of this lizard has lines along its back, and is pale salmon pink in colour under the tail. Among the Shammar Badawin the same lizard is known under the name of *Al Sulaimaniyah.*

ROLLER BEETLE

The desert is full of roller beetles, especially where Badawin camps exist. This beetle is locally known as *Abu Jalla* (Father of camel manure) or Abu Ja'al.*

It usually appears in spring, and is to be seen everywhere, rolling fresh bits of manure (camel, horse, donkey or even goat) into a perfect ball, and carting it off backwards at an amazing and feverish pace. When the beetle comes to a nice soft spot, it starts digging a sloping hole in mad fashion, sufficiently large to take its manure ball. When the hole is ready it rolls the ball down the slope of the hole, where it comes to rest 8 to 10 inches from the entrance. The digging is done with the beetle's strong fore-feet, and to get earth out it turns round and shovels out earth with head and snout. It is extremely fussy, and works as if life depended on getting the hole dug in a minimum of time. When rolling the ball along, the beetle's hind quarters and legs are cocked up against the ball and guide the latter in the proper direction, the beetle's strong head and claws which are on the ground do the pushing. The roller beetle always moves backwards at an amazing pace if ground is smooth.

It usually has several small fly-parasites on its back, which appear to have their abode in the join between head and body.

* Roller beetle appeared in 1937 on February 19th and just after good rain. Clearly they come out of the ground where they hibernate for six months.

The manure ball, so carefully placed underground and shut in, is used by the female to lay her eggs in, so that when her progeny hatch they have the manure ball to feed on till they can shift for themselves.

SNAKES

In North-East Arabia, and especially in the coastal regions south of Kuwait and North Hasa, a large number of snakes are to be found. Most of these would appear to be of the non-poisonous variety, and need little comment.

Of the poisonous snakes the following have been killed by myself or by Badawin in my service:

(*a*) The Cobra.
(*b*) The Horned Viper (*Cerastes cornutus*).
(*c*) The Saw-scaled Viper (*Echis coloratus*).

A specimen of (*b*), Horned Viper, killed in my own house in Kuwait (obviously introduced with some brushwood from the desert) was sent to the Bombay Natural History Society on 16th August, 1934, and was duly verified.

My wife also ran over a horned viper in her car near Adaliyah, 3 miles from Kuwait, on 1st June, 1936. She reported that she watched the snake move before it was run over, and noticed that it moved slowly across the road in "crab"-like fashion (sideways), always keeping its S-like coil. Arabs said afterwards that this is a feature of the horned viper.*

A specimen of (*c*), Saw-scaled Viper, was sent by me to the Bombay Natural History Society on 19th June, 1934, and was also verified.

Two more specimens of (*c*) were killed near my tent at Abrag Khaitan on 3rd June, 1936.

As regards the Cobra (*a*) above. For some time I had heard tales from the Badawin of a snake called a *hanish*, which answered fairly well to the description of a cobra, but I was sceptical, and did not believe they existed in Arabia. I, however, killed two undoubted cobras at Araifjan, 35 miles south of Kuwait on the coast on 17th April, 1935. On measurement, I found one to be 3 feet 6 inches long, and the other 4 feet. Both had the well-known hood of the Indian

* I myself killed a horned viper on 8th February, 1938, when out riding near Dasma, south of Kuwait.

species, but they were to my mind smaller, and had no "spectacle marks" that I could see.

In colour the snakes were sandy, with faint markings all down the back.

The most noticeable feature of the snakes was the coarse-looking scales down the whole length of the body and especially the back, so typical of the Indian cobra, while the stomach was white, tending to yellow on the sides.

The eyes were gold-yellow, with darker spot in the centre. In both cases the snakes showed *anger*.

NOTE.—The Badawin with me insisted on burying the cobras where we had killed them, in two long shallow graves. They then placed seven white seashells along the length of each grave, as "blood compensation" they said, and to prevent the snake's mate trying to search us out and take vengeance. They said that white pebbles or camel droppings would be equally efficacious.

I remember coming across a very interesting specimen of a snake when my wife and I were dining one summer night (28th May, 1934) on the seashore, 12 miles south of Kuwait, with Shaikh Hamad al Mubarak. It was brought to us dead by some servants, who said it had been killed making its way toward the kitchen fire. They had crushed its head somewhat, but the body was in perfect condition. The following is a description taken from my diary:

Length 28 inches, colour sandy-yellow with dark blotches down the centre of the back, and slight blue markings above the dark ones. The head had a distinct dark marking, and at the back of the head on each side were two distinct glands about the size of a cobnut (obviously poison glands).

Although the head was slightly damaged one fang was visible. The snake was skinned and sent to the Bombay Natural History Society for identification on 31st May, 1934, by my wife, and they decided that it was a Saw-scaled Viper, (*c*) above. A feature of the snake was its "rasp"-like looking scales. They were so stiff and coarse as to resemble a file, such as is used to rasp horses' hoofs when shoeing.

On 18th December, 1934, a small snake was found in the Agency at Kuwait. It was sent to Bombay for identification, and turned out to be a non-poisonous variety called *Zameni ventrimaculatus* (vide the Bombay Natural History Society's letter D/15th January, 1935).

The Arab of Kuwait calls a snake *haiya*, and the Badawin calls the same thing a *dáb*. Both words denote any kind of snake.

The local Badawin's name for his special varieties are as under. (The descriptions are his.)

(*a*) *Hanísh*—A snake, light brownish to sandy colour, with dark spots down back, usually about 4 feet long, very bold, gets angry and attacks man. (The cobra variety with and without hood.)

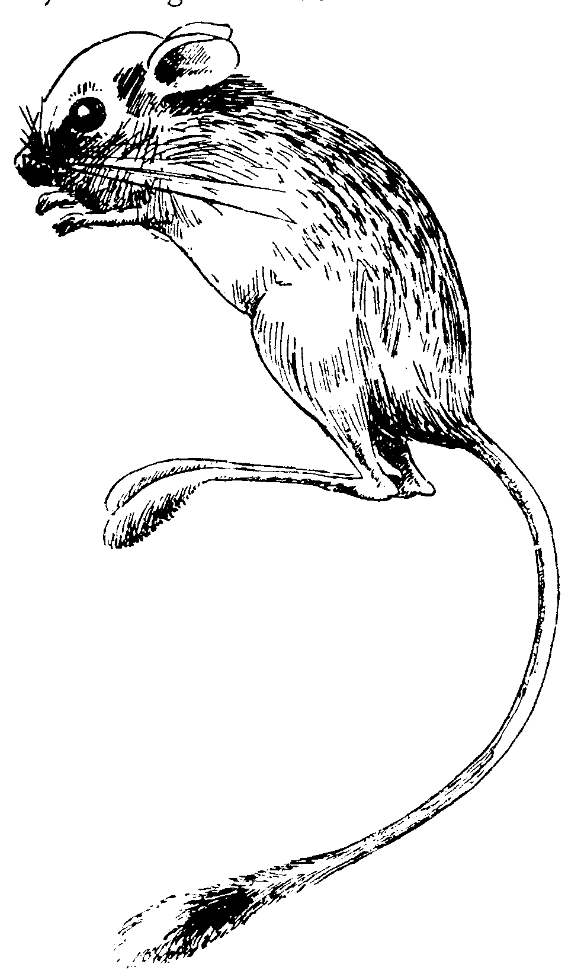
(*b*) *Hám*—Black snake, 3 to 5 feet long, moves fast. (Black Cobra?)

(*c*) *Haiya*—Every form of viper.

(*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) Very poisonous, according to the Badawin.

(*d*) *Zarág*—A sandy-coloured snake, with dark lines down its whole length, 2½ to 3 feet long. It moves fast in straight line, does not zig-zag.

Non-poisonous, according to Badawin.



GAURTI or JARBU' (Short-eared)
Found dead of cold 31.1.37 at Um Rijm, Kuwait

CHAPTER XXXVII

Boat Building

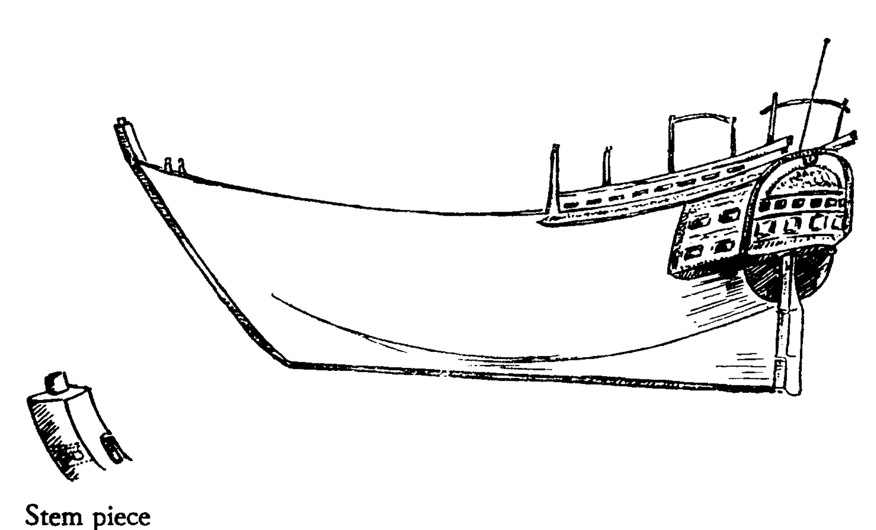
Kuwait is famed for its boat building, and quite the best boats in the Gulf are built there. The main reason for this is that in the dry climate of Kuwait the wood of which boats are built seasons much better than in other localities in the Gulf. A considerable change has been introduced in Kuwait in the types of boats built in the last thirty-five years.

For examples of the different kinds of boats in use with the peculiar characteristics of each, see following sketches.

Baghala

Formerly the largest sea-going vessels were all of the *baghala* or frigate type, with square stern and rear windows, while the *búm* type was confined to medium-sized and small vessels.

BAGHALA

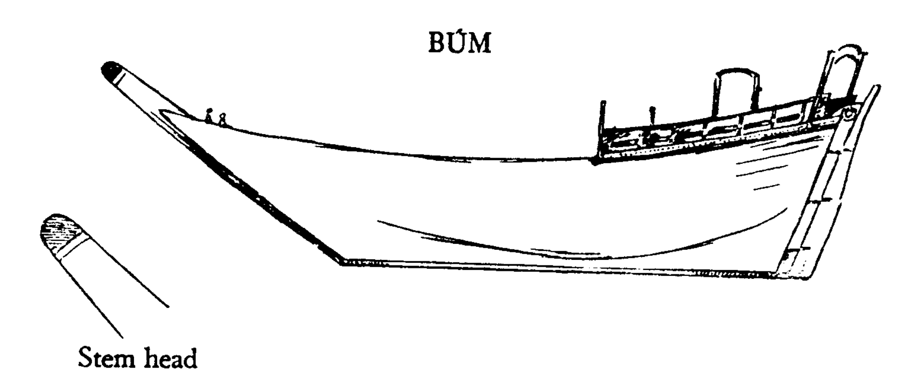


Stem piece

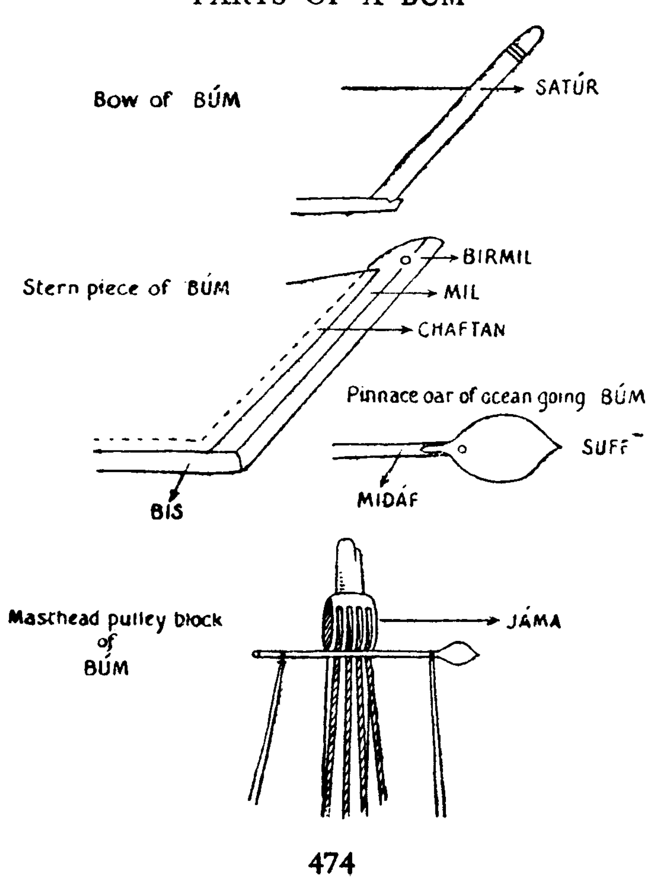
Peculiarity of *Baghala*: Stem head square, with circular centre piece. Notch on right side of stem piece to take rope.

Búm

The largest boats built in Kuwait are now, however, all without exception *búms*. It is claimed for the *búm* that it has better cargo space than the *baghala*, and that with its pointed stern it is a faster



Peculiarity of *Búm*: Stem head thin flat piece of wood with nose painted black with white band below it. Large cargo capacity. Good sea boat.

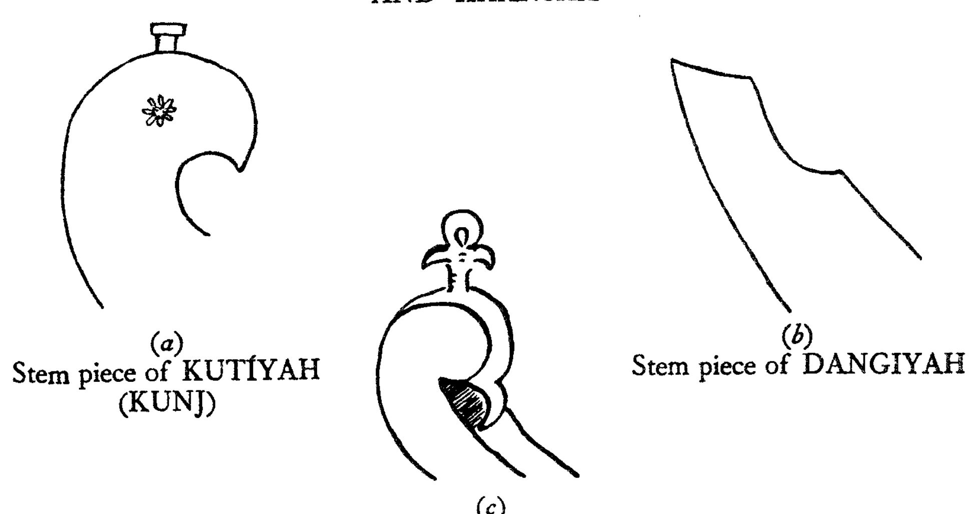


and better sea-boat, particularly in a following sea. It is of various sizes, from the harbour lighter of Kuwait to a ship of over three hundred tons' carrying capacity. It usually has two masts, but some of the largest have three. Its stem head is long and straight, with end painted black with a white ring.

Kutíyah and Dangiyah

Two Indian-built boats known in Arabic as the *kutíyah* and the *dangiyah* very closely resemble the *baghala* and the *búm* respectively. The *kutíyah*, which is fairly common in Kuwait, is in all respects similar to the *baghala*, excepting that the stem head has a peculiar device, rather like a bird's head with the beak pointing back, instead of the *baghala's* plain knob.

DISTINCTIVE STEM PIECES OF KUTIYAH, DANGIYAH AND KHANSHA



(*a*) Stem piece of KUTÍYAH (KUNJ)

(*b*) Stem piece of DANGIYAH

(*c*) Stem piece of KHANSHA (SUR) see photo, page 481.

The *dangiyah*, which is not so common, is exactly like a *búm*, except for its stem head, which is more like that of a *shu'ai.*

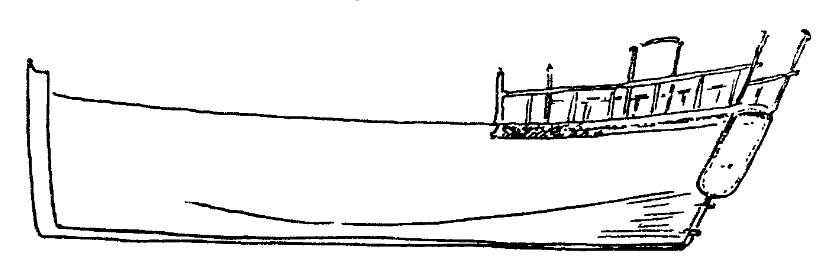
Balam

The sea-going *balam* from the Shatt al 'Arab, or to give its full name *balam nasári* as opposed to *balam ashari* of Basra, also resembles a small *búm*, except that its stem head is cut off short, and it usually looks badly built and badly rigged. (See sketch, page 480).

Jalibút

The *Jalibút*, or *Jalī* as it is sometimes called, is a square-sterned boat of somewhat European appearance. Its name is commonly supposed to be merely the English "Jolly Boat", but I doubt very much if this is really the case. To start with, what is the derivation of our "Jolly Boat"? Is it not probable that both the English and Arabic names are derived from "Gallevat" or "Gellywatte", the name of a shallow draught war-boat, which continued to be in use on the west coast of India down to the latter half of the eighteenth century, and which in turn almost certainly comes from the Portuguese "Galeota" —c.f. Galley.

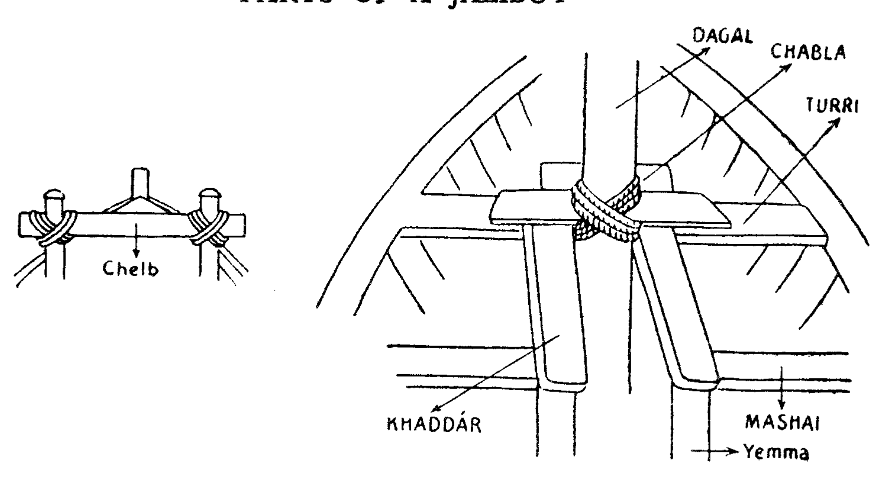
JALIBÚT



Peculiarity of *Jalibút*:—

1. Straight up and down bow.
2. No upright stern piece to which rudder is hinged.
3. Metal rings are inserted into body of stern to take the rudder, in exact contradistinction to *Sambúq* and *Shu'ai*.

PARTS OF A JALIBÚT



It is interesting to note that, though square-sterned like the *sambúq* and *shu'ai*, there is this difference, that in the case of the *sambúq* and *shu'ai* there is an outside upright beam (I do not know its technical name) on to which the rudder is hinged, and in the case of the *jalibút* there is not.

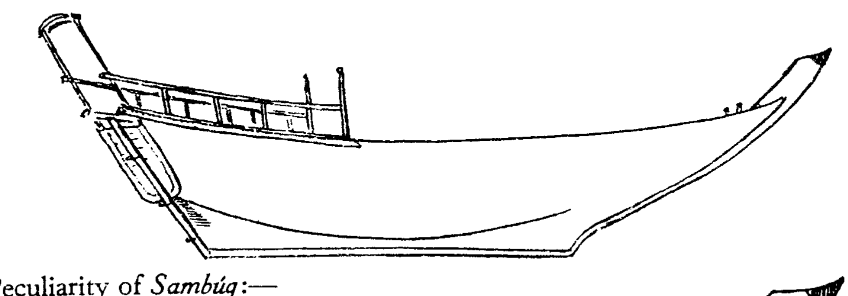
Mashúwah

According to some writers the *mashúwah* is given as a special type of boat. If this is correct I do not know what the difference between a *mashúwah* and *jalibút* is: I have certainly heard the same boat spoken of by both names by a man who ought to know. Possibly mashúwah is a more or less vague term like our "boat".

Sambúq

Of other boats used the *sambúq* is pre-eminently the pearling boat of the Gulf. In fact it is rarely used for other purposes.

SAMBÚQ (PEARLING BOAT)



Peculiarity of *Sambúq*:—

1. Shape of bow.
2. Shape of stern and keel.
3. Stern piece for attaching rudder runs from top to bottom (unlike *Jalibút*).

Stem piece

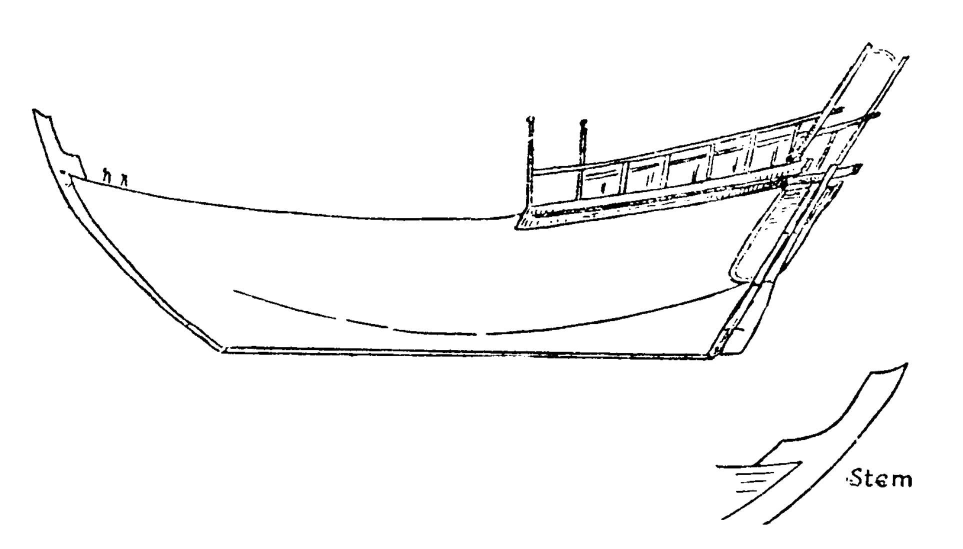
Its square stern and short keel are said to make it more suitable for the quick and frequent pulling round with oars that is required at the pearl banks, than a boat of the *búm* type, which is hardly ever seen there except as a dealer's boat. The *sambúq* has two masts and is usually decked all over. Its stem head is always as per illustration.

Shu'ai

The *shu'ai* is very similar, except that it is usually smaller than the

sambúq. The real difference, however, is in the stem head, as can be seen from the illustration. This is always the same in every *shu'ai*. It lacks the carving on the stern which characterises the *sambúq*.

SHU'AI



Peculiarity of *Shu'ai*:—

1. Shape of stem.
2. Stern attachment of rudder similar to *Sambúq*.

The *shu'ai* is a very common boat in Kuwait. It is used for fishing and for pearl diving.

Batíl

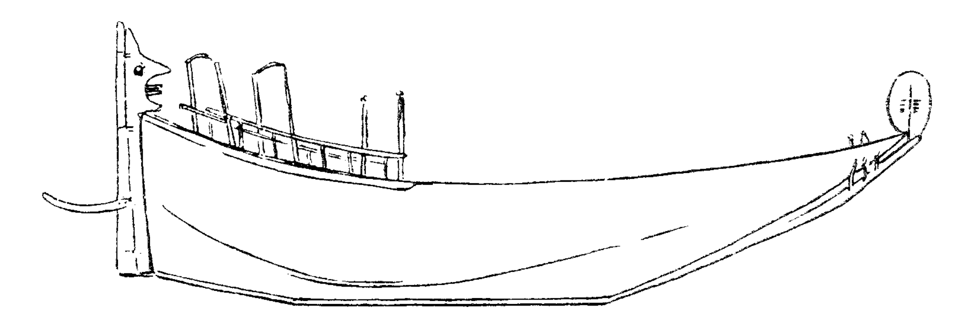
A very peculiar and distinctive type of boat now rarely seen at Kuwait is the *batíl*.* Actually the only one in use is that of the "commodore" of the Pearling Fleet. It is said to be a very fast type of boat, and was rather popular amongst pirates of olden days.

Its peculiar fiddle-headed bow and high sternboard carved with a peculiar horse-headed device, which is always the same, make it conspicuous amongst all other types of craft. It is reliably stated that only two other *batíls* exist in the Persian Gulf—one at Linga and one at Dabai, but I cannot definitely vouch for this statement. The *batíl*

* The Kuwait *batíl*, I regret to say, was finally converted into a fast-sailing *búm* on 3rd May, 1937, both bow and stern being altered to suit new conditions.

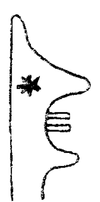
is undoubtedly dying out as its cargo capacity makes it uneconomic to run.

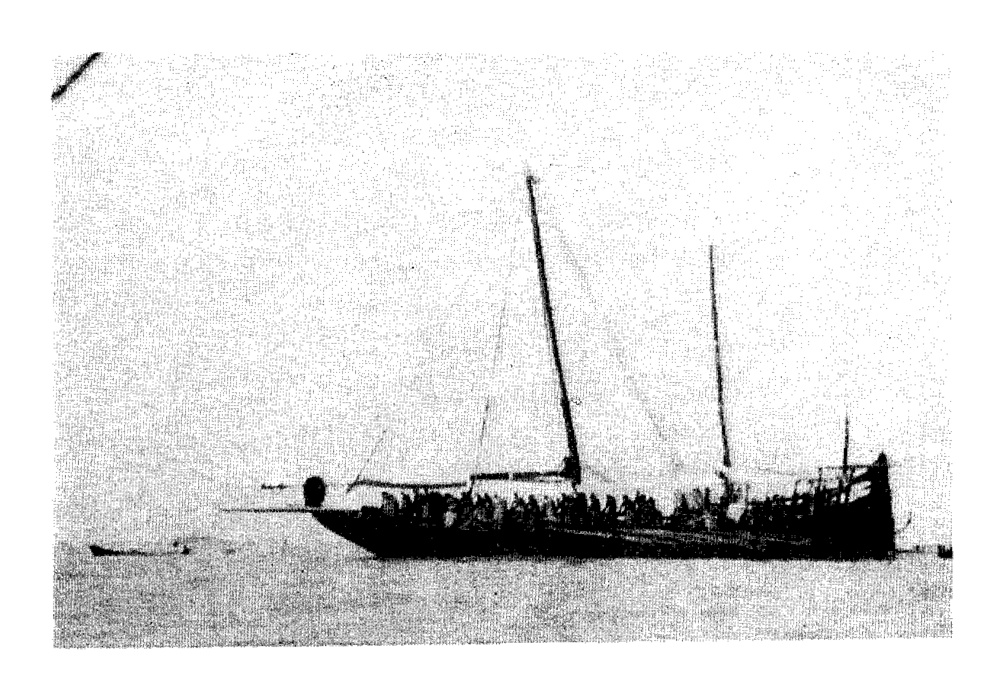
BATÍL



Peculiarity of *Batíl*:—

1. Fiddle-shaped bow-piece.
2. Stern piece like horse's head with tail.
3. Fine lines, very speedy.





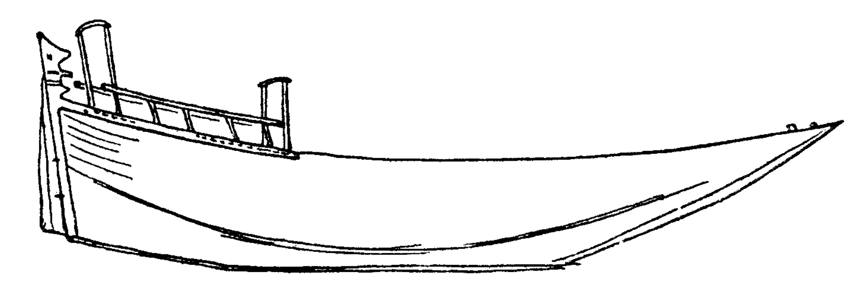
AL BATÍL

Belonging to the Admiral of the Kuwait pearling fleet

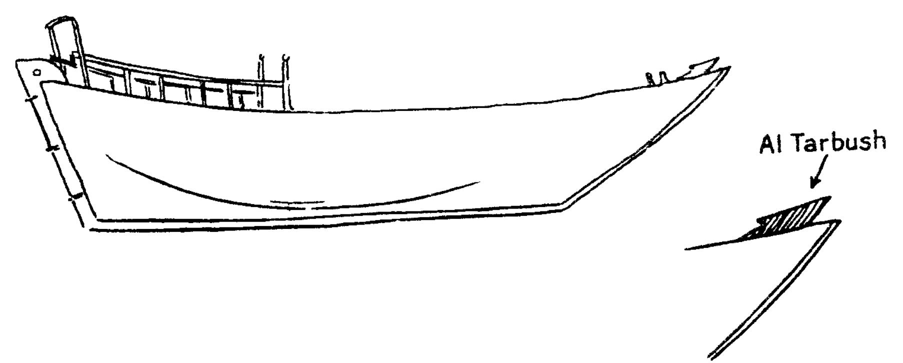
Baqarah

Somewhat similar is the *baqarah*, except that in place of the fiddle-head it has a very sharp-pointed clipper bow. There is not a single *baqarah* in Kuwait itself, and only one in Failaka.

BAQARAH



BALAM NASÁRI



Peculiarity: Stem head cut off short, otherwise like small, badly built *Búm.*

No other types deserve detailed mention.

Zarúqah.—The *Zarúqah* is said to be a small one-masted *baqarah*, but I have never met one in real life, and cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement.

Badan.—The *badan* also I have never seen, as it does not exist up this end of the Gulf. It is said to be the same as a small *baqarah*, except that it is flat bottomed.

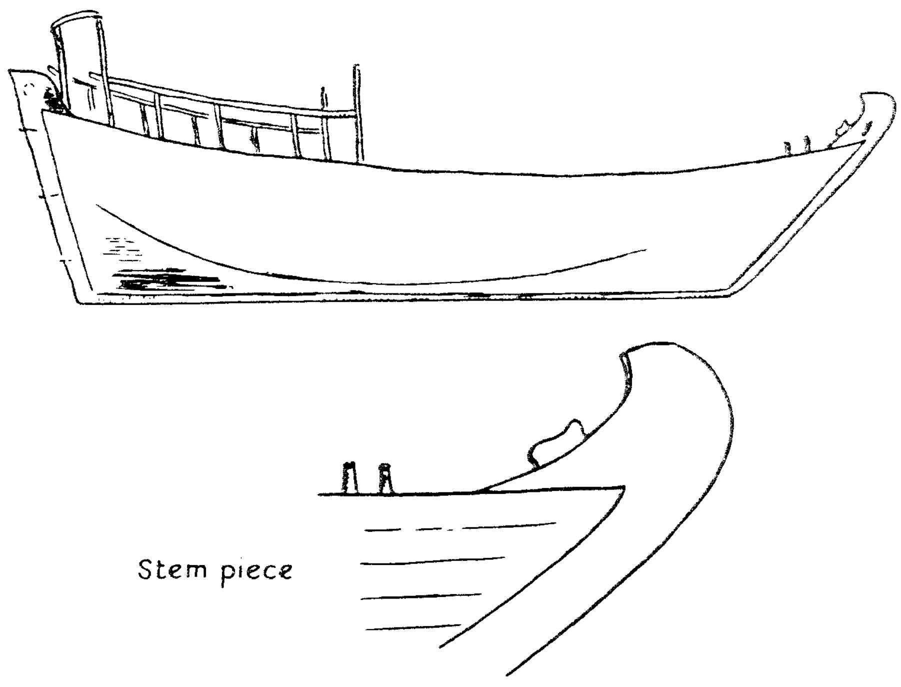
Húri.—The *húri* is the little dugout often carried by Arab vessels.

Huwairiyah.—No description of Gulf boats would be complete without mentioning the *huwairiyah*, which is probably one of the

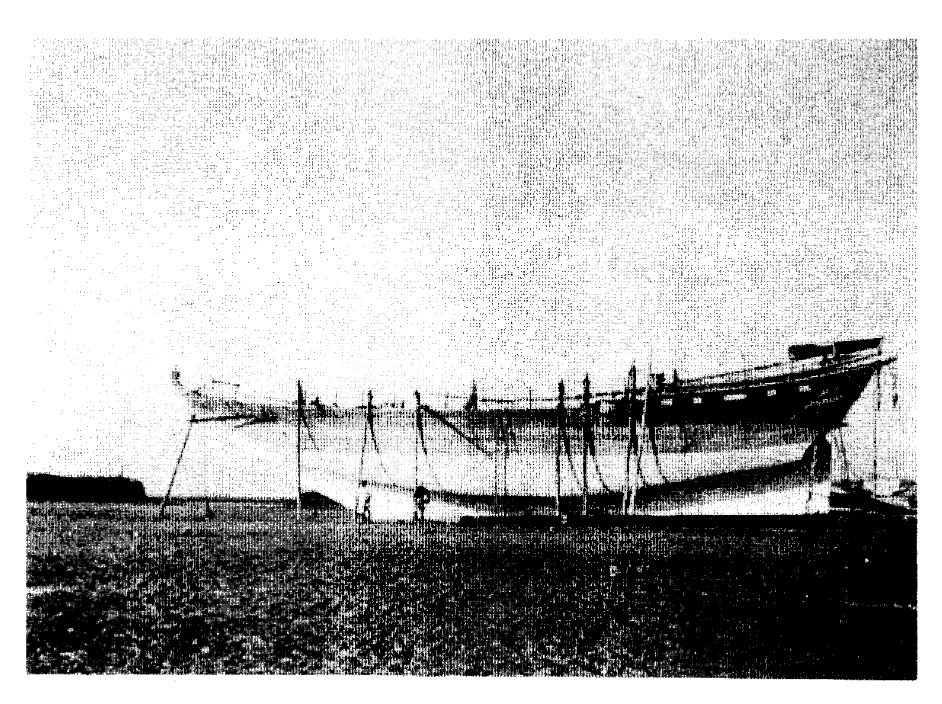


A STREET IN KUWAIT

BUTAIRA

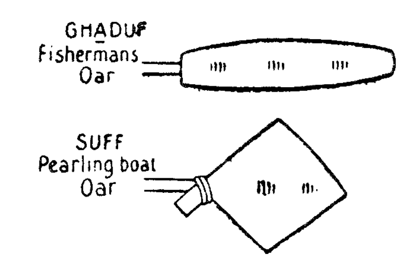


Peculiarity of *Butaira*: High freeboard, broad beam, slow sailing.

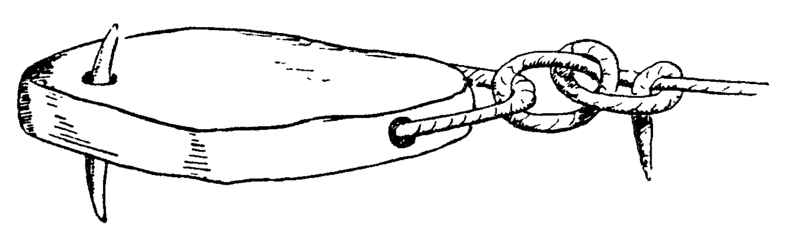


A KHANSHA IN KUWAIT HARBOUR

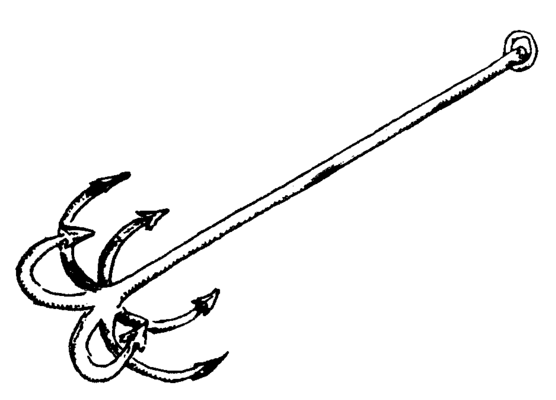
TYPES OF OAR



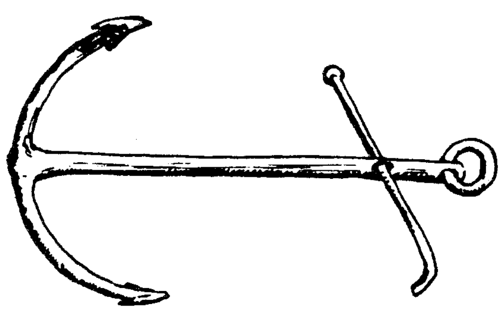
TYPES OF ANCHOR USED BY ARAB CRAFT



(*a*) SINN (tooth) for use on rocky bottoms



(*b*) 'ANGAR (with 4 or 6 prongs)
Pearling boat's anchor
A light and easily handled one



(*c*) BAWARA
(Heavy anchor for sandy or mud bottoms)

most primitive boats in the world. It is made entirely of date-palm stalks (*sa'af*) tied together with string. In form it follows the lines of an ordinary boat, and is pointed at both ends. It is usually about 10 feet long and carries one, or sometimes two men.

One frequently hears people—particularly at Bushire and Ganavah—talking about *muhailahs*, apparently as a general name for Persian or Arab craft. This is quite wrong. The *muhailah* is a very distinctive type of river craft. It is some 80 feet long, with a beam nearly one-third of its length. It is built with a tremendous sheer, giving the midship portion a freeboard of barely a foot, while the gunwale at bow and stern is 10 to 12 feet above the water.

Dhow.—I have asked many Arabs what a "dhow" is, but none of them have heard of it at all.

The Shaikh of Kuwait tells me that in some old historical records of Kuwait, he found the word "dhow" used once, when the Shaikh of the Bani Ka'ab (lower Arabistan) invaded Kuwait by sea in an effort to carry off Mariam, the famous daughter of the then reigning Shaikh of Kuwait, 'Abdullah al Subah (1762–1812). The invading forces are said to have embarked in five great "dhows".

Apart from this the shaikh knows of no mention of the name in Arab history. They were possibly *muhailahs*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Pearl Diving

The finest pearls in the world come without doubt from the Persian Gulf, and roughly some five thousand sailing boats are employed annually in the quest of the pearl oyster. The official pearl diving season, known as the *Ghaus*, lasts approximately from 15th May to 15th September, though there is an amateur season of three weeks to a month immediately before and after the official season, known locally as the *Khanchiyah* and *Raddah* respectively.

The main pearling fleets are formed from the states of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the Trucial Coast and to a lesser degree Qatif and Jubail. A few ships also work from the Persian shore.

Prior to World War I, the pearl industry of the Gulf was in a very flourishing condition and as many as 700 boats went to sea each year from Kuwait alone, with crews totalling 10,000 to 15,000 men, but the long economic depression subsequent to World War I, together with the introduction into the world of the culture-pearl of Japan, has played havoc with the industry. To-day (1937) there are at last signs of improvement well reflected in the marked recovery of the local boat-building trade, and there are hopes that a permanent revival of the industry is at last in sight.

It has been said by experts, notably by my friend Victor Rosenthal of Paris, that the Japanese culture-pearl can never really oust the real pearl of the Persian Gulf, firstly because the culture-pearl can never compare with the best rose-pink pearl of the Gulf, and its manufacturers cannot as yet control colour, and secondly because the culture-pearl is at best like silver plate compared to the solid silver of natural pearls. When people are hard up, as they are in the world to-day, men and women will be content with a plated or second-class article, but as soon as they can afford it they will insist on having solid silver once more.

Another factor which has tended to harm the pearl-markets of the

world has been the advent of the motor car. A girl to-day asks for a car, where formerly she craved a pearl necklace. Cars are more useful than jewellery, but I think that the supply of cars has nearly reached saturation point in Europe and there are signs that young women are beginning to want pearls again as well as motor cars. "Give me a car first, and afterwards a pearl necklace", is the cry to-day.

There is, I suppose, no harder life in the world than diving for pearls in the Persian Gulf. Firstly, diving suits are not allowed, as being unfair; secondly, the season lasts during the four hottest months of the year, when there is mostly a dead calm, and the sun temperature is fierce; thirdly, divers, to enable them to keep under water for any length of time, must take a minimum of nourishment—their food is confined to a little water and a small ration of rice and dates; fourthly, salt water, exposure to sun, and lack of fresh water to bathe in after diving all day, tend to produce sores and skin troubles; fifthly, scurvy almost invariably attacks a percentage of the divers; sixthly, there is the ever-present danger of sharks, stinging rays, and last but not least, the stinging jelly fish which is dreaded far more than shark, for its agony lasts for many hours, the effect being not unlike a burn with a red-hot iron.

To see the lean and worn-out divers return home successful from the dive is a pathetic sight, but to see the unsuccessful boat arrive is a tragedy. Not only does it mean that four months of the hardest labour imaginable have gone unrewarded, but for the "diver" and "hauler" it signifies getting further into debt with the captain or owner of the boat, who by immemorial custom is entitled to deduct part cost of sails, ropes, food, water and general expenses of fitting out the boat, as well as depreciation, from his crew's earnings

FITTING OUT A PEARLING BOAT

As the time for the diving season draws near, the *Naukhuda*, or captain of a pearling boat, starts getting his boat's crew together. These are already registered in his books from the previous year, and as each sailor is more or less in debt to him he cannot refuse to turn up. The crew collected, the *naukhuda* sets them to oiling the upper hull with evil-smelling shark-oil, and painting the under-water portion of the boat white, with a preparation of lime and sheep's fat

—an excellent anti-fouling mixture. No barnacles will now touch the hull. After that the crew haul the boat down from dry land, where it has wintered, with much drum-beating, song and chant. The boat is run down into the water by means of a capstan and steel hawser. The hawser passes round her stern, slides through the ring of a well-fixed anchor and back again to the capstan.

The boat is now fitted out with food, dates, rice, etc., and her large wooden water-tanks (*funtas*) are cleverly put on board and filled with drinking water.

All is now ready, and the crew, of forty to sixty men, are allowed home to bid a final farewell to parents, wives and families. As the diver is a poor man and must give his family something to live on during his absence the *naukhuda* now advances him a sum of about Rs.35, called *salaf*, or "the borrowed sum". The law of the land compels the *naukhuda* to make this advance, and each year the amount of the *salaf* is fixed by the shaikh. On return from the dive four months later, whether the catch has been good or bad, the crew must be given a second payment called *tisqám*. This sum, like the first, is intended to enable a man to maintain wife and family during the coming months. Incidentally it binds the diver to his *naukhuda* for the next season's dive. The diver for his part, when taking the money, agrees in writing to come up for the dive the following year.

It will be seen from the above that divers are to a certain extent encouraged to get into debt to their captains, also that such debt is bound to increase unless there is a good catch, when divers' debts are paid off from their share of the sale price of the pearls.

In spite of the system, divers are a happy-go-lucky, carefree lot of men, and their debts, which are not as bad as many writers have painted, worry them little. A diver of course gets no pay for his work, but both diver and hauler get a share each of the money realised from the sale of pearls, only the *naukhuda* is allowed two shares.

The boat, which may be a *sambúq*, *shu'ai* or *batíl* (see Chapter XXXVII and Plates) now puts to sea and travels down the coast of Arabia to a point some 100 miles south of Kuwait, where the banks are known to be good and the water is not too deep. Here the fleet of several hundred boats is joined by the Pearl Fleet Admiral in his *batíl*, and operations commence.

DIVING

The crew is now divided into haulers or *siyáb* (plural of *saib*) and divers, or *ghawáwis* (plural of *ghawwás*). The former are responsible for letting the divers down to the bottom of the sea, and the latter do the actual diving and search for the oysters.

Actually each diver has a heavy flat stone, which he stands on as he descends, and which is attached by a rope to the side of the pearling boat. This takes him down to the bottom of the sea in the shortest possible time and prevents his getting prematurely exhausted. The *saib* then hauls up the rope and stone, while the diver swims up to the surface when it is time to breathe.

To prevent water entering his nostrils when going down, the diver wears a small wooden clip on his nose. He fixes a basket to his chest, and passes the supporting loops round his neck, arming himself also with a small knife to cut the oyster away from the rocky bottom, and a small leather protection for his fingers.

Normally the diver wears only a small loin cloth, but should the dreaded stinging jelly-fish be about he will wear a crudely made black local bathing suit, which covers head, hands and feet, as well as body, leaving eyeholes alone through which to see.

Divers go down and up for a period of six to eight hours a day, with only a few minutes for rest and food at stated times. Though the haulers keep pulling up the stones on which divers descend many dozens of times during the day, their work is comparatively easy. As divers gradually clear the ground of oysters immediately under and round about the boat, it is slowly moved to fresh ground either by long sweeps worked ancient galley fashion, or by means of anchors cast very far out, on the ropes of which the crew can pull.

Sunset brings relief to diver and hauler. Too much food is supposed to render them unfit and spoil the divers' wind, so their evening meal is strictly rationed.

The working of the fleet in close concert undoubtedly encourages crews to effort and keeps them cheerful.

Should a storm threaten, the fleet will run for shelter to the nearest headland and anchor under the lee. This affords welcome relief to the crews, who are allowed ashore to get firewood, fresh water, etc.

All boats carry awnings from stem to stern to protect captain and crew from the rays of the tropical sun. Divers cannot, however, wash in fresh water at the end of their day's work, for all the water that the tanks can carry is needed for drinking. This results in sores and serious chafing, especially between the legs, often causing great trouble and pain.

TAWÁSHA

As the season progresses buying-merchants called *tawáwish* (plural of *tawwásh*) come out in launches or sailing craft and go the round of the fleet examining the pearls and making purchases. This is done by book debit as a rule—though some *naukhudas* insist on receiving cash. The opening of the oyster shells is done daily after sunset.

Towards the end of the season's dive it is not uncommon for scurvy to make its appearance, and members of the crew affected have to be sent home in the water boats which ply regularly out to the fleet and replenish the water tanks. Dr. Mylrea, of the American Mission in Kuwait, assures me that a little foresight and a few drums of lime cordial in each boat would eliminate or keep scurvy well within bounds, but unfortunately this would cost money which miserly captains and owners are not inclined to spend.

GUFFÁL

At the end of four exhausting months, the Ruler himself comes out to his fleet, and fires a gun signifying that the dive is over at last. This signal is known as the *guffál*. There is at once a frantic rush to get home. If the wind is favourable three or four hundred sailing boats all racing for Kuwait at the same time under full canvas is a fine sight.

The arrival of the pearling craft opposite the town of Kuwait is the signal for drum-beatings and more gunfire. Women rush to put on their best frocks and go down to the beach, while a general atmosphere of happiness and welcome prevails. Happy wives and laughing children line the sea front, waiting to catch a glimpse of their returning husbands and fathers.

As the boats cast anchor, the divers are allowed to go straight to their homes, but haulers may not go home until every item of move-

able gear has been taken on shore and stored, and the boat has been pulled up out of the sea, and its hull scraped and re-oiled.

SELLING THE CATCH

The *naukhuda* now takes his pearls to the middlemen and starts negotiating a sale. As both sides are obdurate bargainers the sales are rarely completed under a month or six weeks. It is this delay which makes necessary the *tisqám* advance to the crews. The crew take it and go home, pending the sale of their pearls. When this is completed, their *naukhuda* sends for them and pays those their due who have earned a share, deducting from each share part or the whole of the advances already made, as well as share of expenses incurred. If the catch has been a good one all is well for the diver, but if only moderate or a failure, he gets nothing at all. Yet it is marvellous how men continue to find pleasure and hope of gain in the *ghaus*. An important rule exists which is worthy of mention. No member of the crew is permitted to attend the sale of the pearls he is interested in. As a general rule the *naukhuda* is honest and plays the game, but sometimes he does his crew down and trouble ensues.

The processes of polishing, weighing and classifying according to quality the many pearls that come into the town are important, but it would take too long to attempt to describe them here.

Suffice to say that pearls are passed through a series of sieves, each of finer gauge than the previous one, thus classifying the pearls according to size.

Then comes the weighing of each pearl. The unit of weight measurement is known as the *midhqal*. The pearl, however, is quoted as weighing so many *chaus*, not so many *midhqals*, when a purchase is being made.

NAMES OF DIFFERENT QUALITIES AND KINDS OF PEARLS

The names of the different kinds of pearls sold in the *súq* are as follows:

Al Jíwan—The perfect pearl.
Al Sharín—The second best, also a very good pearl.

Al Gulwar—Not quite perfectly round, but colour can be quite first class.
Al Gát—Next in order, a small pearl, colour not too good.
Al Badla—A largish pearl, quality poor as regards sheen and colour.

If a European desires to buy a pearl in the bazaar he will be wise to go straight to a pearl broker or *dallál*, and tell him which of the above kinds of pearls he is anxious to see. This will save time. These brokers sit together in a certain quarter of the bazaar.

Quite often also a purchaser can buy pearls direct from *naukhudas* who hawk their wares on the sea-front and foreshore for some ten days or so after the fleet comes in. After that the pearls nearly all get into the hands of middlemen and brokers, and are not seen again except on request.

The pearl catch of the season now automatically moves down to Bahrain, the recognised emporium of the pearl trade in the Gulf. There Indian and other European pearl dealers congregate in good years, make their purchases, and depart.

As a rule large and good pearls are sold direct to representatives of European houses in Bahrain, while the second-rate qualities and especially seed pearls find their way to India, where they seem always to be in demand.

Chief of many European buyers for many years past has been the Paris house of Rosenthal Frères, represented till recently by the talented Russo-French Jew, Monsieur Victor Rosenthal, or "Victor", as he is affectionately called by the Arab pearling fraternity. Other famous buyers are and have been 'Ali Zainal of Egypt and India; Monsieur Pack of Paris and Bombay; Monsieur Habib, French Tunisian (now out of business); Abdur Rahman Qusaibi of Bahrain and Bombay.

PEARL STORIES

The Arab has very many stories of how the pearl is formed, how its growth is affected by storms, and so forth. The commonest of these myths is that oysters, when they want pearls, come up to the surface when it is raining and open their shells to catch a drop of rain. This raindrop in due course turns into a pearl.

Another story is that during the formation of the pearl the oyster likes the sea to be rough on the surface, in other words he likes stormy

weather, for the water becomes agitated down at the bottom of the sea and causes the pearl to be regularly washed clean of slime and other dirt, thus producing the beautiful sheen which the best pearls possess.

A year with few storms is said in consequence to be followed by a bad oyster year.

Occasionally also, according to the Arab, there is a remarkable dearth of oysters on the beds, or oysters may be present but no pearls, where usually there have been many. They account for this by saying that God is angry with the people and for their sins has spirited away the oysters, or has prevented them from forming pearls. This happened curiously enough in 1935. The number of oysters caught was as great as in the best years, but for every four thousand oysters opened on an average only one pearl was found, while in ordinary years the percentage is usually one pearl to a thousand oysters.

The commonly accepted scientific theory regarding the formation of pearls is, I believe, as follows:

(*a*) A grain of sand or dirt gets embedded in the oyster's flesh and sets up irritation. To stop this the oyster starts covering it with coating after coating (onion fashion) of saliva which eventually hardens into a smooth pearl, and continues to grow if left alone.

(*b*) A parasite attacks and perforates the oyster's shell from the outside, whereupon the oyster, to save itself from destruction, makes a small or large pearl with which to plug up the hole. Proof of this is the "blister" pearl which one frequently finds stuck to the inside edge of the oyster shell, and opposite to where a parasite has perforated the shell.

Both theories appear to be correct, the former for the floating and the latter for the blister pearl.

I have often been asked if the Persian Gulf oyster beds are not showing signs of exhaustion, but have not been able to get any positive evidence, though I have made many enquiries from captains of boats, divers and dealers.

On the other hand, there is a definite feeling abroad that this might eventually happen, especially if the pearl trade recovers its former prosperity, and leaders of opinion like the present Shaikh of Kuwait are anxious to stop the two months' amateur dive (*Khanchiyah* and

Raddah) which take place before and after the official dive (*Ghaus*). This would certainly relieve the strain. The trouble, however, is that public opinion is not quite ready for such innovation, and the Shaikh of Kuwait has so far failed to get the support of other Arab rulers in the Gulf to his scheme.

Personally I am of opinion that so long as "diving suits" of the Western pattern are prohibited and kept out of the Gulf entirely, as they now are by common consent, there is little fear of the banks becoming exhausted or worked out. Indeed, the tendency, I think, is for things to improve of their own accord in this respect, seeing that the poor trade in pearls of the last fifteen years has resulted in far fewer pearl boats going to the banks (I calculate that the reduction has been over 50 per cent), and the discovery of oil at Bahrain by an American company, and the present oil operations in Kuwait by an Anglo-American concern, are slowly but surely inducing divers to forsake their old occupation and take up employment in the oil fields.

The following story is told by mothers to their children in Kuwait.

"THE BLACK PEARL AND WHITE PEARL"

Once upon a time, in the days when Baghdad was the centre of the pearl trade, there lived a certain beautiful Princess, the daughter of the Khalifah. She had a very wonderful large black pearl, the gift of her father, and she was proud of it above all her possessions. One day she determined to try and get it matched, and betook herself to the principal pearl merchant of the city and asked if he could sell her one like it. The latter, knowing who his distinguished lady visitor was, though she was heavily veiled, replied that he could not, for, said he, "No two pearls in the whole world are exactly alike, and yours is one of the most wonderful in existence, so there is little chance of another being found like it". In vain she examined all the pearls he possessed, and in vain she came day after day and pleaded with the pearl merchant to assist her. One day, and in reply to her many importunities, he said to her, "There has just arrived here a famous pearl diver from Bahrain, the son of a still more famous diver who is now dead, perchance he may know of a pearl like unto that

you desire", and he pointed to a man seated on the floor at the entrance of his shop. "Call him", said the Princess, "and make careful enquiry of him, for verily my heart is sad within me at your repeated refusal to help me." The man, whose name was 'Anad bin Faraj, on being called, approached with diffidence and respect. He was a magnificent specimen of a man and of perfect shape and build. The merchant addressed him thus, "O 'Anad, this lady has a black pearl of unusual size and lustre: canst say whether thou hast ever seen the like, and thinkest thou it can be matched?" On being shown the pearl the diver 'Anad looked long and carefully at it, and at length replied, "Lady, I have seen this pearl before and I know whence it came, for it is the one my father brought up from the dread cavern at the bottom of the sea south of Bahrain, where dwelleth the most terrible spider-shaped monster in existence. My father had discovered during his many explorations of the deep that in this cavern lay the most wonderful pearl oysters in the world, each containing a beautiful black pearl. Determined to try and get one for your father, the great Khalifah, he dared all and went down and fought the dread guardian of the submarine cave. His body was brought up sorely mangled, he had been done to death by the monster of the deep. In the dead man's hand we found a single oyster of great size, which on being opened proved to contain a black pearl of priceless worth. The pearl you now show me is undoubtedly this very pearl, the gaining of which cost my father's life. Nor is there any other place in the world where such a pearl could be found, but it means death to him who again tries to gain access to the cave." Greatly interested the Princess asked 'Anad if he would visit her in the palace the next day, as she would fain hear more of the story. At the appointed hour the diver presented himself at the private entrance to the Princess's portion of the palace, and was duly brought before the Princess.

She received him most graciously, seated him on her luxurious couch and gave him by way of refreshments the best that the palace could produce. Then seating herself by his side she plied him with questions about the famous cave containing the black pearls, the monstrous spider and the possibility of another attempt being made to force an entrance. For long the diver 'Anad declared that it would be quite impossible for any man to find the place again, and even if

one did it would be courting death if he sought to bring up an oyster from the monster's cave.

In vain the Princess pleaded, till on the third of 'Anad's visits she suddenly loosed the veil from the upper part of her face and showed him her two eyes, saying, "For these two eyes, O brave 'Anad, couldst thou not dare the spider-monster once only?" As she gazed upon him with her lovely large soft eyes, 'Anad became as one struck senseless. For a long while he seemed to be in a dream, and could only return the gaze of the Princess as one fascinated by a vision of most perfect loveliness and beauty. At length, as she bent ever closer to him and continued her pleading, 'Anad slowly replied, "O Princess, I heard yon pearl merchant say the other day that no two pearls were alike in the world, nor could any be matched exactly alike, yet before me behold I see in your eyes two of the most perfect pearls, exactly alike in every detail. For the sake of these two matchless pearls I will dare the monster and will go and, by the help of Allah, bring thee the black pearl that thou desirest." The delighted Princess thanked the diver tenderly and graciously, and in turn said, "Brave 'Anad, if thou succeedest in thy quest and bringest me the pearl, thou shalt ask of me thy heart's desire and it shall be granted even to the half of my father's kingdom. This I promise also by Allah."

Two months later 'Anad with five chosen companions found themselves in a small pearl boat over the spot where his father had met his death. The sun was bright, the day a perfect calm, without a ripple on the emerald green crystal-like water, and deep down beneath them they could see faintly the mouth of the ill-omened cave, its entrance surrounded with fantastic tree-like clusters of gigantic coral. 'Anad's plans had been carefully made, he had armed himself with a long sharp dagger, a separate rope had been tied round his waist, and he had given instructions to his companions to haul him up immediately they felt him jerk on the rope that bound him. Lastly, placing the usual wooden clip on his nose, he took his stand on the stone attached by a six-fathom rope to the side of the boat and ordered his men to let him down to the bottom. With a final invocation to Allah he went down. Reaching the bottom he found himself opposite the entrance of the cave, and at once worked his way in, at the same time keeping careful look out for danger lurking there. Seeing nothing

except a forest of huge trees formed by pink and white coral, he proceeded till he saw before him on the floor and on the rocks around him several wondrously large oysters. He stooped and cut one off a rock close to him and was about to seize another when the mouth of the cave darkened and he saw a huge crab-like monster fully six cubits high with tentacle-like feet each ten cubits in length, horrible beyond his worst dreams, moving towards him with lightning motion. He had just time to tug at his rope when the beast was upon him. Determined to meet attack by attack he sprang to meet the enemy, aware only of its open mouth and two shining eyes, each as large as a plate. As man and beast closed 'Anad drove his long straight dagger with all his strength into the right eye of the monster right up to the hilt and then felt himself seized round the waist in a suffocating grip. Fiercely he struggled, stabbing again and again with his knife till he knew no more. His last thought, however, was of the oyster in his left hand. He gripped it fiercely now with both hands, determined that even death should not part him from it.

When he at last woke up, it was to find his companions leaning over him and rubbing his limbs vigorously to bring him back to consciousness. He gave thanks to Allah for saving him, and to his great joy found that beyond some superficial cuts he had escaped all hurt. Better than all, he found clasped safe in his hands the huge oyster that he had secured in the cave. Joyfully he now opened it, and behold embedded deep in its quivering flesh lay the most beautiful black pearl he had ever seen, the exact image in shape and size of that which the princess, his Princess, had in her possession.

Exactly one month later 'Anad presented himself at the palace of the Princess in Baghdad and craved audience. He was immediately admitted, and moving towards him in the innermost reception chamber he once again saw the Princess, this time unveiled, and looking happier and more radiantly beautiful than ever he had dreamed. "Welcome back, my brave 'Anad—welcome a thousand times", she cried with outstretched arms, "and hast thou brought me my pearl?" Very humbly he knelt on both knees and answered "Yes". At the same time he pressed both her hands to his lips in token of worship and servitude. Raising him up she received from him the pearl, with pleasure she could not disguise. Presently, after again thanking him

and heaping praises on him for his bravery and fortitude, she bade him sit by her side and tell her the story of his adventures.

This done she spake and said to him, "O 'Anad, the time has come to reward thee. Ask now whatsoever be thy greatest desire on earth and it shall be thine, for thou too art like a black pearl without price and hast served me faithfully and well, even to the risk of thy life."

After a long silence during which our poor diver stood very humbly before the Princess he was constrained slowly to reply, "O my Princess, alas I have learned to worship and love thee above all things in heaven or earth. Thou art verily the most matchless pearl in all the world. I would that I dared ask for thee in marriage, for that is the greatest desire I have in all the earth. Yet a white pearl such as thou art cannot mate with a humble black pearl such as thou sayest I am worthy to be called."

Then suddenly with swift motion he drew a long shining dagger from the folds of his garment, the very one that had slain the monster, and without further word plunged it into his heart. For 'Anad was a negro!

CHAPTER XXXIX

Slavery

I do not propose here to write at any length on this interesting subject. Many excellent books have already been published about slavery, and especially about slavery in Arabia, by authors far more competent than I.

In a world still quite ignorant of the real Arab, the manner in which he lives, and the excellent religion which he practises, my modest aim is merely to stimulate interest in present-day Arabian problems which so vitally affect this intensely proud and highly attractive people whose chief sins, in the eyes of some, are the jealousy with which they guard their rights and their desire to be independent of European tutelage.

Two of the most pithy and concise documents on slavery that I have come across in recent years have been the following:

(*a*) Lecture given before the Royal Asiatic Society on 15th March, 1933, by Mr. Eldon Rutter—Lord Lugard in the chair—entitled "Slavery in Arabia", and subsequently published in the Society's Journal.

(*b*) Official report (not available to the public) by the late Sir Hugh Biscoe, K.C.I.E., H.M.'s Political Resident in the Persian Gulf on the State of Slavery in the Countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, submitted to H.M.G. *circa* 1933 and just before its author's death.

As far as Kuwait town is concerned, the *'abd*, or slave proper, that is to say a man who has been bought for money, and is therefore *mamlúk* (owned), is rare.

On the other hand, the *mu'allid*, or domestic slave, born in captivity of slave parents who may have been in one family for several generations, is commonly to be found in well-to-do households.

This state of affairs is not peculiar to Kuwait, however, for as many if not more domestic slaves are to be found in the best households in Basra and Baghdad, not to mention many towns in other Muslim countries.

The situation in Kuwait, as far as slavery is concerned, is a comparatively happy one.

Although His Majesty's Government has no actual "slave treaty" with the state, the present enlightened ruler, Shaikh Sir Ahmad al Jabir al Subah, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., has sternly set his face against slave-traffic of any description within the borders of his state. As far back as 1924 he decreed that the import or export of slaves, even of *mu'alid* (plural of *mu'allid*) for purposes of sale, would be treated as a crime against the state. Hence the traffic in bought slaves (*'abid mamlúkin*) as well as domestic slaves (*mu'alid*) into Kuwait from the interior, or by dhow or steamer out of Kuwait, has for all practical purposes ceased entirely.

The shaikh continues to preach publicly and privately to his people that the buying and selling of human beings is an antiquated and barbarous custom, and that far from having been sanctioned by the Prophet, the latter did all he could to induce the early Muslims to free their slaves. His most forcible and potent argument, and one he often uses, is that slavery, as practised, and under the existing Muhammadan code, can only end in ultimate conflict with the more enlightened races of the West (witness the recent Italo-Abyssinian conflict), but more important than this, that Arab and other Muslim countries, ever boasting these days that they are fit to stand on their own feet and range themselves alongside European nations, will never make any real progress towards attaining equality of status with European states, so long as they countenance slavery, and lay themselves open to scorn, as traffickers in human bodies. "Let Arabs but set their faces genuinely against slavery", the shaikh is never tired of saying, "and then, but only then, will European states agree to treat them as equals." This form of propaganda is slowly but surely having its effect, and I commend it as a method of approaching the subject where other Arab rulers are concerned.

Kuwait, as I said above, has its *mu'alid* or born domestic slaves, but the buying or selling of these is a very rare occurrence, and only takes place if the slave happens to be unhappy and asks to be sold, which he has the right to do. Very occasionally and very secretly a person returning from the Haj pilgrimage by an overland route, may manage to smuggle in a newly bought slave from Mecca. But such

cases are rare. If the offender is found out he is heavily fined and the slave taken from him and freed.

The shaikh himself always takes pains to listen to any *mu'allid* slave, or *'abd mamlúk*, who comes to him with complaints of ill-treatment from master or mistress. Nine times out of ten he will decide that the petitioner cannot safely be returned to his owner, and he buys him himself. He has to-day some forty negro men and women whom he has taken under his protection permanently living in his palace. They are not required to work as slaves and are not treated as such. Each gets a monthly salary, and is encouraged to look upon himself as an ordinary servant. Should any of them desire to leave his service they can do so at any time.

As mentioned above, every slave, domestic or other, may theoretically under the *Shari'ah* Law of Islam, request his master to sell him if he thinks he is not being justly treated. This rule, which in practice is not over popular among families who have a fair name to preserve, the shaikh tries to enforce rigidly in Kuwait, and it is under this law that he buys out slaves who complain to him of ill-treatment.

Not many bought slaves work as divers on Kuwait pearl boats. From my many years' experience of Kuwait, I should not say that more than ten such exist. Of domestic male slaves, on the other hand, perhaps twenty or thirty may turn their hand to pearl diving, by order of their masters, but when we consider that the Arab diving fraternity in average years totals nine to ten thousand men, the percentage is negligible.

Masters in Kuwait town are as a general rule kind to domestic slaves born in their families, whom they bring up much as they do their own children. These family slaves hold positions of trust, and are provided with wives and husbands as the case may be when they so desire. Their own children mix on terms of affection and equality with the master's children, and the lady of the house goes one better than the master, and very often treats her slave's progeny with more apparent affection and care than her own.

Wealthy persons, of course, have quite a number of such domestic slaves, but not more than the leading families of other Muslim countries, like Iraq or Egypt.

Of course there are black sheep in every community, and occasion-

ally masters and mistresses are unreasonable and even cruel. Such cases are rare, and the injured parties always have redress in appeal to their shaikh.

During my seven and a half years' service as H.M.'s Political Agent in Kuwait, I can remember no cases of bought slaves, and only four cases of domestic slaves coming to the Agency and begging for protection against their owners. Two of these were women and two men. The former, after a few kind words and some refreshments, agreed voluntarily to return to their mistresses, and the latter I sent to the Ruler armed with letters of recommendation. The shaikh bought them out and freed them at once.

There was nothing, nor is there to-day anything whatsoever to prevent a slave taking refuge in the Political Agency every day of the year if he likes. And they would certainly do so were their life unbearable. The fact that such cases are so rare speaks volumes for slave conditions in Kuwait. It might be argued, I know, that as the slave population must know that there is no Slave Treaty between the British Government and the shaikh, taking refuge in the Agency could, in their minds, only result in their being returned to their masters and getting further trouble for themselves, so that rather than risk subsequent punishment from masters, they prefer to stay away. I have never had reason to suspect this to be the case, especially in view of the shaikh's well-known attitude, and the fact that he himself has always thanked me for listening to the slaves who came to the Agency, and for sending them on to him.

The saddest result of slavery, domestic or otherwise—and Mr. Rutter brings this out well in his article—is the fate of the old and decrepit: the man and woman no longer of use to the master because of physical disability. These poor folk are given their freedom, outwardly no doubt to salve the hypocritical conscience of their master, and to conform to the injunctions of the Prophet, but in actual fact because they are no longer worth their keep. They are thus forced to go on the streets and beg for a precarious living. It is true that many decent families, to their great honour, go on clothing and feeding their worn-out slaves until they die, but I think that in the majority of cases, giving slaves their freedom goes hand in hand with stopping their allowance of food and clothing.

I have mentioned in another chapter that as a bought slave-girl is a man's personal property, it is not wrong in the eyes of the law for the master to take her as a concubine, if he finds her attractive. This can happen only in the case of newly bought girls, however, and is practised only among town Arabs. The custom does not exist among the simpler and cleaner-minded Badawin.

The *Shari'ah* law, on the other hand, lays down that should a slave-girl become pregnant to her master, he must immediately give the prospective mother her freedom, so that his child shall be born free. For the future, both will hold honoured positions, the mother as a free woman who can no more be carnally touched by her late lord, and the child as an honoured son of the father. Usually such freed women soon find husbands from among other freed slaves, and the child remains and grows up as his father's son, taking his place in the family *majlis*. He is, however, debarred from marrying a pure-bred Arab girl when he grows up. Slave-born daughters receive equivalent treatment. The main result of this custom is that slave-girls sometimes go out of their way to attract their masters, and win their affection. They quite naturally want to become pregnant by them, but equally naturally the effect on the lady of the house is often disastrous. Though she must acquiesce in her lord preferring his slave-girl, she nevertheless is often a prey to jealousy.

We may, I think, say with safety that the traffic in freshly bought slaves has ceased to exist in Kuwait, and in the sister-state of Bahrain.

To revert to Kuwait—a male slave calls his master *'Ammi*, literally "my uncle"; a female slave her mistress *'Ammati*, or "aunt". A person not a member of the household will, when referring to a slave's master, call him *ma'azib* (for instance, *minhu ma'azibak?* "Who is your master?" or literally "your host"). In similar fashion a Badawin will talk about his wife as his hostess or *ma'azibti*, a subtle and charming form of expression.

A domestic male slave's duties in the town are legion, but all honourable. He is doorkeeper, he looks after stores, household supplies, holds positions of trust, keeps account of the home water supply, makes coffee, accompanies the ladies of the house when they go out, looks after the needs of the *háram* or ladies' quarters, and generally is his master's faithful watch-dog.

Among Arabian potentates, slaves are also entrusted with the functions of personal guards and protectors to the ruler, by reason of their trustworthiness, and men like H.M. King ibn Sa'ud, the Shaikhs of Kuwait and Bahrain, maintain carefully selected negro bodyguards of greater or lesser strength for this purpose. State "executioners" are always slaves, for they can be counted on to carry out the ruler's decrees and orders to the letter, as the ordinary Arab cannot. Slaves have also on occasion been made useful to get rid of undesirable enemies, though such days fortunately are nearly past.

The lot of the female domestic slave in a nice family is an easy and a privileged one. She looks after her mistress and her robes, and always dresses her—she is often the cook, or seamstress, she goes down to the seashore and does the family washing with the younger women of the house, and accompanies her mistress on her calling expeditions. Like the male slave she often holds positions of considerable responsibility and trust. Both male and female slaves are naturally proud to be considered their master's and mistress's chosen guards and sometimes trade on this. They know too that their lord will avenge himself on any stranger who harms his slave, more than if he were his own son. This is literally true, for to kill or kidnap a man's slave affects his honour, not so the slaying of his son.

On the other hand, all householders and others owning slaves pretend to believe that a slave must be continually suppressed and reminded of his position if he is not to lose his head and get out of hand. The Arab will tell you that occasionally to show the heavy hand to a beloved slave is to keep him in proper state of mind.

So much for the town domestic slave. The bought slave (*mamlúk*) receives similar treatment from a good master, but speaking generally his life, where he exists (and this is not in Kuwait), is much harder. Unlike the domestic slave, he may be sold at the whim of the master, or given away like a horse or mare as a present to a friend.

SLAVERY AMONG THE BADAWIN TRIBES

Almost every desert shaikh, or well-to-do member of a tribe, has his male slaves, whether born in the family or bought, and their womenfolk have female slaves.

Speaking generally, however, bought slaves are the rule.

A desert shaikh will keep a certain number of *'abíd* whom he has received as a gift from some prince or fellow-shaikh, or has himself bought in Mecca when on the Haj. A woman slave is called a *járiah* among the tribes, and not an *'abda*, which is the term used in the towns.

The Najd and Northern Badawin treat their bought slaves far better than the slave-owning fraternity generally. Being a born gentleman, and as a rule far more religious than his town brother, the desert man has a natural inclination to treat his slave well. The latter has, of course, to work and take his full share in drawing water for sheep and camels, and cutting brushwood for the use of the tent. Since he can stand the summer heat better than the Arab, he does a lot of the work connected with the care and tending of camels when his master and mistress are camped on water during the hot season.

As Mr. Rutter so forcibly puts it, the shaikh of a tribe is above all things patriarchal, he loves to feel that he is the head of the tribe, the father and mother of his own particular *hamula*. He gets satisfaction from feeling that members of his family, and especially his servants and slaves, are for ever dancing attendance on him, and depend on him for a thousand and one things connected with the daily round of life. He likes to think that at the two annual *'Ids* or festivals it will be he who will disburse largesse in the shape of presents of clothing (*kiswah*), foodstuffs (*ta'am*) and so forth, to those depending on him. Just as he is always out to gain a following and increase it, because it gives him prestige, power and honour among his fellows, so he increases the number of his slaves where he can, as they give him definitely added strength in the eyes of his fellow Arabs.

According to Shaikh Hillal bin Faja'an of the Mutair (7th January, 1935) this is the code of the desert man where slaves are concerned:

(*a*) Slaves are good *chessib* (*kessib*) or spoil when tribes are at war. In this sense they are counted as camels.

(*b*) Normally a body of riders on a camel-lifting expedition will not worry to carry off a single slave man found in charge of grazing camels. The raiders will merely bind and leave him, as he would hinder rapid movement.

(*c*) It is lawful, if you are at enmity with another tribe, to steal slave children and make them yours. Unwritten law insists, however, that such children be over ten years of age. Of course the owner

will follow to the death in his efforts to effect a rescue, and will kill the stealer if he can, even if he has to wait years to do so.

(*d*) If in a raid a freed slave (*ma'atúq*), male or female, be carried off in error, it is the duty of the raiders to return him or her as soon as the mistake is found out.

(*e*) No true Arab may lawfully marry a freed slave woman. His *ahl* will kill him if he so disgraces the tribal honour and blood.

The recognition of these rules, and several others, was confirmed on 11th August, 1936, by Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the Al Hadi tribe of the 'Ajman, and also by Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutraqqa al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, both of whom added the following interesting bit of information, which was new to me. They emphasised that the *'asíl*, or pure-bred Arab, will never demean himself by having sexual connection with any of his bought female slaves. It is considered very *'aib* (disgraceful) to do so.

Unfortunately this excellent rule has been abused among certain noble and princely semi-Badawin families such as the Ál Sa'adun, and others, who argue that because a slave-girl is your property entirely, she is yours to do with as you like, without sin. The Badawin proper, to his honour, refuses utterly to accept this method of arguing and calls it town sophistry. It is one of the things that causes him to despise the *hadhari*, or town dweller, and take proportionate pride in himself.

Footnote.—(*a*) There is a curious and widely accepted belief, among Arab townsmen especially, that to have connection with a negress makes a man sexually strong once more (*'iqawi dhahru*), if he happens to be suffering from debility.

(*b*) Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutraqqa al Harri boasts that it is the immemorial right of his house to take over all slaves and mares captured in war or raid by any of his Diyahin tribesmen. This is a right rarely found among Badawin tribes. Its existence was confirmed by Shaikh Hillal al Mutairi, of the same tribe.

(*c*) I have purposely not discussed the Georgian, Armenian and Circassian slave-girl, as a separate chapter would be required to deal with this class. Suffice to say that many beautiful women of this class exist among the ruling and rich classes of Arabia, Iraq and neighbouring Muslim countries. Their lot is not an unhappy one either, for as a rule they are bought very young and are treated with great consideration.

CHAPTER XL

Sickness and Disease

GENERAL

The notes below are in no way intended to be in the nature of a medical treatise

Amongst Arabs sickness generally is put down to one of two things:

(*a*) The evil eye or witchcraft.
(*b*) The hand of God.

A book could be written on the subject of this Evil Eye and Witchcraft. Among the Shi'ah tribes of Iraq (non-Badawin) every kind of charm* (usually in the form of a paper scroll containing a verse from the Qur'an done up in leather bag) is worn by men and women against the danger. Should a person fall under the spell of another versed in witchcraft, many methods are in use for exorcising the evil spirit and freeing the patient.

Ordinary maladies are unfortunately dealt with in the crudest fashion, as will be seen below.

Bites of snakes, according to the Arab, are best dealt with by applying tourniquets, wrapping the patient in the pelt of a newly skinned goat and rubbing concoctions of herbs on the bitten spot.

Among Iraq tribes a *Sulaimaniyah* stone (cat's eye) is supposed to extract all pain and poison, if applied to a scorpion sting.

Pains in head, stomach and back are dealt with by branding; cold in the chest—by branding on the chest; children's stomach-ache—branding with a hot tent needle all over the abdomen.

There is a great deal of sickness and disease among the Badawin, mostly traceable to lack of nourishment and to poor water. Life is very hard and dangers are always present, and for both men and women the span of life is normally short.

* Badawin tribes proper, especially if tainted with Wahhabism, look upon charms as wrong.

Age overtakes both sexes very quickly; a man commonly has a grey beard at forty, and a woman is considered an *'ajúzah*—old woman—at thirty.

Marriage and giving in marriage is going on all the time. The health of the bride or the groom never comes into the picture, nor the question of possible hereditary disease. Hence there is much avoidable disease, and as a man nine times out of ten marries his first cousin, ailments connected with inbreeding are common.

At first sight the Badawin appears to be a fine physical specimen, and so he usually is, but this is because only the fittest survive. For every child that grows up there are probably six who do not reach maturity.

Breeding goes on all the time and at great pace, for the Arab is one of the most prolific of races.

A Badawin will beget up to fifteen children, of which perhaps three to four survive.

Both men and women are to be blamed for the high death-rate among children, for they know nothing about health and hygiene, nor is it easy to teach them anything, with hundreds of years of prejudice and belief in their own quack cures behind them.

An Arab woman is never happy unless she is pregnant. This, one may almost say, is her permanent state unless she is barren.

Although she has a shrewd idea that her milk is bad for her living baby as soon as she conceives again, this does not worry the mother in a land where it is customary to suckle a child till it has reached the age of two, three and four years of age. Should her milk dry up, she hires a person from a neighbouring tent for a dollar (rial) a month, to wet-nurse her child.

The commonest children's diseases appear to be:

(*a*) Sore eyes (*Ramad*).
(*b*) Worms (*Dibban*).
(*c*) A sort of Scabies of the head (*'Agra*).
(*d*) Whooping cough (*Abu Hamaiyir*).
(*e*) Smallpox (*Jidri*).
(*f*) Measles (*Hasbah*).
(*g*) Chicken Pox (*Shanaitir*).

(*a*) *Sore eyes* are terribly prevalent in the summer months, and are clearly the result of fly action, combined with the fact that children's faces

are never washed. The Badawin mother uses *kuhl* or antimony to keep the trouble away, also a concoction resembling red ink watered down, which is smeared all over the infant's eyes. Continual sore eyes often result in the lashes growing inwards, and then only operation by a qualified surgeon is of any use (The American Mission Hospital at Kuwait deals with hundreds of eye cases annually among infants). [See also note at end of this chapter, "Curing Sore Eyes."]

(*b*) *Worms* or snakes (*dáb*, plural: *dibban*) as the Badawin call them, are in most cases the result of drinking impure water. Symptoms are anæmia and fits of giddiness. This disease does not cause the parents much anxiety.

(*c*) *Scabies of head* is fairly common among Badawin children, and sundry concoctions of clarified butter, charcoal, etc., are tried as a cure. A visit to a hospital is the only hope. The scabies is said to go away by itself when the patient reaches fifteen years of age.

(*d*) *Whooping cough* (*Abu Hamaiyir*) is quite common during the spring and autumn months, and usually runs its course.

(*e*) *Smallpox* (*Jidri*).—This is the most dreaded disease among the Badawin, yet even if they are near the towns it is difficult to persuade them to get vaccinated. The Badawin segregates anyone attacked with smallpox and puts the patient in a tent alone and a quarter of a mile distant from other tents. He also inoculates the patient from the serum of another smallpox victim. This more often kills, but also definitely effects cures at times.

(*f*) *Measles* (*Hasbah*).—A common complaint, rarely fatal. A child with measles must only eat a limited amount of certain foods. It must not be allowed to smell any other kind of food. Even a whiff of such "scent" may kill the child, or so its mother believes.

Ordinary stomach-ache in a child is usually treated by branding.

Circumcision sores.—These are sometimes very grave, and are caused by dirt and flies. The Badawin is usually circumcised at seven years and in the month of July, when it is very hot and many flies are about (see Chapter X).

DISEASES OF GROWN-UP MEN AND WOMEN

Apart from the children's diseases, to which grown-ups are equally subject, the following are peculiarly common to adults:

(*a*) Consumption or Phthisis.
(*b*) Syphilis.

(*c*) Cataract, Tracoma, Conjunctivitis.
(*d*) General stomach disorders.

The ravages of the first two diseases are serious among the Badawin of Arabia. (*a*) *Consumption* is primarily due, I think, to malnutrition, to sharing the same coffee cup with others and the prevailing habit of covering the head completely with the quilt or *laháf* when sleeping at night in winter. The Arab has the further unhealthy habit of sleeping under the same *laháf* as his wife, each breathing the other's breath throughout the night. This bad custom is universal, and a wife would be sorely wounded if her husband were to sleep on a separate couch or under another *laháf.*

Another possible cause of consumption may be the quantity of dust and sand the average man and woman breathes during the course of the year, especially during the summer months, when by day and night dust lies heavy over the camps and sandstorms are of almost daily occurrence.

(*b*) *Syphilis*, known as *balash* among the Badawin, and *fringi* (the Franks' disease) among townsmen, is said to have been rare in Arabia some years back, but it is certainly common among the great Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Shammar, all important tribes of North East and North Central Arabia to-day. Philby talks in one of his books of the rareness of the disease in Najd, which I think was correct some years back. On the other hand, both Dr. Dame and Dr. Mylrea, of the American hospitals in Bahrain and Kuwait, have assured me that from the number of Badawin patients that they now treat for the disease the scourge must be very widespread indeed.

It cannot be doubted that the sea-coast towns have given the disease to Najd proper, and this has been encouraged of late by the large motor traffic between Mecca and Riyadh, for which Bin Sa'ud has been responsible.

There is little doubt too, I think, that the Turks introduced the disease into the province of Hasa prior to 1912, though some of it must have also come from Bahrain.

The following is the common Badawin method of treating these two diseases.

Consumption is known as *diq*, *sil*, *maraudh al khabith.* As soon as a person develops a cough with continuous low fever (it is curious

how much more often women and girls seem to get the disease than men), the relatives take the patient and place two straight small brands on the left wrist opposite the thumb like this | |. If this does not bring about an improvement in fifteen days or so, two more brands, similar to the above, are placed on the right wrist. Lastly, if no improvement is seen the bottom of the tongue is similarly branded. This operation is terribly painful, it causes the mouth to swell up, and for days the patient cannot speak at all. After this no more is done for the affected person. If she or he dies, well, it is *maktúb 'alai* (it is written that his time has come).

I have seen many sad cases of apparently hale and hearty lasses, beginning with a slight cough, developing a worse and finally dying within the space of a month. They rarely appear to think they are going to die, and cheerfully offer you coffee from the cups they daily drink from. I recollect the tragic death of Wadha bint Murait and wife of 'Abdullah al Junaifir in 1932 very clearly, and shall never forget the end of that very sweet and attractive young wife. We did all we could for her, but it was no good. A similar and equally distressing case was my wife's 'Ajman girl friend Ghazaiyil, wife of 'Abdullah al Ghalaifus. She left us to die in Hufuf in 1933.

One of the first difficulties these poor folk are up against is that they have not the wherewithal to go on a strictly milk diet, which, I believe, is one of the first essentials when treating phthisis. The poorer Badawin cannot simply afford to buy a couple of milch goats or sheep out of the season, and even in the cold weather they are lucky if they can raise one goat which gives milk.

Syphilis.—While the townsman knows more or less how to treat this disease, and can to-day get neosalvarsan and bismuth treatment if he chooses to go to the various mission hospitals in the coast towns of the Gulf, the unfortunate Badawin for the most part neglects the disease, and passes it on to his wife and children.

An outstanding example of how whole families can be afflicted with the scourge is the case of the Al Shuqair clan of the Al Muhammad branch of the Dushan ruling family of the Mutair. Practically the whole clan has inherited the disease, and other Badawin fight shy of having anything to do with them. One of the leading members of the family, Shaikh Majid al Asgar, though far gone in 1933, was at last

persuaded to come into Kuwait for a course of treatment. He checked the disease in himself, I believe, but immediately passed it on to his wife and to his son, Mutluq, a fine young lad. Another shaikh, Faisal al Shuqair, came into Kuwait for treatment in 1935. The affliction of Al Jazi's son, Bandar, who is deaf and dumb, can most certainly be traced to the family infection.

According to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who has frequently discussed these questions with me, by far the most dreaded disease of all is smallpox. The appearance of this terrifies the Badawin to an extraordinary degree, and the tent that has contracted the malady is placed far apart from the others, and no one is allowed to go near it or to leave it. Food and water is placed for the occupants by friends some 300 yards off, and the inmates of the tent come and take it. On the other hand, the Badawin seems to have no dread at all of consumption, syphilis or any form of social disease. He seeks no cure unless in an advanced stage of infection.

(*c*) *Cataract of the Eye*, *Conjunctivitis*, *Trachoma*.—As in the case of small children, eye diseases form a large part of the Badawin's daily troubles.

Cataract appears to affect the aged to a common degree, and I think may largely be put down to the fine particles of dust which strike the retina; from early childhood he has to endure sandstorms of a type not dreamed of in the West.

The gallant mission doctors deal with a great many of these cases. But unfortunately Persian and other quack doctors in Kuwait and other towns of Arabia do a terrible amount of harm, and many cases of total blindness result from their efforts.

The fact that such quacks are Muslims, and also that they always preach, "No results, no payment", seems to appeal to the Arab.

The disease appears to be worse in the towns than among the nomad population.

Conjunctivitis and *Trachoma*.—These are terribly common especially among the young women of the towns, and the mission doctors at Kuwait and Bahrain do much relief work in this connection.

(*d*) *General Stomach Disorders*.—All varieties of these are common, and may be put down to the Badawin habit of bolting food, and eating enormous quantities when they do get a chance to allay their hunger, say at a shaikhly feast, etc.

Drinking muddy water or infected water is another cause, especially among those who go off to the Haj. It is pitiful to see the numbers of men and women who return from the Pilgrimage with dysentery, colitis, and so forth.

Constipation, of course, is very common.

It must be clearly understood that only the fringe of this interesting subject has been touched upon, but enough, I hope, to show that the most crying of all needs in Arabia to-day, and especially among the Badawin, is good medical attention, hospitals in cities and travelling motor clinics, which can move about among the nomad population and treat them in their homes. The medical branch of the American mission (Dutch Reformed Church) for long established in the Persian Gulf, has done wonders, but much, much more is required.

One of the most interesting features of the Badawin's attitude towards sickness, and especially wounds and sores, is his firm belief that certain pleasant smells or scents have a directly harmful effect on the progress towards recovery. It is in consequence a common sight to see Badawins entering the town of Kuwait, etc., with their nostrils stuffed up with dirty pieces of rag, inserted in the form of "plugs". A sufferer religiously keeps these in his nose until such time as he can escape out of the town again. The "smell of a woman", as he calls it, is a particularly dangerous form of scent to a wound, etc.

If a man is recovering from smallpox, on the other hand, it is believed that certain human smells, and certain foods, have a highly beneficial effect on the convalescent. He does not, however, know what this food is, or what particular person's odour will help him, so he goes out to receive visits of all the women in the neighbourhood, and is given every possible change of diet, in the fond hope that he will accidentally light on the right thing to effect a cure. This treatment was tried for Nazzal al Rashidi's illness in 1932.

In my various wanderings among the Badawin, I have always carried a few common medicines, notably of a purgative kind. These have always proved useful. Aspirin too I have found invaluable, as strange though it may seem sun-headaches appear to be fairly common among tribal folk, especially among the women.

Simple Fractures are dealt with fairly satisfactorily by the Badawin. He understands the use of splints, and usually before putting the

splints on he packs the broken limb with a concoction of barley flower, salt and eggs. After the expiration of some twenty-five days the bandage is loosened and the splints removed. Whilst the bone is setting the patient feeds on *leben* (sour milk) or camel's milk only. He must not eat dates or sweet things. He must also plug up both nostrils.

Wounds.—A small wound is known as a *suwáb.*
A bad or large one is known as a *jarah.*
A wounded man is known as a *sawíb.*

As related above, certain scents (*ríha*) or smells harm the wound, and open it up again. A man, therefore, who is suffering from a wound or broken bone is always placed on the windward side of the tent, and he must keep his nostrils plugged up. As with fractures, sweet dishes and food must be avoided, otherwise the wound will fester. Particularly harmful is the close approach of a man who has had sexual intercourse and has not as yet had time to wash himself. Similarly, a menstruous woman is a danger. Both are unclean, *najis*, and so are harmful.

Certain smells are not considered harmful, such are:

(*a*) Smoke from burning camel manure (*jalla*), used universally when making coffee.
(*b*) Tobacco smoke.
(*c*) Smell of the tar concoction they put on camels for mange (*jarab*).
(*d*) The smell of roasting coffee and food generally.

In peaceful times the urine of small children is sometimes applied to wounds, as a sort of antiseptic wash. On a *ghazzu* or raid, the companions of a wounded man will wash his wounds with their own urine for the same reason. But to gain the best results it must be urine of young braves, not of elderly men.

The wounded man is greeted with such expressions as, *Allah i sa'adak—Allah yiba'ad a sharr an ak—Allah yatik al a'afiah*, etc.

Snake Bites.—When a person is bitten by a snake which is known to be poisonous the following precautions must be immediately taken:

(1) The spot bitten must be deeply cut with a knife and blood made to flow.
(2) Two tourniquets must be applied to the limb (arm or leg) above where the snake has bitten the person.

A STREET IN KUWAIT

(3) A sheep must be slain at once and the whole of the wounded limb must be wrapped in the skin of the sheep whilst still warm. Better still, if the person can wrap his whole body in the skin. This is to make him or her perspire thoroughly. If the weather is cold and sweat comes slowly, the patient is made to lie down and two fires are lit close on either side.

(4) The patient is given tea from the *ramrám* plant, if available, and the actual spot where the bite shows is covered with *ramrám* paste.

Care must be taken to prevent the bitten person from sleeping, and for twenty-four hours he must be kept awake at all costs. After twenty-four hours the skin is removed, but the tourniquets are kept on night and day, in spite of the agony and swelling of the limbs, for twenty days.

A woman of the Rashaida tribe, from Qatar, who was bitten by a cobra on the ankle, told me that she underwent the above treatment, and that eventually her foot swelled to such an extent that it burst (her expression) at the instep, and black pussy liquid in very large quantities flowed away. That was considered to be the snake poison leaving her, but it was more probably gangrenous pus which had accumulated as a result of stopping the blood circulation.

Among the Diyahin tribe, a sept of the Mutair (Braih), I knew another woman, Nura Um Mubarak (a relation of Hillal al Mutairi), who had survived three bites from the horned viper. She underwent the same treatment each time.

CURING SORE EYES

Rifa'a, the wife of Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra of the Rukhman section of the Mutair, told me the following on 24th April, 1937, in course of general conversation. For ordinary sore eyes caused by flies and dirt generally the best cure was:

(1) In case of a child, for the mother or another woman to put a few drops of her milk daily in the child's eyes. This soothed and had a definitely curative effect.

(2) In case of a man, the same thing applied, but it must never be the milk of his own wife. That was sinful and results would be worse than the cure. Another woman's milk was necessary.

She added also that for a woman to taste her own milk was sinful and would cause her husband to stop caring for her, similarly no woman should allow her husband ever to taste her milk, however small the quantity. This was "unlawful" according to the Shari'ah law, or so said the *Mushaiyikh* or Holy Priests of Najd.

CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulaib*.

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Madina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as menders of pots and pans, hunters and trackers.

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are valued for this knowledge by the tribe which protects them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulaib, for this reason, are nearly always taken with a raiding party.

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is nearly always to be found in the entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found.

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except when it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait.

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.

In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs, some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shennut is the Shaikh of the Mutair Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aithif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

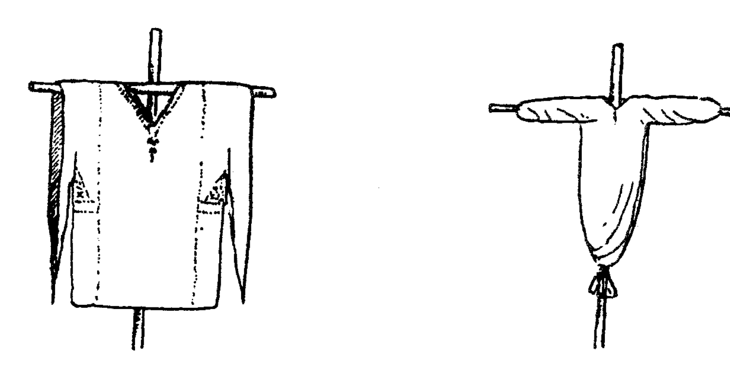
They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

in which the Crusaders were worsted, and were carried off into slavery by the desert Arab, and that the present-day Sulubba are their descendants. Shaikh 'Abdullah will quote to prove his point,

(*a*) The fact that the "cross" is the symbol of the Sulubba.
(*b*) That the plural of their name "Sulaib" is clearly the same as the Arab name for the Christian cross which is known as *Salib*, the word *sulaib* being merely a diminutive form of *Salīb*.



There is perhaps something to say for the theory, but it would be dangerous to form conclusions pending the collection of more data about these interesting people. In particular would it be interesting to collect extensive anthropometric measurements.

The Sulubba women are accused of having (i) the power of casting the Evil Eye (*'ain*), (ii) special knowledge in preparing poisons and love potions for those who want them (*saqwa*), and (iii) above all of being versed in the devilish lore of witchcraft (*sahar*).

(i) The first accusation is probably due to the fact that many young Badawin men have lost their heads over pretty Sulubba girls and have had to flee their tribes. (ii) and (iii) are probably fairly true accusations, for they certainly claim to have the power of making one person love another, as well as of divination. On the other hand, they are a useful target for the public, if something evil happens to a prominent person. "It must be a Sulubba woman who has cast a spell on so-and-so", they say.

The Sulubba must not be confused with the Kauliyah or Gipsies. These latter are to be found all over Iraq and its borders, and are, I think, without doubt one and the same as the Romany Gipsies of Europe and England. They dress like Badawin and live in small

black tents, moving about by the aid of donkeys which seem to form their only visible means of support. These Iraq Kauliyahs are thieves, bad characters, fortune-tellers, are versed in the art of palmistry of sorts, and last but not least their women are in demand for performing the operation of "circumcision of female babies", a rite which is widely practised in Southern Iraq, and among the Muntafiq tribes of the Euphrates and Bani Tamim Arabs.

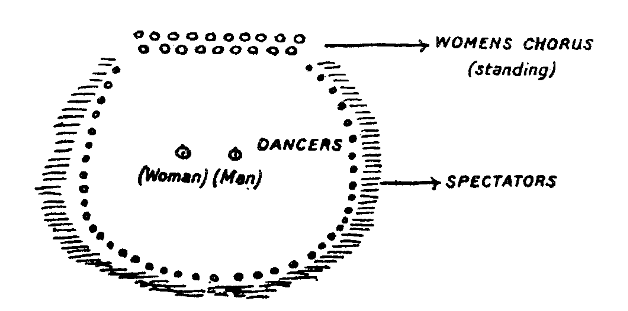
DESCRIPTION OF A SULUBBA DANCE

(seen on 3rd June, 1934, at Kuwait)

The dance took place in the Sulubba Encampment near Qasr Naif just inside the Naif Gate. The occasion was the three days' feasting preceding the circumcision of a male child. For two days dancing had taken place, but the third day was reserved for the best and biggest show.

The usual cross with half a woman's *thaub* hanging to it or draped over it was in its place over the tent which was rejoicing, a sign to all and everyone that a dance was to take place.

The chief performer and master of ceremonies combined was an elderly man whose child had just been circumcised. He entered the arena formed by Sulubbas male and female and other onlookers, waving a sword round his head and inviting the Sulubbi maidens and Sulubbi braves to come and join him. Presently, after marching round the human circle several times, there was a stir and from a



neighbouring tent a pretty young lass decked out in her festal garments (saffron, violet or green covered with her voile *thaub*), dashed into the circle, bare-headed and bare-faced with her tresses all undone

and blowing in the breeze. A pretty sight she was, for her hair was long and rich, and her face comely, and chin and neck tatooed all over in pretty patterns. The girl's appearance was the sign for her brother or husband to run into the circle and embrace her, lightly kissing her on the lips (a sort of sign of encouragement no doubt). The girl was then given a cane and the man, with several shrill war-whoops, started dancing before and away from her, all the time facing her, however. As the dance started, the choir consisting of a dozen Sulubbi women started a staccato shout, clapping their hands the while.

The dance was continued by other young men and maidens entering the ring and carrying on as above described. At times several men and women were in the ring together. There was nothing indecent about the behaviour of the dancers, except when the old man with the sword once or twice danced behind his partner in rather suggestive manner. He was the one exception to a perfectly decorous performance. Of the eight or nine maidens who danced, several were distinctly comely—two in particular had remarkably fine hair shining a golden red in the sun from constant treatment with henna. *Ya awaiyil, ya awaiyil* ("Come and dance"), was often repeated between dances by the tough old Master of Ceremonies.

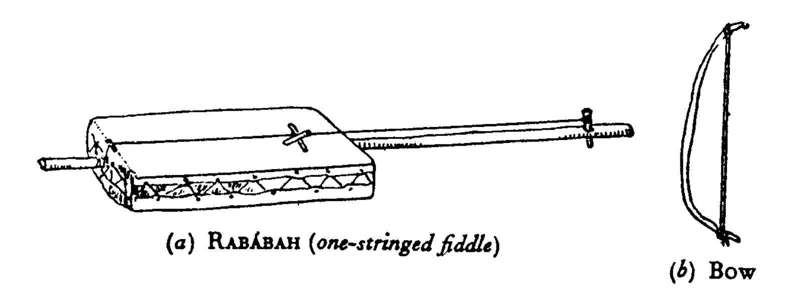
During the dance the girl appeared to act the following: She was pursuing her male dancing partner opposite, and trying to make him come to her. He from retiring in the first place, and acting the part of a shy lover, would eventually succumb to his lady's charms, and would start advancing and showing his admiration by his every movement. Next his girl would start retiring, having won her point, but should the admirer come too near or try and touch her, she would strike him lightly with her cane and force him to beat a retreat.

The man with the sword danced sometimes on one foot and sometimes on the other, but would suddenly start dancing up and down on both feet in rubber-like fashion. The girl danced as most Badawin women do, on the flat of both feet, jumping up and down with stiff lėgs, and advancing and retiring before her man. As she danced, she nodded her head vigorously, keeping time with her feet, in the direction of the man, but every now and then she varied it by swinging her tresses round and round her head by sideways and circular movements of her head. Throughout the dancing the girl never smiled, but

kept her lips tightly shut, and occasionally placed her hand over her nose and mouth. If the male dancer approached her, as he did on several occasions in rather "loud" fashion, the girl struck him lightly with her cane as if to drive him back. A feature was the girl's rouged lips, and a bright saffron-coloured streak half an inch broad down the centre parting of her hair. They all had this, and it looked like saffron paint (probably strong solution of henna). The dance ended by the girl's brother rushing into the ring and covering his sister's head and face with a portion of her voile garment, and taking her away.

THE RABÁBAH

The *rabábah*, or Badawin guitar, was once universally used among the Badawin tribes of Arabia. The minstrels were men of an inferior tribe, or of the servant class, such as Sanas and the like. With the spread of Wahhabism and the rise of the fanatical 'Ikhwan in 1919, the decree went forth that the *rabábah* was a sign of sin, and it was



(*a*) Rabábah (*one-stringed fiddle*)

(*b*) Bow

banned entirely. The Northern Shammar, Dhafir and 'Anizah tribes, who were scarcely affected by the puritan revival, still continued to use the *rabábah* freely, getting the servants and retainers to play for them, and with the collapse of 'Ikhwanism after the rebellion and defeat of Faisal al Duwish in 1930, listening to the *rabábah* and the singing of war and love songs by the Sana sections of the tribes, appears to be once again slowly taking hold. To-day, 1937, some of the Rashaida, Hirshan and 'Awazim are definitely taking to it again. The Sulubba and Kauliyah (Gipsies of Iraq) have always used it, even in the days of ultra-Wahhabism, and perhaps this is why it was considered the instrument of the low-born.

To accompany women and girls dancing, only a chorus of women

singers is used, never the *rabdbah.* Men never dance to the tune of the instrument, but only sing to it, either singly or in unison, repeating the words of the soloist, and keeping time by clapping their hands.

It is definitely considered undignified for a pure-bred Arab to play the *rabdbah*, and must always be so.

FORTUNE-TELLING AND PROPHECY

Fortune-telling and prophecy are commonly practised among Badawin women, the Sulubba especially. A common Mutairi method of telling fortunes (more as a means of amusement than as a serious forecast) is similar to that practised by our gipsies and old folk at home. Cards are not used, but shells, date-stones, bits of pottery, etc., all jumbled together and cast at random on the ground are used to tell a person's fortune.

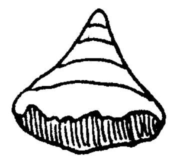
Maneira Mutairi (Sana) frequently entertained us in camp with her bag of fortune-telling articles. She used

3 large cowrie shells (with backs missing).



3 cowrie shells with backs missing (small size).

9 Zababit sea-shells with faces broken off, e.g.



1 piece of blue pottery ½″ to 1″ in diameter.

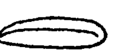
1 piece of red pottery ½″ to 1″ in diameter.

5 date stones.

The blue piece of pottery represented the sea.

The red piece of pottery represented the land.

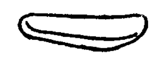
A date stone represented a woman.



A date stone with back uppermost represented a man.



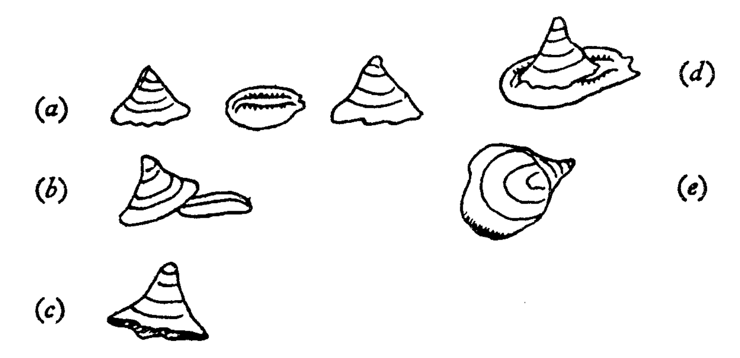
A date stone if it fell sideways on ground represented a camel.



If a cowrie fell on ground  like this, it represented a girl.

If a cowrie fell on ground  like this, it represented a boy.

OTHER INDICATIVE POSITIONS



(*a*) Denotes sickness in man or woman according as cowrie faces upwards or downwards.
(*b*) Denotes a pregnant woman (zababit over date stone).
(*c*) Zababit pointing towards a person denotes a letter for him or her.
(*d*) Zababit imposed above a cowrie denotes a dinner.
(*e*) Reverse side pointing towards a person denotes happiness.

A cowrie falling on ground in a propped-up position against a half broken *zababit* shell indicates a shaikh.

The fortune-teller throws three times or five times to tell a person's fortune, scattering her trinkets in a small area, as one would throw dice. She then examines the above articles, and sees how they lie. She then tells a little story such as, "Your small boy is far across the sea, he is now writing a letter to you. It will come by an aeroplane in six days' time. He is missing you greatly, but a kind man is caring for him", or more often a sweetheart and her doings are described in language such as, "The girl you love is pining for you, and is languishing because she cannot see you", etc.

A GAME CALLED AL HAWAILAH

Al Hawailah,* which is a favourite Arab game, is played by two players in the following way:

* Possibly it is the original form of backgammon. There is certainly a resemblance.

Each player digs in the sand seven small holes in a line, opposite each other, placing in each five stones.

O O O O O O O

O O O O O O O

Each player in turn picks up all the stones out of any one hole on his side, and distributes them one by one anti-clockwise in the other holes, beginning at the first hole on the right of the one from which he has taken the stones. Should the last stone end in a hole which either contains one or three stones (not two), the player may "take" them, and place them on one side: also if the one immediately next to it on the right, into which a stone has been put, contains either one or three, it may also be taken.

The game is finished when all the fourteen holes are empty. The stones are then replaced, five in each hole, instead of being counted (ready for the next game).

The player whose stones exceed the number needed to fill the holes in his line wins.

Another variety of this game is called Umm al Judairah, in which the holes are placed in a circle with one in centre.

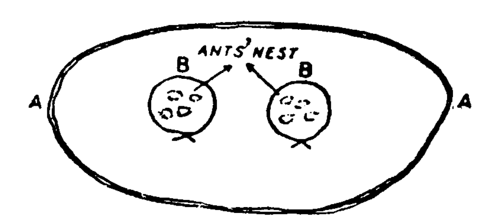
KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAŰD

On 12th December I happened to visit Sálim al Muzaiyin's tents and those of the Al Kharmit ('Awazim). They were all pitched in a hollow on the west side of the Dhahar ridge, some 15 miles from Kuwait. The day was fine and warm.

Outside Salim's tent and opposite the women's quarters I saw a large black ants' nest, with ants busy all over it. There were two main entrances for the ants to go in and out of the nest, some 4 feet apart.

Round the whole nest was drawn a wide circle by means of a shallow trench an inch deep, and inside the circle were placed two ropes in the form of a circle, which are used for binding the poles of the tent together when on the march. They are used for no other purpose.

The large circle had a diameter of about 12 feet, and the small rope circles were about 1 ft. 6 in. in diameter.



"A" Mark on ground in form of shallow trench known as the mark of Solomon, son of David.
"B" The two ropes laid in the form of rings.

I asked the women of the tent what game they or their children had been playing, and they came forward and explained that it was not a game, but "The circle of Solomon the son of David", or "Khitab al Sulaiman bin Dawud", to give it the Arabic name they used.

They explained that they had not noticed the ants' nest when they had pitched their tent; afterwards seeing it, and knowing that the ants would swarm into their tents and steal their rice and grain, etc., they had put the ring of Solomon round the ants to keep them from being a nuisance. This ring would effectually prevent any ants troubling them, they said, for none could or would dare to cross the edge of Solomon's circle. I next asked Atsha, the lady of the house, if any incantation or verse was necessary to be spoken to make the ants obey, and she said simply, "Yes, O Father of Sa'ud, for the circle alone can do nothing": at my request she repeated same. It was as follows:

"Hadha Khitab Sulaiman bin Daúd,
Bism'illa al Rahmán al Rahím,
La tijina wa la nijikum."

(Here is the mark or ring of Solomon, son of David, in the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, do not come near unto us, and we will not come near you.)

A little rice, barley or wheat was then, she said, given to the ants as a present, and they would not harm them or come near them.

When I expressed surprise, and suggested that I was sceptical of the power of the circle, Atsha said reprovingly that I must not doubt the circle's power after the name of God had been invoked. The results were always perfectly satisfactory, and the method was employed by all Badawin everywhere.

I was so interested that I decided to note the phenomenon down.

I leave my readers to form their own opinion as to the efficacy of the method and the age of the ritual. In fairness I must admit that I certainly saw no ants on the outside of the circle, though they swarmed at the two entrances to the nest. Possibly the present of grain had done the trick.

Atsha further explained that the two small circles inside the large one had to be made by the ropes which were specifically always used to bind the tent poles together, when the family was on the move. Any other sort of rope would be quite useless, and would render the spell ineffective.

CHAPTER XLII

Crime

THE BLOOD FEUD

The subject of the blood feud is a big one, and is so well known among experts that I feel diffident in approaching it lest I be challenged by those having more knowledge of Qur'anic Law than I. I shall nevertheless endeavour, with apologies, to touch on this absorbing and interesting subject for the benefit of those of my readers who do not know the Arab or his customs.

Throughout Arabia, and especially among the Badawin of that great country, the Qur'anic Law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is universally understood, and strictly enforced—with slight variations to suit local conditions.

In other words, if a man kill another *intentionally*, his own life is forfeit; if he wound or maim another he may be similarly wounded or maimed in return.

If on the other hand the offender can prove that he killed or wounded another person *unintentionally*, then he is allowed to compound the case by a money payment, fixed according to *'arf* or *islahat* custom, that is to say, by compensation mutually and satisfactorily arranged between both parties, through the medium of the local judge of the Shari'ah court, or the prince, ruler or shaikh as the case may be, such compensation being based on the figures mentioned in the next paragraph, though usually divided by three.

Should it so happen, however, that in a case of *intentional* killing, wounding or maiming, the aggrieved party or his relatives prefer to extract money compensation from the offender, they are permitted to do so under the Shari'ah Law, according to a scale strictly laid down.

An example of such scale is given below. It was given me by H.E. the Shaikh of Kuwait on 5th April, 1936, who in turn obtained it from the Chief Qazi of Kuwait, Al Shaikh Hamáda, as the basis on which to work out a scale of compensation to be paid by the local

Oil Company to its workmen who might get *accidentally* killed or hurt in the course of their work. The scale has been converted from Rials into Rupees, this being the official currency of Kuwait.

(A) *Full compensation, or Rs.3000 in the following cases:*

Death.	Loss of both Hands.
Insanity.	Loss of both Feet.
Total Blindness.	Loss of an Eye of a one-eyed man.
Total Dumbness.	Loss of both Ears (entire).
Total Deafness.	Loss of Nose (entire).
Total loss of Voice.	Loss of Penis.
Total loss of Taste.	

(B) *Half compensation, or Rs.1500 in following cases:*

Loss of Hand.	Loss of one Eye.
Loss of Foot.	Loss of one Testicle.

(C) *Quarter compensation, or Rs.750 in following case:*
Partial loss of both Ears.

(D) *One-eighth compensation, or Rs.375 in following case:*
Entire loss of one Ear.

(E) *One-tenth compensation, or Rs.300 in following cases:*
Loss of Finger of single hand, or any toe of a single foot.

(F) *One-twentieth compensation, or Rs.150 in following case:*
Loss of each Tooth.

The "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" law, though universally understood and practised in Arabia, is slightly varied to suit local conditions and different localities.*

In tribal Iraq, for instance, the cost of an ordinary life to-day works out at Rs.800 or its equivalent in Dinars, while that of a Saiyid, or descendant of the Prophet, is valued at Rs.1100. But among the Badawin of Najd, Hasa and Kuwait the recognised blood money for a life is Rials 800, which at the 1936 rate of exchange works out at Rs.1200 approximately.

It will be noticed that this figure falls far short of the Shari'ah figures, and obviously has been agreed on to meet the impossibility

* Among the Mutair, for instance, compensation for a man killed consists of 800 dollars cash, 1 slave, 1 riding camel, 1 rifle.

of a tribesman being able to collect the sum laid down by the Shari'ah Law.

This money settlement for killing a person is known as *fasl* among the Iraq tribes, and is usually accompanied by the payment of a further sum of honour money or *hashm* if the act was a breach of tribal honour.

For example, in 1916, when I was rather stupidly ambushed and wounded near Suq ash Shuyukh on my way back from a local wedding, I had taken the precaution to have a *rafiq* or safe conduct with me in the person of my old friend, Shaikh Qasid al Nahi, of the Hacham tribe, and two others. I therefore was offered by the Shaikh of the tribe responsible for my safety (Shaikh Qasid) the special sums of Rs.500 plus Rs.400. The former being *fasl* for my spilt blood (no bones broken), and the latter *hashm* or honour money, seeing that I had been hurt whilst under the protection of a *rafiq* of the tribe which shot me.

In the desert this word *fasl* is scarcely known, nor is the word *hashm* understood in the above sense except by a few. Instead the term *'idiyah* or *diyah* is universally used. The meaning is the same as *fasl*, but the word is truer Arabic.

While in Iraq it is practically always possible to settle a murder case by means of this *fasl* or blood-money system, such settlement is unusual in the desert and in Najd proper. It depends almost entirely on the wishes of the relatives of the person killed. In other words, if a man is killed in a private quarrel his parents, or if he has none, his nearest relatives, are asked if they will accept *'idiyah* or desire their *haq* or rights. If they agree to accept *'idiyah* well and good, if not then the slayer's life is forfeit, and it is the business of the ruler or shaikh of the tribes to see the death sentence carried out. In the great majority of cases the executioner is one of the nearest relatives of the man killed.

In carrying out the death sentence it is important that the act of retribution be carried out in exactly the same way and by exactly the same means as the dead man was in the first place done to death.

For example, if A was shot through the head by B, A's relatives must arrange to shoot B through the head and in no other place. Or again, in the case of a wilful hurt not amounting to killing, if C was cut over the head with a sword by D, C's relatives must inflict

exactly the same wound and with a sword on D's head as D inflicted on C. He must not exceed his right in taking his vengeance by one jot or tittle, else he himself lays himself open to counter punishment, and the feud proceeds.

The Shaikh of Kuwait told me the following rather harrowing story of an event which took place in Kuwait about 1927, and which illustrates the stern determination of the Badawin of the desert to enforce what they deem the just law of retribution.

A Mutairi tribal woman living in Kuwait had three sons (the father had died some years previously). One day the eldest son quarrelled with the second son in the market place, and in a fit of rage shot him through the heart. The shot man died almost immediately and the murderer was arrested. The mother, on being asked by the shaikh what sort of punishment she wanted him to inflict on her eldest son replied that she demanded his life, and straightway called upon him to order her youngest son to shoot his elder brother. The shaikh, filled with horror at the woman's unnatural demand, and especially at the idea of turning the youngest boy also into a fratricide, pleaded for several days with the woman. At the same time he pointed out that it was quite unnecessary for her to lose two of her sons at one stroke, seeing that the killing was unpremeditated. He therefore asked her to allow him to judge the matter as he thought fit. The mother was, however, adamant. Consequently the third boy, who was greatly devoted to his two elder brothers, was given a rifle and ordered to shoot his surviving brother in the heart, and in the public market square. He refused point blank, and repeatedly threw the proffered rifle on the ground. Finally on being pressed he fainted, and the execution had to be carried out by the shaikh's own guards. Local Badawin opinion fully agreed with the mother's decision, and the way the execution was carried out, but the unhappy mother was left with only her third son, who, hating her for her ferocity, refused to live with her or even to support her any more.

It is understood among the Badawin of to-day that no blood money can legitimately be claimed in the case of a man killed in regular battle between two tribes at war. This is simply because it is impossible for men to recognise one another in a long-range fight with modern firearms. Nevertheless if a man be recognised in the course

of such battle as having deliberately engaged and killed another in single combat, then he should be on his guard for the rest of his life, for the dead man's relatives may some fine day try to take vengeance as they have the right to do.

I know the case of one such man, a Rashidi named Id al 'Awaiyid. He killed five men (an 'Utaibi, a Dhafiri, a Mutairi, a Harbi and an 'Ajmi) in various 'Ikhwan raids and was recognised as having done so. To-day he is always shy of camping alone in the desert and tries to be the *qasír* or tent neighbour of another man or men wherever he goes, so as to ensure their defending him if he should ever be attacked or set upon.

To prevent possible recognition every Badawin goes into battle with his *kaffiyah* (head cloth) wound tightly across his face and the ends tucked into the *'agál* (black hair head-rope) on top of his head. This hides all but his eyes and so gives him a feeling of security should there be hand-to-hand fighting.

Among the Ma'adan, or primitive marshmen of Iraq, the following pleasant custom exists for ending a family blood feud. The murderer, after paying full blood money to the injured relatives, offers in addition his sister or daughter as wife to the nearest male relation of the killed man. Marriage is then consummated, and the children of the union are supposed to wipe out for ever any blood estrangement that may still exist between the various members of the two families. As far as I know, this is never done among the Badawin, or the Sharif Arabs.

Certain well-known royal and princely houses in Arabia, from earliest times, have always refused to accept *'idiyah* in any form. Nor will battle excuse the slayer, if he is known. His life must be sought and taken. The Ál Sa'ud, the Ál Subah and the Ál Khalifah families may be cited as instances of this.

Similarly the slayer of Shaikh 'Ali al Salim al Subah of Kuwait at Riqai in 1927 by a man of the Braih section of the Mutair is known and is still (in 1936) being sought for by the ruling house of Kuwait.

This refusal among the great to accept *'idiyah* for one of their relatives slain in battle, or otherwise, is due no doubt to a desire to maintain their prestige and honour unimpaired among neighbouring tribes and the Arab world generally.

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a

prince or prominent Arab, whether in war or by underhand means, is never forgiven, and his death will be sought for and encompassed, if the original owner has to search for the culprit all his life and to the ends of the earth.

THEFT

Common thieving, whether from enemy or friend, is considered *'aib* or a shameful thing among the true Badawin and is simply "not done".

The lifting of horses and camels from other Badawin with whom an ancient feud or enmity exists is not theft; it is a *ghazzu*, or honourable raid. The appropriation of other people's property never takes place between persons or tribes who are on terms of friendship or alliance.

Given a strong central government such as in Sa'udi Arabia, and raiding becomes at once unfashionable, but if there is the least loss of control at the centre then out go the raiders, all intent on fun and *chessib* (loot).

Common thieving is punished by the loss of the right hand for the first offence, and so on for subsequent offences, and this punishment has the sanction of the Shari'ah Law behind it. The method is in force throughout Sa'udi Arabia to-day, in Yaman and in some of the neighbouring Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Among the Northern Badawin of Arabia, if an accused man denies a theft, and there is no proof either way, the shaikh of a tribe or community sometimes orders the accused to stand the ordeal by fire. A sword or ramrod is brought and the end heated red hot in a fire and applied for a couple of seconds to the accused's tongue. If he is innocent he will not be hurt and will depart honourably acquitted and with head held high. If guilty his tongue will at once be badly burnt and the crime will be brought home to him.

I only once had a case of this brought to my notice. Shaikh Mahruth ibn Fahad Beg al Hadhal, of the Amarat ('Anizah), had a sword stolen from him when camped near Kerbela in 1922. As Political Officer Middle Euphrates I had a man from Musaiyib arrested on suspicion, the theft having been laid at his door by Shaikh Mahruth himself. No definite evidence was forthcoming and I was about to release the

man when Shaikh Mahruth demanded that the ordeal by fire be resorted to. I should have liked to agree, to see how it worked, but couldn't very well accede to the request, so released the man, much to Shaikh Mahruth's disgust.

POISONING

Despite the difficulty of proof, it seems certain that poison is used pretty extensively in some parts of Arabia (especially the towns) to remove an inconvenient person, such as a private adversary or possibly an unpleasant husband.

Rulers like the Āl Rashīd, Āl Sa'adun and Āl Sa'ud have certainly used this method in the past, when out to get the better of their political opponents, but I am glad to record that never has it been suggested or hinted (even by his enemies) that the present great ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, has ever sunk to such methods.

Probably the commonest poison is arsenic, or some preparation of it. The reason of this is that its effects are rather like cholera, so no questions are asked. Post-mortems are of course unknown. Arsenic, moreover, is easily obtained in every town in Arabia, seeing that it forms the chief ingredient in making preparations for treating camel mange, and in the bigger towns arsenic mixed with lime is a favourite depilatory among better-class women.

The townspeople call poison *sim*, while among the Badawin it is known as *saqwa*.

I have been told by some of my Badawin friends that a common way of administering *saqwa* under the Āl Rashid regime was by means of the coffee-cup. The coffee man kept some arsenic powder made into a paste on his thumb nail, and when he came to the person he wanted to poison he lifted his thumb over the edge of the cup and poured, as if by accident, some coffee over his thumb, and the poison went into the cup. The one to be poisoned drank it, later went sick, showed every symptom of cholera and then died.

An old 'Ajman shaikh told me (10th April, 1935) that when Ibn Rashid tried to poison Shaikh Abdur Rahman al Sa'ud (the father of the present King) and his brother when they were his hostages in

Hail, he did so by the above method. The latter drank his coffee and died shortly afterwards. The former spotted the coffee man's trick, and did not swallow the coffee. He instead bent forward and under cover of his long sleeve spat the coffee out inside his *ẓibún* and on to his chest. His chest was burnt where the coffee fell, so also was his mouth. He bore the chest scars to the day of his death.

The story is, I believe, true, though the burning is unconvincing and is probably a Badawin embellishment. If true, it suggests that an acid of some sort was mixed with the arsenic.

CHAPTER XLIII

The Supernatural

SPELLS (SAHAR)

Among the Badawin it is widely believed that certain women (mostly though not necessarily Sulubbiyah*), can cast spells over men, and can also remove them at will. Such a woman is known as a *sahára*. For example, one Dehila was a famous spell-weaver of the 'Utaiba tribe, and was known all over Najd and North-East Arabia, including Kuwait. She was finally slain by the Shaikh of the 'Utaiba, Sultan ibn Humaid, at Ghaghat, when 'Ikhwanism was at its height (probably about 1929).

An old 'Ajman shaikh told me on 26th March, 1935, in general conversation on this subject, that the wife of the Amir Ajlan, Rashidi Governor at Riyadh, took vengeance in the following way on 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (the present King) for slaying her husband and capturing the city. She begged Bin Sa'ud to accept a *dushak* and *mukhaddah* (mattress and cushion) of her own make as a present. She took care previously to place inside the pillow certain necessary writings and other articles such as needles, coloured threads, etc., which could cast a spell *sahar* and kill. She got these from a woman skilled in the business. Bin Sa'ud and the 'Ajman shaikh who had helped him to capture Riyadh, one Manahi ibn Mijlád, both leaned on the pillow, which was placed between them. Manahi got the spell, sickened rapidly and died. Bin Sa'ud was struck with agonising pain in head and eyes, but was saved by the spell-breaker, Hitlan al Dausari. In the process of being released from the spell, Bin Sa'ud got rid of small black worms like caterpillars, which fell out in quantities from his nose, also small white worms were coughed up out of his throat. The *sahar* had nearly worked successfully on Bin Sa'ud also, and from the King downwards everyone knew what had happened. 'Abdul 'Aziz, with true chivalry, did not kill the woman, but sent her home

* See Chapter XLI.

to Hail. The above story is to-day widely believed among all Badawin of Arabia, especially among the 'Ajman.

H.E. the Shaikh of Kuwait on 28th March, 1935, described how, among the Badawin, women, more especially when there were two wives, often tried to buy spells to keep their husbands' love. Such spells often succeeded so well as eventually to kill the man by the violence of their action. It was necessary for a successful spell that the wife should get a hair from her husband's head or beard when he was asleep, and give it to the spell-weaver. The latter put it in a concoction to be drunk by the man.

'Ali al Shuwairibat, famous Shaikh of the Birzan section of the Braih, Mutair (Wasil), had a spell put on him by his adoring wife somewhere in February 1935. The spell made him love her so greatly that it slowly killed him, it is said. He was brought into Kuwait on 21st March, 1935, in a dying condition. Shaikh Ja'alan, his cousin, and the man who brought him in, came and saw me and told me the whole story. 'Ali al Shuwairibat died on 14th April, 1935, after having tried in vain to get a local woman spell-breaker to cure him. He had refused to take my advice at first and see Dr. Mylrea of the American Mission, though actual symptoms suggested that he was suffering from galloping consumption. He later did see Mylrea, who confirmed that the man had advanced phthisis, but refused to be treated properly. He preferred the spell-breaker. 'Ali's wife was later killed by his brother, in spite of her having taken refuge in the tent of Bin Sa'ud's Commandant of Sariya at Hafar al Batin. The accusation against her was that she had cast a spell on her husband and caused his death.

A very grave but curious case of *sahar* came under my personal notice at Kuwait on 26th March, 1936, and was all the more remarkable because the chief actor was Mr. A, one of the most enlightened and well-read persons, who had always shown himself to be a most educated, fair and responsible man and, to my certain knowledge, had always been against all forms of witchcraft, tyranny and slavery, and had often told me of the number of slaves he had freed, and of his steady efforts to put down even domestic slavery.

Apparently in this case the superstition which is always deeply inherent in every Arab mind, and the belief that he had got hold of a

genuine case of *sahar* or witchcraft, made him forget all his nice new-born ideas.

It happened in this wise:

Mr. B, uncle to Mr. A, was camped for the spring season some miles from Kuwait, and Mr. A was camped in the vicinity. The lady X, B's sister, was staying, as she often did, in A's tent. Now the lady X had long been *za'alan*, or angry, with her brother, for his attentions to one of her own pretty female slaves. This girl cooked for him, cared for his clothes, arranged all the household matters and generally ran the establishment. For the lady X this was hard to bear, as she herself had for long been in the position of the Shaikhah, or head of B's establishment. The lady X undoubtedly felt herself being slowly supplanted by the comely Abyssinian slave-girl, hence she had more and more stayed away and lived in A's tent.

Nor was this all. The lady X had long been in ill health due in the first instance to bad pyorrhœa, and undoubtedly she was getting more and more feeble and definitely beginning to lose her looks, her temper and her amiability.

This combination of jealousy and bad health began to work on her mind, and slowly but surely she conceived the idea that the slave-girl had bewitched her brother, Mr. B, and had cast a *sahar* over herself, which unless counteracted would bring about her death at no distant date. She began to pour out her woes to her nephew, Mr. A, and the latter as slowly but surely began to believe she was right. Now Mr. A was very fond of his young aunt (who was unmarried), and was anxious to do all he could to help. At length, as the lady X got more and more morose, and was obviously failing seriously in health, he determined to try what he could do. He told X, his aunt, to send a car to Mr. B's camp to fetch her slave. The slave-girl readily came and, entering her mistress's tent, asked what she wanted. The lady X told her that Mr. A was in a neighbouring tent and wanted to speak with her. What followed can only be surmised, but according to slaves' talk, she was accused of having concocted and cast a spell over lady X so as to gradually kill her, and supplant her in her brother B's affection and favour. The slave-girl, who strenuously denied the tale, was most unmercifully

beaten all over, especially on the head, by men slaves. After what must have been a truly terrible ordeal, the miserable girl died and her body was sent off to her old father and mother for burial covered up with her *'abba* in a car. Mr. B was furious when he heard of the deed, and Mr. A, in a stormy interview, is reported to have taken the line that by his deed he had saved his uncle B's honour, and his aunt's life to boot, and that therefore his act was a virtuous one and justified.

The Ruler, H.H. Shaikh Ahmad, is reported to have been very angry indeed when he heard of the incident, and took suitable action against the offenders. It is doubtful whether this will have any permanent result, however, for the prejudice against witchcraft and anyone tampering with *sahar* is locally very great, and Mr. A is sure to make the most of popular prejudice. Already the story is going about that the actual spell used by the slave-girl to kill her mistress was found sewed inside lady X's pillow just where she placed her head. This trumped-up yarn was of course spread to deceive and influence public opinion.

JINNS, GHOSTS, ETC.

Dhuwaihi ibn Kharmit of the 'Awazim impressed on me (21st April, 1935) that it was always wise to avoid Badawin burial places, especially at night. He explained that during darkness, and especially about midnight, the spirits of the dead often came out of their tombs and sat on them, conversing with one another. Should a person of this world happen to go near, or pass close by, the spirits often shouted after him and abused him. They went further, and forcibly prevented a man from going about his business by throwing stones at him.

THE 'AUSAJ BUSH

Among the Badawin of Hasa and Kuwait the *'ausaj* bush is considered to be under the special protection of Jinns (spirits). It is never cut nor are branches ever broken from it. It is believed that anyone injuring it will be followed and tormented, especially at night, by hostile Jinns. The Badawin, on approaching an *'ausaj* bush, will always invoke God's protection by a *bi'smi 'llah al Rahmán al Rahím* (In the

name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate) and will cast a stone into the bush. Hence *'ausaj* bushes are always seen surrounded by a pile of stones at the base. Though men will usually joke about this if questioned, the superstition remains nevertheless deep in their hearts, and they take no risks.

HAUNTS OF JINNS

There are two spots believed to be special haunts of Jinns in North-East Arabia:

Abrag al Khalijah is vaguely but widely reputed to be a place where a meteorite fell some seventy years ago. I have not yet visited it, but its position lies in Sa'udi Arabia, at the southern end of the Shaqq depression and close to the south-west corner of the Kuwait Neutral Zone. Every Kuwait Badawin knows the place but pretends to fear to go near it as it is said to be the home of Jinns. It has been flown over and examined from the air by certain geologists (in 1932), who were greatly interested.

According to them it consists of a hole in the ground some 4 acres in extent with cliff-like sides about 24 feet high. The 'Awazim and 'Ajman particularly fear to approach the place.

'Ain al 'Abd.—This lies about 30 miles east and slightly north of Abrag al Khalijah, and stands on the southern edge of the Kuwait Neutral Zone close to the marshy area known as the Maqtah, which is undoubtedly caused by various salty springs. The whole marsh is covered by *'ausaj* bushes, the plant which, according to Badawin lore, is dangerous to cut lest you be haunted by evil spirits. The actual 'Ain consists of a pool of water 40 feet across and some 6 feet below the surface of the surrounding country. In the centre of the pool there is a spring which surges out of the ground. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur and smells like bad eggs for a mile round. The pool flows away by a channel, whether natural or artificial I do not know, and eventually the water finds its way to the sea some 10 miles away.

The Arabs tell the story of how a "black thing", they know not what, lives in the centre of the pool with head like a Negro. This animal or Jinn every now and then comes to the surface, shows itself and disappears again. At other times the thing is said to come out of

the pool and sit on the bank itself. Those who have seen it say it looks like a black man from afar. The water of the 'Ain being unfit to drink and therefore useless, the place is avoided by man. A series of tests carried out by Captain Papworth, R.E., in 1934, proved that approximately 1,000 gallons of water per hour flowed from the spring. I have myself visited the haunted spot twice, but needless to say saw nothing alarming. My escort all refused to approach nearer than 300 yards, except one man, the stalwart Mirshid al Shammari (ibn Twala).

CHAPTER XLIV

Curious Customs and Stories

MAD DOG BITE

If a person is bitten by a dog suffering from rabies, he must immediately find a man of the Birzan section of the Mutair, and drink a coffee-cup full of his blood (which he pays for). The blood of a Birzani so taken is regarded among all the tribes of North-East Arabia as an infallible cure.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.
Confirmed by the Shaikh of the Birzan, the late 'Ali al Shuwairibat, in 1935

DIVISION OF SPOIL, GIFTS, ETC.

Among the Badawin the method adopted for the just division of spoil is to send one person some distance away, so that he cannot see what article is selected. Another will then call out "Who shall have this?" holding up or pointing at a particular article. The man must then in reply name one of the party. This custom has religious or *Shari'ah* sanction behind it.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.

MAKING DECISIONS

To decide whether a journey or other enterprise shall be undertaken, the counting of beads (odd or even) three times, is common among the Shi'ahs.

Among the Badawin the following method is adopted: A man will shut his eyes and hold his hands out in front of him, palms towards him, and fingers of the two hands pointing toward each other. He will then try slowly and with his eyes shut to bring the fingers together, so as to make the tip of the centre finger of one hand *exactly*

meet the tip of the centre finger of the other hand. If this happens, the undertaking will be attended with good luck. If exact contact does not take place, then on no account must the undertaking be carried out. This test is usually made three times.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11 August, 1932.

NOTE.—Friday journeys or undertakings are quite legitimate but only after noonday prayer has been performed. Never before.

TO BRING LUCK

When a Badawin eats dates, he throws the stones over his shoulder, believing that each stone so thrown means a camel acquired in a raid.

Shaikh of Kuwait, 28th May, 1935.

TO BECOME A GOOD SHOT

If a Badawin wants to become a good shot, the common method is to light a piece of cloth (cotton or wool) made up into a small ball. This as it smoulders is held very close to the right forearm, four inches behind the wrist knuckle bone. The ball should not be alight, but only smouldering, nor must the actual cloth ball be applied to the flesh. The heat of the burning piece of cloth soon raises a large blister about the size of a small matchbox. When this happens the operation is complete and the burning cloth is removed. Later the blister bursts and leaves an oblong raw spot, which in turn when it heals, leaves a scar to the man's dying day. This painful ordeal is considered among the Badawin to insure that the patient becomes a good shot with the rifle.

The present Shaikh of Kuwait had the operation done to him as a young man, and certainly he is a remarkable shot.

TO ACQUIRE COURAGE

Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah told me on 12th November, 1938, that among certain Badawin it was not uncommon for a man to eat the liver of a wolf to make him brave.

AN 'AJMAN STORY TOLD AT THE EXPENSE OF THE 'AWAZIM

The 'Awazim tribe use a curious expression which differs from that of all other tribes. When they want to put up the back and side walls of their tent (*ruag*) instead of saying, *Ya fulan rawag al bait* ("O, So-and-so, place the side curtains round the tent"), as is said by all self-respecting tribes, they say, *Ya fulan, istir al bait* ("So-and-so, make the tent respectable"). This particular expression is said to recall a rather lewd story about their tribe, of which they are heartily ashamed. The story is of 'Ajman origin and is as follows:

A young 'Ajman warrior once had his tent close to that of an 'Azmi (singular of 'Awazim), who was on very friendly terms with him. Both young men had pretty sisters who often played together, when their brothers were out with the camels or away raiding. The young men themselves were unmarried, as neither had the wherewithal to buy himself a wife. One day as the two lads were coming home after a long day's hunting, the 'Ajman youth said to the 'Azmi, "What do you say to exchanging sisters this evening—I take yours and you take mine, no one is about or near us, let us enjoy ourselves?" The 'Azmi having agreed, both on reaching their camp told their sisters. The girls also agreed, but the 'Ajman youth before he actually sent his sister off to his friend's tent warned her saying, "Be very careful not to let that low-born 'Azmi really mishandle you; if you do, I shall certainly kill you. When he comes to make love you must roll about the floor and avoid his embrace, and generally prevent him working his will on you."

The two youths then took each the other's sister to bed, but the clever 'Ajman girl would not allow the 'Azmi to get near her, and by rolling about and ever escaping his clutches, managed to do as her brother had told her. Maddened with disappointment the 'Azmi called out to his sister in the other tent saying, "Do not let my friend touch you but do as this one is doing, roll about, roll about (*rowagi, rowagi*)". His sister's voice came in reply, "My brother, I cannot, I cannot, it is already too late".

Since that time the 'Awazim tribe never use the expression *rawagi al bait* to a woman, or to a man *rawag al bait.*

A GOOD WATCH-DOG

To make a Badawin dog fierce and a good watch-dog, his ears are cut off when young. A piece is then cooked and given him to eat. This, according to the Arab, turns him into a good watch-dog and especially a good barker by night. (See Chapter IV.)

THE NUMBER ELEVEN

A curious thing about the 'Awazim tribe is that they never will use the word *ahada 'ashar* for *eleven.* They always say *'ashra wa wahad* (ten and one). The rest of the numerals they name as other Arabs do. I have not yet been able to find out the reason for this avoidance of eleven.

Kuwait, October 30, 1933.

HOW AN 'AJMAN WOMAN SAVES HER CHILDREN

Among the 'Ajman, if a woman's children are dying apparently without reason, a piece of the ear above the lobe is cut off from the latest born infant, placed inside a date, and given to the mother to eat. The child is then known as *Al Jida'* (the cut-off one).

Maneira bint 'Iyda al Fa'aran al Hithlain, wife of Hamad al Mishwatt, had had this done. She showed me her ear on 16th August, 1935.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME DHAFIR, THE GREAT DESERT TRIBE SOUTH OF THE EUPHRATES

The name means a "collection of many oddments", and is derived from the same root as:

Tadhafaru—they were plaited together.
Dhafar—to plait.
Dhafayir—a woman's plait.

Similarly we have Muntafiq from *ittifaq*, a coming together.

NOTE.—This describes exactly how these two great tribes were originally formed. They grew out of a collection or confederation of a number of small desert units in the first instance, and of a number of marsh tribes in the second, under Sa'adun leaders.

ORIGIN OF 'AWAZIM TRIBE

The 'Awazim claim to be related to the Bani Attiya of North Hijaz, as both claim descent from one *Atta*, and call themselves *Auldd Atta*. But I think this to be a mere coincidence, nothing more, and although the 'Awazim of Hasa certainly come from North Hijaz, they are of Hutaim stock, and will usually admit this.

The war cry of the 'Awazim tribe is *Auldd Atta* corrupted into *Aladatta*, and it is amusing to hear an 'Awazim child quarrelling with another and shouting out *Aladatta*.

CHAPTER XLV

The Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes

This book would not be complete without a short reference to the great southerly annual migration of the shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq Confederation situate between Samawa and the Hamar Lake.

These shepherd tribes, which are known under the generic term of Shawíyah or Shawawi in Iraq, and that of Hukra in Kuwait and Najd, consist of the sheep-rearing sections of the three great groups of the Muntafiq, namely the Albu Salah, the 'Ajwad and the Bani Malik, as well as the Bani Hachaim tribe which have their habitat south-east of Samawa, adjoining the Muntafiq.

The names of most of these Euphrates shepherd tribes are given below, and each has a definite shaikh or leader, though some of them come under the protection of one or other of the more powerful riverain tribes of the lower Euphrates.

(1) Bani Málik Group:

Al Wada'ai. Al Májid.
Al Taugiyah. Al Diwán.
Al Munafida.

(all known under name Al Jumai'an)

(2) Albu Sálah Group:

Al Shamla. Al 'Araithib.
Al Safáfa'a Al 'Abada.

(3) 'Ajwad Group:

Al Juarín. Al Sharaifat.
*Al Budur. Al Ghazzi.

(4) Bani Hachaim Group:

Al Zaiyad. Al Ghazalat.
Bani Salamah.

(5) Shammar (elements claiming descent from main Shammar of Najd):

†Ah 'Aunan. Al Rufai'at.
Al Zauba.

* Budur tribal sections who visit Kuwait are the Al Hamad and the Al Fauwaz (Shaikh Mana). These are at enmity with the rest of the Budur (paramount Shaikh Shirshab al Sahan). Shammar shepherd tribes who in summer reside at Zubair or at Hartha (10 miles north of Basra) and annually visit Kuwait are Al Rufai'at and Al Zauba.

† Al 'Aunan are of Shammar extraction. They reside near Suq *al* Shuyukh.

Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawíyah lying east of Samawa.

These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq–Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba–Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarín, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarín and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos, each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhabíhah wa maníhah*, consisting of gifts of young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *ẓakát* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *ẓakát*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and



ARFAJ BRUSHWOOD COMING IN FROM THE DESERT

necks to passers-by. Their moral code, however, is high, and quite different in this respect from some of their Iraq riverain neighbours, the settled Ma'adan or marsh tribes.

HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ*

The tribal league, which may be said roughly to occupy the Euphrates from Chabaish to Darraji and the Shatt al Gharraf as far north as Kut al Hai, is known as the Muntafiq. The link between the units of which it is composed is of the loosest kind, being no more than a common recognition of the paramount authority of the Sa'adun. This family, which claims descent from the Prophet and is therefore related to the Sharíf of Mecca, emigrated from the Hijaz to Mesopotamia in the early part of the sixteenth century. According to local tradition, the southern borders of the 'Iraq were held towards the close of the 'Abbasid period by two large tribal groups, the Bani Malik (in the dialect pronunciation Bani Malich) in the Shamiyah, under Ibn Khusaibah and the 'Ajwad further north on the Gharraf, under the Al Wathal. The name of the first ancestor of the Sa'adun who approached their territories is generally given as Shabib. It is said that his son, Mani, took to wife a daughter of the ruling house of the Bani Malik and was presently involved in a feud between that tribe and the 'Ajwad. The scale turned in favour of the latter. The Bani Malik were defeated with considerable loss in a battle in which Mani was himself killed, and forced to make their escape into Najd, taking with them Mani's son, Shabib, who was the grandson of their own shaikh. After three years of exile, they were reinforced by some sections of the 'Utaiba, one of the most powerful tribes of Central Arabia, and felt themselves strong enough to take revenge upon their rivals. Legend relates that Shabíb ibn Mani came up to spy upon the camping grounds of the 'Ajwad, whom he found at the wells of Safwan, a well-known watering-place on the borders of what is now Kuwait territory. On his way back he took note of the stages of his journey and returned to Najd with a careful report of every halting-place, Wird, 'Azib, Fallahah, Qirb al Ma (water; waterless, sown land, near

* The word is correctly written with a *qaf*, Muntafiq [not Muntafik], from *'ittifaq*, agreement. Pronounced *Mintifich*.

water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road. Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khusaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf, and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawíyah type (Shawáwi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed

villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of donkeys is as distinctive of Shawíyah encampments in the desert as is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawíyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin.

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of confederacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

dismemberment, accompanied by regrouping, is the process which governs all Arab tribal evolution. Within the Bani Malik are two ancient and powerful federations which have from time immemorial been at strife, the Bani Khaiqan and the Mujarrah. There is some doubt as to whether either is of Bani Malik stock, which may account for the secular feud which exists between them.* The Bani Khaiqan are at present gathered under the hold of the Al Mughashghash, a clan of one of their largest sub-tribes, but the Mujarrah are split into a number of inferior groups and have no common head.

The history of the Muntafiq league is inseparably linked with that of the Sa'adun. The very name of Muntafiq, as used in 'Iraq, refers only to the ruling family and to its slaves and dependants who are reckoned to be an integral part of it. No tribesman in 'Iraq would call himself Muntafiq though he might use the word if he were in Mecca or Damascus where his own small tribe would be unknown, while the fame of the Muntafiq would be familiar to every Arabic-speaking community. The position of the Sa'adun, a matter of considerable importance in Southern Mesopotamian politics, has been determined partly by their origins and partly by Turkish official ignorance or intentional misunderstanding of their relation to the tribes. It must be borne in mind that the Sa'adun belong to the social order of the desert and have not succumbed to the local influences which have affected the tribal population of 'Iraq, who are, like themselves, immigrants from Arabia, but usually immigrants of an earlier period, and as settlers on the soil have been brought into more intimate contact with Mesopotamian traditions. The Sa'adun have preserved the characteristics of Badawin Arabia. They are Sunnis and Ahl al Baiyir, people of the camel; their *dírahs* are in the Hamad west of the Hai or south of the Euphrates, where they have dug or re-opened wells in their accustomed camping grounds. Here they repair after the early rains, and here they assume their natural part as independent chieftains of the desert. The 'Iraq tribes, who have acknowledged them as overlords, differ from them in every particular. They are Shi'ahs, settled or half-settled cultivators and marshmen, whose link with the desert people has long been broken; socially inferior,

* The Bani Khaiqan are said to be originally 'Ajwad and the Mujarrah to be Bani Sa'id.

but strong numerically, and stronger still in their hereditary hold upon the land they occupy.

The Muntafiq league under the Sa'adun remained until the time of Mid-hat Pasha, in 1871, almost independent of Turkish rule. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, however, they seem to have paid tribute to the Turks. The first mention of this tribute is in 1747, when the Resident at Basra reported that the Muntafiq were in rebellion against the Turks because of the tribute imposed on them. In 1769 they again rebelled under their shaikh 'Abdullah on account of arrears of the tribute which the Turks had attempted to exact. In 1776 the Muntafiq helped the Turks to defend Basra against the Persians under Karim Khan, but were defeated and presumably submitted to the Persians during the three years of the Persian occupation, which ended in 1779. In May 1787 the Sa'adun Shaikh Thuwaini entered Basra with a large force, took possession of the town and the Turkish fleet and imprisoned the Musallim, but was expelled from Basra by the Pasha of Baghdad in October 1787.

Between 1797 and 1802 the Muntafiq formed the chief bulwark of Basra against the Wahhabis. In 1798 they marched with the Turks into Hasa against the Wahhabis, and in 1801 the Shaikh Thuwaini, already mentioned, led an expedition against the Wahhabi capital, but was murdered not far from Kuwait.

Between 1810 and 1817 the Muntafiq seem to have been in open rebellion against the Pasha of Baghdad. In 1813 'Abdullah Pasha of Baghdad marched against the Muntafiq chief, Humud al Thamir, but was defeated near Basra, captured and put to death. Upon this the Sa'adun greatly extended their power and ruled up to Samawah. Da'ud Pasha of Baghdad attempted about 1817 to break up the tribe by nominating a rival chief in opposition to Humud, but the intrigue failed, and after the deposition of Da'ud Pasha in 1831 Humud's son, Majid, regained the old independence and ascendancy of the Sa'adun. In 1850 the Muntafiq districts were torn by feuds in which the Turks feebly interfered, Faris ibn 'Ajil being finally recognised as the principal chief.

From this time onward the Turks began getting a firmer hold over the Muntafiq by constantly changing the shaikhs and setting them one against the other, increasing on the occasion of each change the tribute

payable by the tribe. Thus between 1851 and 1853 the nominal tribute was increased from 200,000 to 310,000 *Shamis*, and the regular system of farming out the country by auction to the shaikhs seems to have begun. In 1863 the Wali of Baghdad, Namiq Pasha, attempted to break the tribal power by taking away altogether the Muntafiq lands south of Qurnah, together with the Hai lands, and turning the Sa'adan chief into a regular Qaimmaqam whose powers were to be much diminished and restricted to Suq al Shuyukh. A Turkish Muhasibju was put in to rule the country with him. The chief, Shaikh Mansur, rebelled against these restrictions and tried to engineer a general Arab rising against the Turks, on the express ground that the Turks were attempting to interfere in the internal administration of the tribes. The Wali was forced to withdraw from his new policy, but it was noted by the Resident at Baghdad that, if the Turks had had the strength and perseverance to carry it out, it would have been approved by the Muntafiq tribes, who had suffered much oppression at the hands of their chiefs.

In 1864 and 1865 the two principal chiefs, Shaikh Fahad and Shaikh Mansur, were still in a state of veiled rebellion against the Turks, owing to the attempts of the latter to break up the tribal system. Shaikh Mansur finally took refuge with the Dhafir, while his brother, Nasir, was in 1866 granted the lease of the Shaikship, having outbid Shaikh Fahad. Shaikh Nasir was received into special favour by the Turks and he seems to have fallen under the influence of the Great Wali of Baghdad, Mid-hat Pasha, who about 1871 induced him to abandon the position taken up by Shaikh Fahad and Shaikh Mansur, and to welcome Ottomanising influences among the Muntafiq. This was the first downward step, and Nasir Pasha, great as his name is (he founded Nasiriyah), seems really to have been the betrayer of the Muntafiq to the Turks. An attempt at a regular Turkish land settlement was made. The Sa'adun were bribed into accepting the change, by being converted into regular landowners from their position as tribute-receiving chiefs. The tribes lost their status as landowners and became tenants, and the whole of the arable land of Nasiriyah and Suq al Shuyukh was parcelled out, by Tapu registration, then for the first time introduced, between the Sa'adun and the Turkish Crown.

In 1872 Shaikh Nasir was employed by the Turks in settling the newly conquered districts of Hasa and Qatif, and as a reward for these services he was appointed Wali of the newly constituted Wilayat of Basra in 1875. He proved too powerful, however, owing to the conjunction of the Waliship with the Chiefship of the Muntafiq, and was exiled to Constantinople about 1877.

In 1881, while Nasir was a prisoner in Constantinople, the whole of the Muntafiq tribes rose in rebellion, partly it seems owing to collisions between them and the Turkish troops stationed at the newly built cantonment of Nasiriyah, and partly because attempts were being made by the Turks to enforce the new land settlement and to make the tribesmen pay landlord's dues to the Turkish Crown and to the Sa'adun. This rebellion was never properly put down, but the Turks seem to have given up collecting the new land taxes and to have given considerable power to Falih Pasha, eldest son of the deported Nasir, who thereupon resumed to some extent the Ottomanising policy of his father.

In the meantime the Muntafiq became divided in allegiance between Sa'adun Pasha, son of Shaikh Mansur (who was thus nephew of Nasir and first cousin of Falih), and Falih himself. Apparently at the time Falih was regarded as the Ottomaniser and Sa'adun as the exponent of the old tribal principles. Sa'adun Pasha, in consequence of his hostility to Turkish influence, was at this time a friend of the Shaikh of Kuwait. He maintained himself against Falih mainly by plunder and robbery. He first came into prominence in 1900 when he raided Ibn Rashid in order to please the Shaikh of Kuwait. Ibn Rashid threatened reprisals on Kuwait, and marched to attack Kuwait territory. He was confronted by the forces of Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait and of Sa'adun Pasha, with some Turkish troops, and was finally persuaded to withdraw, on the promise that Sa'adun Pasha would be hunted down.

Sa'adun Pasha thought that he had been deserted by Mubarak in the course of these negotiations and he and Mubarak seem never to have been on good terms again. In 1903 he caused a great disturbance among the Muntafiq by practising extortion on the Jazirah tribes, presumably those which owed allegiance to Shaikh Falih. A small Turkish force was sent against him and was massacred by him with

its Colonel at Shatrah, but in 1904 he was taken back into favour of the Turks.

Between 1904 and 1908 the Muntafiq continued to divide their allegiance between the two cousins, Sa'adun Pasha and Falih. In the spring of 1908 Falih died, leaving no son of any age or force of character to succeed him, so that Sa'adun became clearly predominant in the tribe. In 1908 Sa'adun seized the opportunity of the revolution and came out as a strong supporter of the Committee of Union and Progress. He was therefore favoured by the officials, while Falih's family was thrust into the shade. Sa'adun's championing of the cause of the Committee gradually brought him into conflict with Saiyid Talib of Basra who, after flirting with the party of Union and Progress, had begun to promote the opposing Arab movement. Confident in the support of the Union and Progress officials, Sa'adun Pasha began to exercise great tyranny among the Muntafiq; he put many of the minor shaikhs to death,* and extended more and more his system of blackmail and extortion. Finally in 1910 Názim Pasha, Wali of Baghdad, adopted the policy of governing the whole of the Muntafiq country through Sa'adun Pasha, whom he practically appointed Mutasarrif of Nasiriyah. He supported him unreservedly and would listen to no complaints against him. Great discontent against Sa'adun Pasha, fomented by the party of the sons of Falih Pasha, developed among the tribesmen who, in March 1911, took advantage of his defeat in an expedition against the Dhafir to rise against him. The whole country was in an uproar, and in June 1911 a Turkish Commission was appointed to enquire into the cause of the rising. It appeared that one of the main causes was that Sa'adun Pasha, acting as a Turkish official, had attempted to carry out the Turkish policy of disarmament among his own tribesmen. This had naturally made him intensely unpopular. The Commission, however, was understood to "attribute the Muntafiq troubles to the fact that the arable lands of the tribe are in the hands of a few powerful shaikhs, who oppress their fellow-tribesmen and keep them at variance, and that the proper remedy is a thoroughgoing partition of the lands". This was a rare instance of penetration on the part of a Turkish Committee of Enquiry,

* Notably five Budur tribal shaikhs near Batha above Nasiriyah Town, under very treacherous circumstances.

and there is little doubt that they had hit the right nail on the head. At the bottom of all the Muntafiq troubles is an agrarian difficulty, such as has stirred men's minds from the time of Tiberius Gracchus to the time of the Irish Land League.

Sa'adun Pasha with his son, 'Ajaimi, had been seeking to maintain himself in the neighbourhood of Nasiriyah against his rebellious tribesmen. But on the assembling of the Committee of Enquiry, the Turks withdrew all official support from him, and, entirely reversing their policy, sought to enter into direct relations with the tribesman and to prepare the way for an individualistic regime and for the last step in the smashing of the tribal system. Saiyid Talib, Naqibzadah of Basra, who had not yet appeared in open opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, nor openly espoused the side of the Falih family against Sa'adun, was sent by the Turks to try and get hold of Sa'adun Pasha. He managed to decoy him on board the gunboat *Marmaris* near Suq al Shuyukh and immediately took him off in confinement to Basra and handed him over to the Wali, leaving 'Ajaimi and Sa'adun's other sons at large. This act of treachery on the part of Saiyid Talib was never forgiven by 'Ajaimi and threw him permanently on to the side of the Committee of Union and Progress and against the side of the Arab Party under Saiyid Talib, in spite of the mean way in which Sa'adun Pasha had been treated by Turkish officialdom.

In July 1911 Sa'adun Pasha was sent in confinement to Baghdad and was thence removed in August 1911 to Aleppo, where he died suddenly on 25th November, 1911, as was officially reported, of "apoplexy and heart failure", but as was generally believed of poison. 'Ajaimi remained at large in the neighbourhood of Nasiriyah as an outlaw.

During the interval between Sa'adun Pasha's capture and death the sympathies of the whole Muntafiq tribe (including even his enemies, the Falih family) seem to have veered round in his favour, presumably because he was no longer in the position of an Ottoman official but was obviously out of favour with the Turks.

After the death of Sa'adun Pasha the Muntafiq country was administered from January to November 1912 by a Military Mutasarrif Farid Bey, who was a staunch adherent of the Committee of Union and

Progress and was therefore on friendly terms with 'Ajaimi. 'Ajaimi, as already explained, was on the side of the Committee out of hatred of Saiyid Talib, the betrayer of his father, who was now drifting more and more into opposition to the Committee and was intriguing with 'Ajaimi's cousins and rivals, the members of the Falih family, Mizyad Beg, 'Abdullah Beg and others. In October 1912, when a reactionary movement against the Committee was threatened in Constantinople, a telegram was sent by one of 'Ajaimi's relations to say that 'Ajaimi was ready to march on Constantinople to frustrate any attempt at reaction. In the same month 'Ajaimi attacked and robbed his cousin, Mizyad Beg (probably with the connivance of the Mutasarrif, Farid Pasha), of a very large sum, and came into conflict with Mizyad's brother, 'Abdullah Beg.

The Committee of Union and Progress had been temporarily overthrown in November 1912 and Saiyid Talib was paramount at Basra and in favour with the Wali, who was a creature of Kiamil Pasha. 'Ajaimi was declared an outlaw, owing to his attack on Mizyad; the Falih family was received into full official favour, and the Committee partisan, Farid Pasha, was removed from his post at Nasiriyah. 'Ajaimi, irritated by these events, threatened an attack on Basra in November 1912, and there was a panic in the town, which Saiyid Talib had helped to put in a position of defence. 'Ajaimi was, however, dissuaded from pressing his attack and retired.

In January 1913 the Committee resumed power by a *coup d'état* culminating in the murder of Nazim Pasha and the removal from office of Kiamil. The partisans of the Committee were immediately installed in power in Basra and 'Ajaimi once more found himself on the side of the Turkish officials, while Saiyid Talib was in opposition. Finally in June 1913 Saiyid Talib stood forth at Basra threatening open rebellion against the Turks. The Committee then evolved the scheme that 'Ajaimi's old friend, Farid Pasha, should be sent from Baghdad to be Military Commandant of Basra, and if possible arrest or kill Saiyid Talib, while 'Ajaimi with his tribesmen should help against Basra from the desert. 'Ajaimi's hands were set free by a reconciliation patched up by the officials of Samawah between him and the Dhafir tribe. He advanced against Basra and Saiyid Talib's assassination was expected at any moment. But Saiyid Talib suddenly

got in the first blow and had Farid Pasha assassinated in open day in 'Ashar. 'Ajaimi then retreated, and is said to have complained subsequently that he had not been properly supported by the Turks.

During the whole of 1913 the Muntafiq country remained in disorder. 'Ajaimi was now apparently officially recognised as Shaikh of the Muntafiq, but was unable to control the tribes. He worked in concert with Ibn Rashid against the Dhafir. In April 1914 the Wali visited Suq ash Shuyukh and saw 'Ajaimi and a new plot seems to have been concocted against Saiyid Talib, who had meanwhile been growing in power at Basra. In May 1914 adherents of 'Ajaimi began to drift into Basra, and Saiyid Talib was once more in danger of assassination, but he took so firm an attitude that the Wali banished 'Ajaimi's adherents from the town. He remained hanging about not far from Zubair until war broke out in November 1914.

The tribes have never acquiesced in their degradation from landowners to tenants, nor have the Sa'adun been able to enforce to the full the rights they acquired from the Ottoman Government. With the weakening of the central authority since the beginning of the constitutional era in 1908, and the general deterioration in local administration which followed on the Italian and Balkan wars, the official sanction for which the Sa'adun bartered their old tribal prerogative has proved a broken reed. For several years before the British Occupation the tribes had refused to pay rent, and their attitude is one of extreme unwillingness to be drawn back into the state of subserviency which was imposed upon them. At the same time the prestige of the Sa'adun chiefs, combined with the sedulous preaching of the Jihád by pro-Turkish Saiyids, and the yet stronger inducement offered by the immediate rewards of war, whether they took the form of loot or of Turkish subventions, brought the Muntafiq league out against us in 1914. The work of pacification began with the occupation of Nasiriyah and Suq al Shuyukh in July 1915, and in spite of the proximity of hostile influences, made fair progress, but no final settlement of the Muntafiq district can be reached until the rival agrarian claims of Sa'adun and tribesmen have been adjusted.

During the rebellion of 1920–21 against the British, the Muntafiq to their honour remained quiet. With the introduction of the Arab Government under King Faisal I, the Muntafiq at first were loyal

co-operators with Government, both tribesmen and Sa'adun thinking the Government would favour them. Latterly the Sa'adun saw Government turn against them and showed bitter resentment at the change from British to Arab administration.

To-day under the Arab Government of Iraq the Muntafiq tribes are keeping fairly quiet (though they did try an abortive rebellion in the Suq al Shuyukh district in 1935), mainly because the Iraq Government have come out into the open and are pursuing the old policy of the Turks, which was to support the tribesmen against the Sa'adun, their hereditary shaikhs. Whether in the long run they will succeed remains to be seen.

Appendices

APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAIKHS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH, AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

(A) AL DUSHAN (Ruling or Shaikhly Clan).
(B) AL 'ILWAH.
(C) AL BURAIH.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shaikhly Clan of AL DUSHAN).

Present incumbent (1937)—BANDAR BIN FAISAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH.

Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habitat—In winter the Dushan Mutair 'Ilwa and Aulad Wasil sections of the Buraih as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt *in the south* up to Kuwait *in the north*, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Bátin. They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Hasa province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Artawiyeh, Qaiya, Hafar al Bátin, Safa, Qara'a, Wabra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifla.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late 'Ikhwan).

(A) The DUSHAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families.

(B) The 'ILWAH MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—
- (1) AL MUWAHA and their subsections.
- (2) AL THAWIAUN and their subsections.
- (3) AL JIBLAN and their subsections.

(C) The BURAIH MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—
- (4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
- (5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
- (6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

Taking (A), (B) and (C) above we have the following subsections together with the name of their shaikhs and number of tents in each instance.

(A) AL DUSHAN—Shaikh BANDAR bin FAISAL AL DUWISH.

No subsection, but the chief *hamulas* or families are:

AL SULTAN—Bandar al Faisal.
AL SHUQAIR—Trahib al Shuqair.
AL JABA'A—Mutlug al Jaba'a.
AL 'AMASH—Muhammad al 'Amash.
AL WATBAN—Muhammad al Watban.
AL MAJID—'Abdul 'Aziz.
AL MUHAMMAD—Muhammad al Badr.
AL FAHAD—Majid al Asqa.

Total approximately 200 tents.

(B) (1) AL MUWAHA ('ILWAH group)—Paramount Shaikh BANDAR AL DUWISH of the DUSHAN.

The following are the subsections:

AL BARA'ISA—Shaikh AL SUR (Naif) (100 tents).
AL JUBARA—Shaikh ABU RAS (60 tents).
AL JAHTAN—Shaikh AL WASALI (40 tents).
AL JIDAYIN—Shaikh AL JID'AI (100 tents).
AL KHAWATIRAH—Shaikh AL BAIYIR.
AL RUKHMAN—Shaikh IBN JARIBAN (AL JARAIBAT) ABU SIFRA (AL MUHAMMAD) } (180 tents).
AL SA'ANIN—Shaikh IBN MITA'IB (80 tents).

(2) AL THAWIAUN ('ILWAH group)—Paramount Shaikh AL FUQM.

The following are the subsections:

AL MALA'ABAH—Shaikh IBN GHANAIMAN (300 tents).
(Seven principal sub-families).

AL SAHABA—Shaikh AL FUQM (HAIF and JUFFRAN).
(Eight principal sub-families) (300 tents).

Note.—AL MALA'BAH has the following principal sub-families:

AL GHUNAIMAN.
AL SA'ADUN.
AL FITAH.
AL MITHAJIB.
AL AMIRRA.
AL GUTHAILAT.
AL RUWASHIDA.

AL SAHABA has the following principal sub-families:

ARFAN.	JAMA'AIN.
DAMANIN.	JARID.
FUGAWA.	JAWAFIYAH.
HIJJI.	HADAIRAT.

(3) AL JIBLAN ('ILWAH group)—Paramount Shaikh IBN LAMI.

The following are the subsections:

AL ARAQIBAH—Shaikh AL MA'ARGAB (50 tents).
AL BURZAN—Shaikh IBN RASHIDAN (200 tents) (Three sub-families).
AL 'INNAH—Shaikh IBN JAGHAITHIM (150 tents) (Two sub-families).
AL LIHAYA (YAHYA)—Shaikh IBN SHIBLAN (FAISAL) (200 tents) (Two sub-families).
AL QA'AIMAT—Shaikh IBN LAMI (The Shaikhly Clan) (100 tents).

Number of tents, 700.

Note.—The BURZAN include following principal sub-families:

AL MAJALDA.	AL QISHA'AN.
AL MARAISA.	

The 'INNAH include following principal sub-families:

AL KHURAIBITAN.	ABU SHA'IBIN.

The LIHAYA (YAHYA) include following principal sub-families:

AL SHAWAIRAH.	AL SHIYABIN.

(C) (4) AULAD WASIL (Braih group)—Paramount Shaikh AL MURAIKHI.

The following are the subsections:

AL 'AFSAH—Shaikh AL FATHI (20 tents).
AL BIRZAN—Shaikh IBN SHUWAIRIBAT, IBN HANAIYA (200 tents).
AL DIYAHIN—Shaikh AL MUTRAQQA ('Ubaid), IBN JARBUH (Kuwait) (200 tents).
AL HAWAMIL—Shaikh IBN DAMAKH (50 tents).
AL MURAIKHAT—Shaikh AL MURAIKHI (60 tents).
AL AWARATH—Shaikh IBN ZUWAIYID (Maziad) (30 tents).
AL ABAIYAH—Shaikh IBN ISHWAN (Dazzah) (70 tents).
AL MAHARISA—Shaikh AL HAFTA (50 tents).
AL WISAMA—Shaikh IBN MUHAILIB (50 tents).

Note.—There are several other sections, notably in inner Najd, of which little is known.

For further information regarding the AL BIRZAN see Chapter XLIV on curious customs among the Badawin.

(5) AULAD 'ALI (BURAIH group)—Paramount Shaikh IBN MUSAIYIS (MISHARI) (Claims to be of 'ANIZAH stock):

The following are the subsections:

AL SA'ARAN—Shaikh IBN MUSAIYIS (300 tents).
AL ABADIN—Shaikh IBN JAHRIMAN (60 tents).
AL HAMADIN—Shaikh AL HUMAIDANI (150 tents).
AL SA'ADUN—Shaikh AL UMJAHWI (100 tents).
AL SHIALIN—Shaikh AL MAUT (25 tents).
AL SHUTHAILAT—Shaikh AL DIRI (Falah) (990 tents).
DUWIGHANIMI—Shaikh AL MAKNISANI (Nasir) (40 tents).
AL HITHLAN—Shaikh IBN TIRAN (Att'allah) (30 tents).

Number of tents at very rough computation, 1,700.

Note.—Very little is known of the above subsections as regards numbers and leaders, as they mostly roam in Qasim and towards Hijaz, i.e. south of the Dahana and to westward.

(6) BANI 'ABDILLA (BURAIH group)—divided into the following subsections:

AL MAIMUM—Shaikh IBN JIRNAS.
IBN SHARAR.
IBN FIDAGHIN (800 tents).
AL SA'ABA—Shaikh IBN THAMNA (600 tents).
AL THI'AUN—Shaikh IBN ISQAIYAN.
IBN JIBRIN (900 tents).

Note.—Very little is known of the above and many other subsections or their numbers or leaders. The whole tribe has its habitat in inner Najd. They are reported to be numerically very strong and to have 4,000 tents at least.

Corrected up to 20.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., are variable; quantities and figures given must be taken as approximate only, especially as regards the Buraih sub-groups of the Aulad 'Ali and the Bani 'Abdilla, who roam between Qasim and the Hijaz.

The tribe has a great tradition behind it, and being a "Sharif" one is considered among the great and honoured ones of Arabia.

The Duwish is looked upon as head of the whole of the Dushan, Ilwah and Buraih groups. Actually his control of the distant Bani 'Abdilla division of inner Najd is not very strong. (See Genealogical Tree No. V.)

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Sa'ud in

1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the 'Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(*a*) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.

(*b*) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Shuruf.*

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They own the famous breed of *Krush* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'AJMAN (Singular 'AJMI)

Paramount Shaikh—IBN HITHLAIN* (from Shaikhly Clan AL MA'IDH, subsection NAJIAH).

* Is also pronounced Hathlain.

Present incumbent (1937)—KHALID AL HITHLAIN (Bin Sa'ud's nominee, nicknamed ZIB SAHMAN). RAKAN AL HITHLAIN (tribal nominee).

Fighting strength—May be taken at approximately 5,800.

Habitat—In winter the tribe ranges whole Province of Hasa from the Kuwait border as far south as Hufuf. In summer they camp along the whole length of the Wadi al Miyah in Hasa where water is plentiful, their head-quarter camps being 'Nta, Ghanwa, Mulaija, Sarrar and Awaina in Mid Hasa. The Southern 'Ajman largely camp in summer round Hufuf town. The Al Hajraf section and some of the Al Hadi, who have for many years been vassals of the Shaikhs of Kuwait, roam Kuwait and camp at Jahrah in summer.

The tribe is closely related to the powerful Al Murra in the south, and so are in close alliance. Also they marry with the Bani Yam of Najran, who claim the same ancestry. They profess the Sunni Hanbali creed of Islam, and were lately all 'Ikhwan.

The various sections of the tribe with their shaikhs and number of tents are as follows:

AL ARJAH—under Shaikh IBN RUMAH (210 tents).

Subsections:

ARJAH.
MARJAH.
RISQ.

ADH DHÁ'IN—Shaikh IBN JUMA'A (Mana), AD DAMIR ('Abdulla) (150 tents).

Subsections:

'AMIR.
DHÁ'IN.
HARDHAN.

AL HÁDI—Shaikh AL MUTALAQQIM ('Ubaid) (130 tents).

Subsections:

AL HÁDI.
AL WAIL.

AL HAJJÁN (pronounced HAIYAN)—Shaikh MUHAMMAD AS SUBAH (50 tents).

AL HITLÁN—Shaikh IBN SA'ADA and IBN ZIMAMAN (160 tents).

Subsections:

DHAMISHAH.
JAHIL.
MATAQ.
RASSAN.
SHURAITH.

AL HABAISH—Shaikh IBN 'ILWAF (100 tents).

AL KHUWAITIR—Shaikh AD DAMMAM IBN 'ADHAN (50 tents).

AL MAHFUDH—Shaikh IBN MIKRAD (MABKHUTH) (200 tents).

Subsections:

DABASAH. SHAFAH.
MAHFUDH.
AL HAWAILA (Shaikh JUNAIFIR, father of SARAH, wife of FAHAD AL HITHLAIN).

AL MIFLA—Shaikh IBN DIBLAN (Muhammad) (60 tents).

AL MA'IDH—Shaikh IBN HITHLAIN (300 tents).

Subsections:

HUBAISH. NAJIAH.
KARAH. SILBAH.
MUGHATTI. ZAIZ.
MUAIG.

AL MISRA—Shaikh IBN 'UTHAIN (SALIM) (90 tents).

AL RÍMAH—Shaikh IBN 'AKSHAN (90 tents).

AS SHÁMIR—Shaikh IBN JUNAFIR, IBN KHARSAN (200 tents).

Subsections:

HUSAIN. KHUDHAIR.

AL SHU'AWILAH—Shaikh IBN MIFLAH (100 tents).

AL SIFRÁN—Shaikh IBN MUNAIKHIR (100 tents).

AL SULAIMAN—Shaikh HAIF BIN HAJRAF (in Kuwait).
IBN ISAIDAN, IBN MUSAMIH } in (Sa'udi Arabia) (230 tents).

Subsections:

BUGHUR. JABAU'AH.
DARWAN. SULAIMAN.
HAMRAH. HAJRAF.
HITHTHAH.

This tribal section, for long under paramount Shaikh Haif, has owned allegiance to Kuwait, so Bin Sa'ud has appointed other two shaikhs to lead the tribe. In tribal eyes Haif is the true leader.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., is a variable quantity, and therefore figures given must be looked upon as approximate only. The tribe follows the shaikhly house of Al Hithlain, which is paramount always (see family tree of Al Hithlain in Appendix).

Arms.—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

In the 1929–30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

be brought under Kuwait. Were authority to collapse in Najd, the 'Ajman would be the first to desert.

'AWAZIM (Singular 'AZMI)

Paramount Shaikh—Shaikh (Amir) IBN JAMA of the AL KU'AH camel division (senior) of the tribe—section AL HADALIN, which is the Shaikhly Clan.

Present incumbent—AMIR 'AID IBN JAMA.

Strength—Approximately 4,000 fighting men.*

Location.—The tribal range is the north-east corner of Arabia (Kuwait and Hasa), from Kuwait town as far south as Ras Bidiya. In winter Kuwait State is visited west and north-west of Jahrah as far as the Bátin depression. In summer the various sections camp on water in the Kuwait Neutral Zone and in the Suda region to the south of it where water and grazing is plentiful. Ark and Ingair are favourite camps.

Religion.—Sunni MALIKI.

The following comprise the sections of this powerful tribe, including their shaikhs and number of tents:

AL BURAIKAT—Shaikh RAI AL FAHAMA (60 tents).
AL HADALIN—Shaikh IBN JAMA (90 tents).
AL SHAQFAH—Shaikh AL SAFAR (70 tents).
AL ABABIYAT—Shaikh IBN IMLAIHIYAH (60 tents).
AL ALAITHAT—Shaikh IBN IHKAILAN (50 tents).
AL ATHARIMAH—Shaikh IBN IMATRIM (40 tents).
AL FAQU—Shaikh IBN GHIYATHI (40 tents).
AL JAWASIRAH—Shaikh IBN KHAFRAH (90 tents).
AL MATAIBA—Shaikh IBN MANA (150 tents).
AL MUHALIBA—Shaikh ASH SHITLI (90 tents).
AL MUSAHIMAH—Shaikh IBN IHBAINA (120 tents).
AL MUWAIJIHAH—Shaikh IBN DHAB (70 tents).
AL QURRASHAH—Shaikh IBN JANDAL (100 tents).
AL SUWABIR—Shaikh IBN DRAI (160 tents).
AL SUWAWIKH—Shaikh AL SAWAGH (40 tents).
AL TUMA—Shaikh IBN IRMAIH (140 tents).
also
DHUWAIBAT
AGHRUBA
HASANIYAH
JA'AWIRAH
} No recognised shaikh, settled in Kuwait as fisherfolk, etc.

* Excluding those domiciled in Kuwait and environs.

Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929–30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MÁNA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAMI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

Paramount Shaikh—IBN MUSAILIM.

Present incumbents—'ASI IBN MUSAILIM (Senior) and MUTLUQ IBN MUSAILIM.

Strength—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

Habitat—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory.

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI.

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess:

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).
AL GHURAIBAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters.

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep.

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks,

and their men for their knowledge of the country. Hence they make excellent guides and hunters. During the 'Ikhwan movement half of the tribe left Kuwait and threw in its lot with the Mutair. To-day (1937) they have come back to Kuwait territory to their old allegiance. The tribe is well armed with a variety of British and Turkish rifles. A few Martini-Henry carbines also exist among them.

SHAMMAR (singular Shammari)

Divisions.	*Principal Shaikhs.*
(1) ABDA group	Ibn 'Ali
	Ibn Shuraim
	Ibn Jabrin
	Ibn 'Ajil
(2) ASLAM group	Mishal ibn Twála
(Al Saiyah)	Muhammad al Waja'an
(3) SINJARA group	Ibn Rimál
	Ibn Thunaiyan
(Tumán)	Mishal al Timiát
(Timiát)	Ibn Aiyish
	Mita'ab al Ruba'a

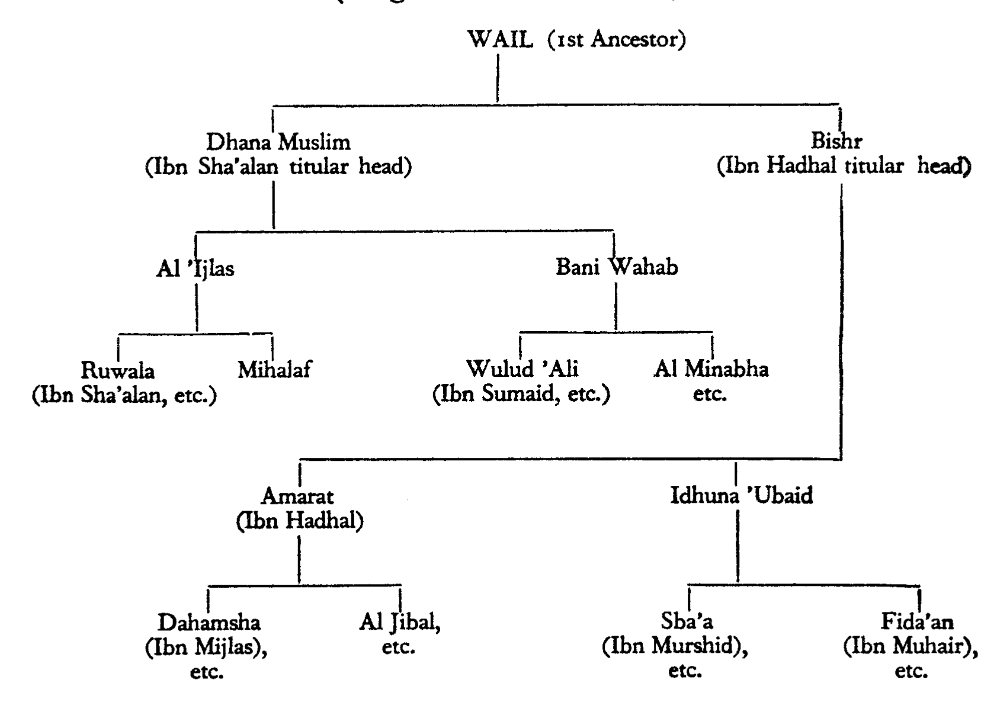
Note.—(*a*) The above owe allegiance to Bin Sa'ud, King of Sa'udi Arabia. The large and important group of Shammar Jarba, whose habitat is between Baghdad and Mosul (on the left bank of the Euphrates), owes allegiance to Iraq, and so are not included in the above list.

(*b*) Close inter-connection is always maintained, however, between Shammar Jarba and the Najd group of Shammar mentioned above. This especially applies to marriage.

Appendix I

The 'Anizah Tribe

(Origin and main sections)



The Walud Sulaiman tribe claim descent from Wail and so call themselves 'Anizah, but there is some doubt about this.

Notes on the 'Anizah Tribe

1. The parent tribes of the whole of the 'Anizah are said to be the FAQIR (or FAJIR), plural FUQARA, and the 'AIDA.

The former to this day ranges the country between TAIMA and KHAIBAR in North-West Arabia, and the latter the country lying between Madain Salih, Dar al Hamra and Al 'Ula.

2. The various 'Anizah sections as we know them to-day in the Syrian desert first moved up northwards to their present *dirahs* about A.D. 1600 and in successive waves, the whole migration taking some 180 years.

The different sections are said to have carried out the move in the following order:

FIDA'AN.	SBA'A.
H'SINNA.	RUWALA.
AMARAT.	etc.

As the great Northern Shammar tribe was already in possession of the Syrian desert, these had to be driven out by the oncoming 'Anizah. With such success was this done that the Shammar were eventually forced across

the Euphrates into the country south-west of Mosul, where they reside to-day under the name of Shammar Jarba (Shaikh Ajil al Yarwar).*

3. The town of KHAIBAR is the earliest-known centre of the 'Anizah tribe, and to this day its two main "quarters" are called Al Bishr and 'Ijlas.

4. The 'Anizah tribe is the greatest of all Badawin tribes as regards strength and the numbers of their camels. They have a pretty story that their ancestor Wail chanced on the right moment in the Night of Destiny (Lailat al Qadr) the 27th of Ramadhan (Fast Month), when God will always fulfil the prayers of men. Placing one hand on his she-camel and the other on a certain part of his own person, he prayed that her seed and his own should be fruitful and multiply: God heard his prayer with to-day's wonderful results.

It is said that the 'Anizah to-day number 37,000 males, and their camels approximately one million.

5. The 'Anizah between themselves are always at war, but will combine against any foreign aggressor. For example, the Amarat—Sba'a—and Fida'an are at enmity with the Ruwala and will combine against them. Similarly the Dahamsha, though of Amarat origin, do not fight the Ruwala (because of an ancient grievance against the Ibn Hadhal, then the titular overlords).

6. The great external enemy of the 'Anizah are the Shammar, whether found in the north or in the south. This is a hereditary feud.

7. The Hawaitat tribe, lying south-west of the 'Anizah country between Wejh and the Amman border, are also enemies from old time, but are not strong enough to worry them much, hence there is a sort of perpetual truce between them.

APPENDIX II

BADAWIN SHAIKHS WE HAVE KNOWN INTIMATELY

'Anizah	Fahad Beg al Hadhal (dead) Mahruth al Hadhal	Amarat group.
	Nuri as Sha'alan Farhan ibn Mashur (dead) Fawaz ibn Nawaf as Sha'alan	Ruwala group.
Dhafir	Hamud as Suwait (dead). Hantush as Suwait. Jada'an as Suwait. Jali ibn Juraiyid.	

* Now Shaikh Sfug ibn Ajil.

Mutair	Faisal al Duwish (Dushan) (dead).
	Bandar al Duwish (Dushan).
	Humaidhi al Duwish (Dushan).
	Hazza ibn Badr (Dushan).
	Muhammad al Badr (Dushan).
	Riddan as Sur (Dushan).
	Mutluq as Sur (Dushan).
	Shuqair ibn Shuqair (Dushan).
	Majid al Asqa (Dushan).
	Turki al Asqa (Dushan).
	Faisal ibn Shiblán (Jiblan).
	Háif al Fuqm (Sahaba).
	Ali al Shuwaribat (Birzan) (dead).
	Uwaiyid al Mutragga (Diyahin).
	Ibn Jarbuh (Birzan).
	Lafi al Ma'alath (Birzan).
'Awazim	Al Amir, Ibn Jama (Hadalin).
	Ibn Drai (Su'abir).
	Al Mal'abbi.
'Ajman	Naif al Hithlain (Abal Kilab) (Hithlain) (dead).
	Ad Damir ('Abdulla) (Adh Dhāin).
	Khalid al Hithlain (Zib Sahman).
	Hazam al Hithlain (dead) (Hithlain).
	Salim al 'Uthain (Al Misra) and Muhammad his son.
	Ibn Mikrad (Khalid) (Al Mahfuth).
	Haif bin Hajraf (Al Sulaiman).
	Nahar al Mutalaqim (Al Mutalaqim) (dead).
	'Ubaid al Mutalaqim (Al Mutalaqim).
	Anaizan ibn Munaikhir (Al Sifran) (dead).
	Fahaid bin Fahád al Hithlain (Al Salim branch).
	Shaikh Mána ibn Juma', paramount shaikh of Al Dhá'in—met him at Al Tawil 20.6.38 (dead).
	Shaikh Mansur al Nasir, nephew of Shaikh Mána.

Note.—Mána's daughter Manaira was married to Sa'ud bin 'Abdulla al Jiluwi al Sa'ud, but she left him for good when he refused to have mercy on Nasir her brother after 1929–30 rebellion. Nasir was slain for complicity in above rebellion.

Shammar	Shukhaiyir ibn Tuwala (dead) (Aslam).
	Mishal ibn Tuwala (Aslam).
	Muhammad al Waja'an (Aslam).
	Mirshid ibn Tuwala (Aslam).
'Utaiba	Naif bin Humaid (Al Humaid).

Appendix III

APPENDIX III

LIST OF BADAWIN LADIES OF GENTLE BLOOD

WHOSE FRIENDSHIP MY WIFE AND I WERE HONOURED WITH

'Anizah

(*a*) Nura bint Fahad Beg al Hadhal,sister of Shaikh Mahruth head of the 'Anizah, Amarat group.

Mutair

(*b*) Amsha bint Muhammad al Duwish (wife of Faisal al Duwish).

(*c*) Ghalia
(*d*) Maziuna } sisters of Faisal al Duwish.
(*e*) Wadha

(*f*) Amsha bint Faisal ibn Shiblan (wife of Hazza al Badr al Duwish).

(*g*) Faiha bint Muhammad, wife of 'Abdul 'Aziz al Majid (Dushan).

(*h*) Amsha bint Muhammed, wife of Sa'ud al Majid (Dushan).

(*i*) Wasmiyah bint Muhammad, wife of Muhammad al Badr (Dushan).

(*j*) 'Ubaida, wife of Riddan as Sur (Dushan).

(*k*) Rifa'a, wife of Thwairan abu Sifra (Ilwa, Rukhman).

(*l*) Mudhi (Al Angreziyah)*, sister of Trahib al Shuqair.

(*m*) Sarah, wife of Muhammad ibn Watban al Duwish (1.2.38).

'Ajman

(*a*) Al Jazi, sister of Khalid al Hithlain, late wife of King 'Abdul 'Aziz as Sa'ud, late wife of Sa'ud al 'Aráfa, late wife of Bandar al Duwish.

(*b*) Al Jazi (Hithlain ruling family), wife of the late Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait, and mother of Shaikh Hamad as Subah, now wife of Mutlug al Jaba'a. [Her real name is Hussa bint Faláh.] See Hithlain family tree.

(*c*) 'Aida, wife of Fa'aran al Hithlain, and her two daughters (Manaira and Wasmiyah).

(*d*) Nura bint Sa'ad al Mishwatt (Mahfuth).

(*e*) Sara bint Junaifir al Hawaila (Mahfuth).

(*f*) Sita and Wasmiyah banat ad Damir (one of them married to late 'Abdulla al Jiluwi Amir of Hasa).

(*g*) The mysterious Sita.

(*h*) Wadha bint Junaifir al Hawaila (Mahfuth).

(*i*) Family of Amir Haif bin Hajraf (Al Sulaiman).

* Known by this name because of her fair skin and good looks.

(*j*) Wadha bint Badagh, wife of Sultan bin Faláh al Hithlain. (See Hithlain family tree in Appendix) 29.6.38.

(*k*) Wadha, Nura } wives of Khalid Zib Sahman, 29.6.38.

(*l*) Maneira bint Mana ibn Juma' Shaikh of the Al Dha'in, divorced wife of Sa'ud al Jiluwi, 20.6.38.

(*m*) Maneira bint 'Abdulla, wife of Faláh bin Sultan al Hithlain, 15.6.38.

Qahtan Bint ibn Hashar.

Dhafir Wife of Hantush al Suwait.

Shammar Zahwa, wife of 'Abdulla bin Mau'wad (Abda).

APPENDIX IV

NOTE ON THE RAMADHAN FAST

The Prophet Muhammad laid down that five duties were incumbent on the true Muslim:

(*a*) To bear witness that there was no God but God and Muhammad was his Prophet.
(*b*) To be steadfast in prayer—i.e. pray five times a day.
(*c*) To give *zakát* (legal alms to the poor and needy).
(*d*) To fast for thirty days during the month of Ramadhan.
(*e*) To make a pilgrimage to Mecca if he had the means.

Regarding (*d*) this is the great fast of the year, and falls in the ninth month of the Muslim year, but because they have a lunar calendar, it can occur in any season.

At present (1937) the month of Ramadhan falls in the autumn, and will commence on or about the 15th November.

During the fast it is forbidden to drink any water or take food during the period *from two hours before sunrise until sunset*, and this rule is strictly observed even when the fast occurs in mid-summer. Not only is there total abstinence from food and drink, but bathing, smoking, etc., even the use of medicines is prohibited, and mothers nursing babies are not exempt

from the fast. Anyone breaking the fast for any reason whatever must fast a like number of days as were omitted because of illness, etc.

The Prophet Muhammad said, "He who forsakes the fast of Ramadhan becomes infidel, whom to deprive of wealth and life is lawful".

Apart from serious sickness the only way the fast can be legitimately broken is if a person is a traveller, and marching from dawn to night. He, however, gains virtue if in spite of this he fasts on the journey.

The fast is followed by the joyful festival of the year, the 'Id rejoicing, and this lasts three days.

Note.—During the Ramadhan Fast, sexual intercourse by day is forbidden.

Also, if a woman's "periods" fall during the fast month, she must fast for an equal number of days as the periods lasted (and she was unclean) after the fast month is over.

APPENDIX V

THE ARAB CUSTOM OF HOLDING PROPERTY "IN COMMON"

The subject is not an easy one and much, no doubt, could be written about it.

Putting the case as shortly as possible, however, it may be said that land is held in the Arabian Peninsula under two main systems:

(*a*) That of private ownership;
(*b*) That of tribal ownership.

Under system (*a*) which is confined almost entirely to the settled or town population of Arabia, an individual buys or inherits his lands in the first place (it may also be a bequest), and on his death it (the land) must, according to Shari'a Law, be divided among his heirs, the males getting so many shares and the females so many.

These heirs, however, very often arrange among themselves, for either political or "family protective reasons", not to divide the property, and elect to leave it in the hands of the senior member of the family to be administered and managed as the latter considers fit, they, the heirs, getting their individual rights in the shape of fixed share of the produce, or a salary, or both.

So long as the property is administered reasonably well and individuals

are properly treated, the system works satisfactorily. But should the reverse be the case, then there is trouble, as division into fair shares often becomes a most difficult matter, especially after several generations have held the property without dividing it.

The same "protective instinct" which tends to keep property in the hands of the head of the family can similarly be traced in the age-long and practically universal system among Arabs (especially the tribes) of first-cousin marriages—the idea being to prevent the girl going away from the family, or out of the tribe, and so taking her share of the property with her, which would inevitably end in weakening the family or home tribe (*hamula*).

In Kuwait we have many examples of this joint possession of property, notably the date gardens of the Shaikhly house of the Al Subah on the Shatt al Arab, which by consent of the whole family have been managed and administered for many years by the Ruler himself.

The same system is to-day also in existence in Riyadh, where I understand Bin Sa'ud looks after the garden and house property of all the members of the Al Sa'ud family, and the same also was the fashion during Turkish times among the great families of the Al Sa'adun and Naqibs of Basra.

It should never be forgotten, however, that according to the strict letter of the Shari'a Law the system is wrong (just like the veiling of women), and any individual, who happens to be dissatisfied with his lot, can theoretically claim to be given his lawful share of the family property whatever it be and at any time. In practice it is not so easy, especially when the family as a whole has approved the system, or the head of the house happens to be a ruler of a State like Bin Sa'ud, the Imam Yahya, or Ibn Sabah.

It is quite clear that the system of trying to keep the family property together originated in the days when anarchy and disorder existed in Arabia, and when it was necessary and very essential to keep the family strong for protective purposes. We see signs of the same fear in the fortress-like way all Arab houses are built (i.e. the absence of all outside windows and the small door in the centre of the big door).

It is further quite clear also that the system is so deeply rooted in the heart of every Arab, as to be at once his strength and his weakness—his strength because it keeps the family life healthy and strong, his weakness because it teaches him to believe that all Kings, Governments, etc., as we know them, are tyrannous and always hostile to individual interests. In other words, it tends to perpetuate the patriarchal or tribal system, which admits only the shaikh or the head of the family (*hamula*) as the authority to be obeyed. Hence the perpetual hostility, for instance, of the tribes of Arabia, to being ruled by a King like Bin Sa'ud, and hence the lack of "patriotism" as we know it, and the impossibility of getting tribes ever to co-operate together in big or small things—the beginning and end of a man's ideas of life being the family and the tribe.

To turn now to system (*b*):

A "tribe" always owns its grazing and tribal lands (including wells, etc.) jointly, and never individually. In consequence the tribe as a whole jealously guards its possessions against aggression from outside tribes. Under the system also the position of the tribal boundaries are known exactly, by every man, woman and child, and are handed down from father to son. Wells also are more often than not marked with the tribal mark (*wasm*) in a similar way to the camels.

The shaikh of the tribe may, of course, detail certain wells and grazing areas during the summer months to certain sections and families of the tribe, as he thinks fit, but this is purely for convenience' sake. He may, of course, not sell or part with any portion of the tribe's lands or grazing grounds to anyone. Every man knows this. The tribe's lands are his "trust".

Under the same system, if a neighbouring tribe, on friendly terms, happens to be short of grazing in its own country, it is always permitted to enter the tribal lands of its neighbours on payment of a nominal tribute to the shaikh of the tribe acting the part of "host". Although Bin Sa'ud and other Arab rulers in their efforts to europeanise their states are trying to stop this system and replace it by *zikát* to the Central Government, the practice of *Dhabíhah wa Maníhah* still persists. It is a very ancient custom indeed, and entitles the visitors to full protection whilst sojourning in their neighbour's land, even against enemy raiders, or the police activities of the King or Central Government (such as in Sa'udi Arabia).

This incidentally accounts for the lack of sympathy and almost invariable hostility which Kings like the late Riza Shah, and Governments like Irad who are trying to run their country on Western lines, feel towards the tribes. The tribal system is a perpetual thorn in their side.

Only one person can interfere with actual tribal property, or give it away in Arabia to-day, namely the "King" or "Ruler" of the country of which the tribe forms part (e.g. Bin Sa'ud). Such an "outrage" against tribal feeling and sentiment would, however, be so widely resented, and be so dangerous, that it is unthinkable that it would ever be put into practice.

For Example.—Bin Sa'ud might want to punish a tribe like the 'Ajman, and might order the 'Awazim, their neighbours, to take over half its grazing lands. The order would no doubt be carried out, just because the King is all powerful, but would remain valid just so long as Bin Sa'ud could enforce the order. All the time the 'Ajman would be longing for the day when they would get back their lost lands. The 'Awazim would equally well realise that they were trespassers on lands which no king on earth could give them permanently. They would withdraw as soon as Bin Sa'ud grew weak or died, as they could not face the ordeal of the bitter tribal war that would ensue, with all public opinion (tribal) against them.

Appendix VI

APPENDIX VI

ROUTES

I. *Motor Route from Kuwait Town to Zubair and Basra.*

(*a*) This is the only road worthy of the name that exists in Kuwait State and was opened in 1928.* It is passable for all sorts of vehicular traffic all the year round, and except during heavy rains when a three-mile section between Kuwait and Jahara, and another similar strip between Safwan and Zubair gets waterlogged and renders car movement difficult, the road may be called a good one. It is unmetalled throughout its length, but as the surface is hard gravel this does not affect its condition, or the speed of cars.

(*b*) From the Kuwait Post Office to the British Consulate in Basra the distance has been found to be by check 110 miles. Deducting 10 miles for the portion Zubair to the Consulate, we arrive at a distance of 100 miles approximately for the strip Kuwait–Zubair.

(*c*) The road passes close to Jahara and through Safwan, an Iraq frontier Police and Customs Post: between Jahara and Safwan, a distance of some 60 miles, there is no water at all.

(*d*) The telegraph line which at one time followed the coastline via Um Qasr and Subiyah was dismantled and erected along the direct motor road in 1931.

(*e*) With a good car and a driver the time taken to cover the distance between Kuwait and Basra may be reckoned at four hours.

II. *Motor Route from Kuwait Town to Riyadh.*

1. This was first made when H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait visited H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud at Riyadh in 1932. No road fit for motor cars existed before then.

2. The Shaikh of Kuwait, taking sixteen cars and good guides, "blazed" a regular car track, which has been used ever since by travellers and officials proceeding to and from Kuwait to Riyadh, and by well-to-do pilgrims doing the Haj pilgrimage by car. The latter pick up the Riyadh–Mecca car track a little to the north of Riyadh (Bamban).

3. The following is the route taken by cars over the track under reference: Kuwait–Chadadiyah–Manaqish–Khabrat Jilhim–Khabari Wadha-Jariya 'Ilya–Rumah–Ariq Bamban (left on right)–Riyadh.

* Since writing the above many excellent roads have been constructed by the Kuwait Oil Company in the Kuwait territory.

4. There are no difficulties to be negotiated till cars arrive at the great Dahana sand belt or barrier guarding inner Najd, as the track passes over hard gravelly country most of the way. The Dahana belt is a series of wide soft sandy ridges (eight in number) with harder going between, and has to be negotiated just before Rumah and Rumhiyah* are reached. The sand region to be crossed is approximately 40 miles broad at its narrowest point.

5. The Dahana sands are quite easily negotiated if there has been rain or a series of rainstorms, for the sand then becomes hard, and with good guides to assist a car party, several alternative routes can be taken, each of which is somewhat shorter than the track blazed by the Shaikh of Kuwait, which moved down the east side of the Dahana till the Rumah–Hufuf road was reached, and then turned sharp right (south-west by west) some miles beyond Nadhim al Kanhara.

6. If the weather is hot and there has been no rain at all the Dahana crossing presents great difficulties, and tyres have to be deflated, and progress made on second speed. A supporting car or two with spades and ropes is a necessity.

7. After crossing the Dahana, rocky country is reached and rough stones and boulders hamper cars almost as far as Buwaib Pass, which overlooks the Riyadh plain.

8. Travellers on the Kuwait–Riyadh section should have a full supply of drinking water, food, petrol and spares for an approximate 500-miles journey, as these cannot be got *en route* anywhere except at Jariya 'Ilya and Rumah, where water† only, and that of very poor quality, can be obtained.

APPENDIX VII

THE *AL SHURUF* OR "HONOURED ONES"

(THE FAMOUS BLACK HERD OF CAMELS OF THE MUTAIR TRIBE)

From very old times the *Al Shuruf* have been the pride and glory of the great Mutair tribe of Central and North-Eastern Arabia, and consist of a very dark, almost black herd of thoroughbred camels numbering close on three hundred animals.

Among the Mutair the *Al Shuruf* or the Honoured Ones are looked upon as a sort of "sacred emblem", or standard, for the tribe to follow

* Rumhiyah is left some miles to the west by those taking the latest and shortest car route.

† In the winter, if rains have been good in the Summán area, water can be obtained from various *dáhals* or water-holes *en route*. But this is an unreliable source of supply.

in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen.

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, o|o, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King.

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and

moral assistance rendered at a time when Kuwait was threatened with rebellion and disorder due to the efforts of certain of the Shaikh's enemies to hand over the State to the neighbouring Government of Iraq, and bring about the downfall of the house of Al Subah (autumn and spring of 1938–39).

On the 7th April my wife and I, hearing that the *Shuruf* were grazing at the southern end of the Dhahar ridge and close to Grain wells, made a surreptitious car dash accompanied by Salim al Muzaiyin (Mutairi), and came up with the famous herd shortly before sunset as they were breasting the top of a small rise, on their way to Ibn Shiblan's black tents, on the approach of nightfall. They presented a strikingly pretty sight silhouetted against the setting sun. They marched in a fairly close group, heading the remainder of the King's camels by half a mile or so. No one was about except a herdsman, who told us blandly in reply to our query that the *Al Shuruf* were a day's journey away—nor did any of the guards see us, being as they were on the other side of the rise beating up the stragglers. Being right amidst the herd we got a perfect look at the beautiful black beasts, and recognised the well-known brands of the Al Sa'ud and of the Dushan on them. Having seen what we wanted to see we slipped off north again unnoticed.

On 13th April we arrived at Salim al Muzaiyin's camp near Shu'aiba, intending to spend the night and next day. We had invited five of the Al Subah Shaikhs to dinner. On arrival Salim our man told us that the King's camels were grazing all round him, and that the *Al Shuruf*, which had spent the previous night close to his tents, were grazing over the nearby rise. Lastly, he said that Shaikh Misyar al Shiblan, who was in immediate charge, was waiting in his tent to pay his respects to us. Misyar was rather a wild Jibli, but we gave him dinner that night, and accommodated him in Salim's tent. Determined to see our beautiful black herd of camels once again, we rose early on the 14th April and drove in our car with Salim for about one mile. There in a hollow beneath us we saw the *Shuruf* once again. We had told nobody of our intention, and so as not to attract notice we got out of our car and started walking towards the herd.

I may mention in passing that the surrounding country seemed alive with thousands of other camels, these being the King's herds as well as those of the Shaikh of Kuwait under Al Shaiyah al Jibli.

When still about half a mile from the nearest black camel we heard shouts from an armed man who was fast bearing down on us on a riding camel: we waited for him, and he asked us what we wanted. We replied that we had come to see the *Shuruf*. "They are not here, they are not here," he said, "but away back at Araifjan." He was joined by three other armed men, and lastly by Shaikh Misyar himself, who appeared from nowhere. The latter, when confronted with our request, admitted that the famous black herd was in front of us, but said that he had the strictest orders from King Bin Sa'ud his master to allow no one to approach, much less

take any photographs. We argued that we were the personal friends of His Majesty and that we felt sure he would feel honoured at the interest we were showing. We also promised not to take any photographs, or even tell a soul that we had seen the *Shuruf* (we, of course, said nothing of the incident of the 7th April).

But Shaikh Misyar was politely adamant, saying that he dared not break the King's commands, even though I had dined him the previous night, and had once saved his Uncle Faisal bin Shiblan's life. However, so as not to hurt my feelings too much, Shaikh Misyar ordered three of the guards to go to the herd and bring back a bowl of milk for my wife and myself. No sooner said than done. We saw one of the famous herd milked, though some way off, and we partook of the wonderful frothy bowl with great relish.

At least we can say that we have drunk the milk of the far-famed *Al Shuruf.* Nor shall we forget the incident or the great honour done to us in the eyes of the Mutair.

APPENDIX VIII

INSECTS OF KUWAIT

By B. P. Uvarov, D.Sc.
British Museum (Natural History)

The territories of Kuwait and, indeed, of the whole Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, are practically unexplored with regard to the insect fauna, and on it there exist only a few scattered records. It was, therefore, of great scientific interest for collections made there by Mrs. H. R. P. Dickson and Miss Zahra Dickson to be worked out by the specialists. The following list is based on the determinations made mostly by Mr. G. E. Bryant, of the Imperial Institute of Entomology, and by myself. All the specimens were most generously presented by the collectors to the British Museum (Natural History) and placed in its collections.

It will be seen that when collecting insects special attention was paid to Orthoptera, following my special request, and the results can be considered most gratifying. Indeed, a number of species has been found that had not been previously known from anywhere in the Arabian peninsula, and a new species was discovered, representing a remarkable new genus. It was even more interesting to obtain a long list of species definitely known to occur on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, and some of these records are of special value in extending the known range of specific distribution.

Appendix VIII

While the list of Orthoptera is still insufficiently complete for discussing the composition and affinities of the Kuwait fauna, it already permits us to draw some preliminary conclusions. On the whole, the fauna is perfectly typical of the Great Palaearctic desert, and a number of Kuwait species occurs in a wide area from the Sahara to Turkestan and Sind. A peculiar feature of the fauna is, however, the presence of certain species that are alien to the Sahara, but occur only in the Asiatic deserts. Such species as *Platypterna persica*, *Tmethis carinatus* and *Mioscirtus wagneri rogenhoferi* are purely Asiatic and more precisely Iranian in their origin. To the same category belongs the new *Utubius zahrae*, which is closely allied to the genera *Thrinchus* and *Strumiger* known only from Turkestan and Northern Iran. On the other hand, the almost complete absence from Kuwait of certain purely African desert forms which are still common in Western Arabia is very striking. An exception is offered by *Hyalorrhipis canescens*, a very rare species of sandy deserts known hitherto only from Egypt and now found in Kuwait.

The general conclusion is, therefore, that the Kuwait fauna of Orthoptera is definitely more closely related to the Iranian section of the desert fauna than to the African one. It would appear that the Persian Gulf does not constitute a faunistic boundary, and the Iranian fauna penetrates to some considerable extent into the Arabian peninsula. Of course this conclusion can be only tentative until the fauna of the interior desert is better known.

Collections of insects other than Orthoptera made in Kuwait and listed below are not sufficiently representative to be discussed here. It is worthy of notice, however, that even in these small collections there were not less than two new species and one new subspecies of beetles.

ORTHOPTERA

Family MANTIDAE (praying mantes).

Eremiaphila, sp.

Family GRYLLIDAE (crickets).

Eugryllodes macropterus (Fuente).

Family ACRIDIDAE (grasshoppers).

Acridella procera (Klug).
Acrotylus longpipes (Charp.).
Acridella, sp.
Platypterna kraussi (I. Bol.).
Platypterna persica (Salfi.).
Oedaleus senegalensis (Kr.).
Mioscirtus wagneri rogenhoferi (Sauss.).
Sphingonotus rubescens (Walk.).

Sphingonotus mecheriae (Kr.).
Sphingonotus savignyi (Sauss.).
Sphingonotus satrapes (Sauss.).
Leptopternis gracilis (Ev.).
Hyalorrhipis canescens (Sauss.).
Tmethis carinatus (F.).
Utubius zahrae (Uv.). A new genus and species (named in honour of Miss Zahra Dickson; for the description see *Journ. Linnean Society*, *London*, Zoology, 1936).
Teunitarsus, sp.
Pyrgomorpha cognata (Kr.).
Dericorys albidula (Serv.).
Thisoecetrus littoralis asiaticus (Uv.).
Thisoecetrus adspersus (Redt.).
Thisoecetrus charpentieri (St.).
Schistocerca gregaria (Forsk.). The Desert Locust.

COLEOPTERA

Family CARABIDAE.

Anthia 12-guttata (Ol.).
Graphipterus minutus (Dej.).
Heteracantha depressa (Brulle).

Family DERMESTIDAE.

Attagenus bifasciatus (Ol.).

Family MELOIDAE.

Cylindrothorax suturella (Haag.).
Cylindrothorax chanzyi (Frm.).
Mylabris tenebrosa (Cast).

Family GEOTRUPIDAE.

Athyreus, sp.

Family BUPRESTIDAE.

Julodis speculifer dicksoni (Thery). A new species named after Miss Zahra Dickson.

Family TENEBRIONIDAE.

Prionotheca coronata (Ol.).
Zophosis complanata (Sol.).
Zophosis farinosa (Blair).
Leucolaephus arabicus (Blair).

Family CURCULIONIDAE.

Brachycerus, sp. n.
Xanthochelus longus (Chevr.).
Ammocleonus, sp. n.

RHYNCHOTA

Family PENTATOMIDAE.

Brachynema virens (Kl.).

Family REDUVIIDAE.

Reduvius tabidus (Kl.).

NEUROPTERA

Family NEOPTERIDAE.

Halter halteratus (Forsk.).

Family MYRMELEONIDAE.

Nesoleon lineosus (Ramb.).

APPENDIX IX

JERBOAS

Arabic names: collectively *Jarbu'*, distinctively: (*a*) *Gaurti* or *Gauti* the short-round-eared one; (*b*) *Sharáthi* the long-eared one.

(*a*) *The Gaurti or short-round-eared Jerboa* is very common round about Kuwait, and may even be seen in the evenings hopping along searching for food within the town wall. They always choose open pebbly ground for their holes, usually a *saihad* or hillock.

These holes are not easy to find, as during the daytime the entrance is closed from the inside. At night, however, when the jerboas come out, the entrance of their hole is left open.

I have many times been out with our camel boy Swelim from our camp looking for jerboa holes. He was very quick and clever at finding them. When he did locate a hole he used to put his '*abbah* over the closed entrance and quickly prodded the ground with his cane all round in a circle, gradually closing in to the centre. Suddenly the jerboa would break through the thin crust covering its bolt hole and dash away. As they are nocturnal animals the truant was easily caught and carried home by the tail to be kept as a pet and plaything at the tent.

Some I have had in captivity have borne four or five young ones, but the mother neglected them and always let them die.

(*b*) *The Sharáthi or long-eared Jerboa.*—These are mostly found in the Dahna region of the Summán desert 200 miles south-west of Kuwait, and are distinctly a high desert animal, and are rarely found near Kuwait, or as far as I know in Iraq.

They are slightly smaller than the gaurti species and their whiskers are not nearly so long, while their tail tuft of black and white hairs is more pronounced. The ears, which are about 1½ inches long (and are shaped like a rabbit's ears), stand erect when they are hopping about at dusk or at nights. During the daytime they curl themselves up, sometimes with their head tucked in under their stomach and their ears lying down flat, apparently crumpled up. Sometimes I find the two I keep as pets lying huddled together and often on their backs with legs up in the air as if they were dead. These two (I have them now, February 1938) were brought to me from the Summán in March 1937. One had had four young ones in the "leathern bottle" in which the Badawin had brought her in, but they did not live. The other, which was brought a week or so later, had five young ones in the box I put her into. She also neglected her young and they all died. The babies were small and very pink and their large black eyes were covered over with skin, and their tails rather short and pink. The mother appeared to have lots of milk, and although I saw and heard them sucking from her, she seemed to just lie on them and squash the life out of them one by one.

I fed my captive sharáthi on whole barley and lucerne, and they slept in cotton wool with a piece of old woollen material for extra warmth. It was noticeable that when I gave the ordinary jerboas (gaurti) a piece of cloth for a nest, they did not rest until they had pulled every thread apart and made a fluffy pile of it: the sharáthi species on the contrary will do scarcely any damage to pieces of cloth and do not cover themselves up as cosily as do the gaurti.

Generally the jerboas' short front paws are never put on the ground when they are hopping about. They are used for picking up their food and holding it to their mouth, and for digging out their holes. The tail is always carried bent and is used as a rest to balance and support their bodies. Their teeth are white.

On 4th March, 1938, we dug out a jerboa hole near Kashm al Afri some 50 miles west of Kuwait and found the occupant to be of the long-eared variety. On the following morning, however (having spent a cold night in an empty kerosine tin), the jerboa was "dead" to all intents and purposes, and icy cold with its mouth open and teeth protruding.

The tin was put out in the sun, and some hours later to everyone's amazement the jerboa slowly came to life again. This, according to the Badawin, is a typical trait. The jerboa is easily affected by cold, and after exposure apparently dies, but if warmed revives again within a few hours.

On 16th March she had some young in her box. I peeped at them on

26th March, and they had all grown and were doing well. They were still pink, and had no hair on them. On 8th April they had grown a lot and were doing well. On 14th April all the young had fur on them. On the 22nd of April five young ones appeared out of their nest and hopped around eating barley and bits of dry lucerne. They were a little bit shaky on their legs.

Four of these were taken to the London Zoo in June 1938. The remainder died during an exceptionally hot summer in Kuwait in August 1938

APPENDIX X

KINDS OF FISH CAUGHT IN KUWAIT HARBOUR

(Mostly edible)

Name of Fish.	*When most Plentiful.*	*Where most Plentiful.*	*Remarks.*
Battan	Spring and Autumn	Fasht al Hadibah	White with yellow fins. Allied to the Sha'm, Sha'ri, etc. It is about 12 inches long.
Bint al Naukhuda	Autumn	Ras al Ardh	A bright-coloured fish, white with yellow, blue and black markings; about 12 inches long.
Biyáh	Winter	Musawa' (i.e. north of 'Akaz) and off Ghadhai	A white fish averaging 15 inches in length.
Dhil'ah	Summer	Musawa'	A flat white fish with yellowish fins and a long tail.
Duqs			A porpoise. Not fished for or eaten, but if caught its oil is extracted.
Duwailimi	Summer	Musawa'	A long, round fish, about 36 inches in length.
Fatrah			The "electric fish". It is not eaten, but when caught in *hadharas* it is boiled down, and its broth used as a cure for fever.

Appendix X

Name of Fish.	*When most Plentiful.*	*Where most Plentiful.*	*Remarks.*
Firsh	Autumn	Bukhsh (i.e. the promontory at the end of which is Ras 'Ushairij)	A white fish with black spots; 24 inches long.
Halwah	Spring	In front of the town, south of the anchorage.	Similar to the Zubaidi, except that it is grey in colour.
Hamam	Spring	All over the bay	Also called Qarfah. A white fish with yellow fins, about 8 inches long.
Hamisah			The turtle. It is not eaten, but its fat is used for sprains, etc.; its oil is also extracted.
Hamrah	Spring and Autumn	Ras al Ardh	A flat fish similar to the Sha'm except that it is red in colour.
Hamúr	Summer and Autumn	Rakasat al Jazirah, i.e. in the channel between Jazirat al Qurain and Umm al Namal	About 36 inches long; it is drab with brown spots.
Haqull	Summer	All over the bay	A white snake-like fish; about 12 inches long.
Hiff	Spring	All over the bay	A long, thin, white fish; often over 40 inches in length.
Jarjúr	Always plentiful	All over the bay	The shark. There are several varieties, of which only that known as *Walid* is eaten, and it never by Shi'ahs.
Kan'ád (always pronounced Chan'ad)	Spring	Ras al Ardh and Bad'ah	The seer-fish or "Indian Salmon"; a white fish, about 24 inches long. Rare.
Khabat	Winter	Ras al Ardh	A thin, white fish; about 20 inches long.
Kímh; pl. Kumuh (pronounced Chím)	Spring	All over the bay	A white fish, about 12 inches long; its head is very thin in proportion to its body.

Appendix X

Name of Fish.	*When most Plentiful.*	*Where most Plentiful.*	*Remarks.*
Lukhmah	Always common	All over the bay	A large, coarse, grey fish, often running to over 60 inches in length. No Shi'ahs will eat it, and not all Sunnis. The common Stinging Ray.
Maid	Autumn	Bunaid al Qar and Hasrah (i.e. from the east end of the town wall to Shuwaikh)	A white fish; rarely much over 6 inches long.
Muzliqan	Autumn	'Akaz and off Ghadhai	A flat, grey fish, 9 inches long (sole).
Naqrúr	Spring and Autumn	Musawa'	A flat, white fish, 12 to 18 inches long.
Nuwaibi	Winter and Spring	In front of the town to the south of the anchorage and 'Akaz	A white, flat fish, very similar to the Naqrur.
Qarfah	Spring	All over the bay	Also called Hamam. A white fish with yellow fins, about 8 inches long.
Ribyan	Spring and early Summer	All along the coast	Prawns.
Sabúr	Spring and Autumn	Musawa'	A white fish with greenish spots on its back; about 20 inches long.
Sáfi	Summer	Ras al Ardh and Bad'ah	A white fish; about 24 inches long.
Sawai	Spring	All over the bay	A white fish with greenish spots on its back like the Sabúr; it is smaller, however, being over 10 inches in length.
Sha'm	Summer and Autumn	Dharub (i.e. the north - western shore of the bay)	White with black spots on the back; 12 inches long. It is like the Zubaidi, but smaller.

Appendix X

Name of Fish.	*When most Plentiful.*	*Where most Plentiful.*	*Remarks.*
Sha'ri	Spring and Autumn	Ras al Ardh and Bad'ah	About 12 inches long; drab in colour.
Shím	Spring	Ras al Ardh and Kadhimah	A drab-coloured fish; about 25 inches long; tastes like mackerel.
Shumahi	Summer	'Akaz	White with black spots on its back; 36 inches long.
Tallah	Spring	Musawa'	A flat fish similar to the Zubaidi, except that it is yellow instead of white.
'Um	Always common	All over the bay	A white fish, 5 inches long. It is only caught in *hadharahs*, is not eaten by any except the poorest Sunnis. It is dried and used as a feed for cattle.
Wahar	Summer	'Akaz	A thin, drab-coloured fish; 18 inches long.
Yamyam	Spring	Fath al Hadibah	A white fish with black line on its back; 6 inches long.
Yanam	Autumn	Ras al Ardh	A drab-coloured fish 12 inches long; similar to the Shím.
Zubaidi	Spring	Failakah and Ras al Qaid	The Indian "pomfret". A deep, thin, white fish, about 12 inches long.

Note.—In addition to the above there is the dreaded Pariála or Fariála, a small flat-headed fish, 6 inches to 9 inches long, which lives in muddy ground, or in old coral beds. If trodden on it has a spike at the back of the head, which inflicts a "scorpion-like" sting. Even if a person puts his foot close to the fish it gives the same sting with whip-like motion of its body. The sting is extremely painful, and to get relief a morphia injection is the best remedy. Not edible.

There is also the Abu Shulumbo, a small quaint mud fish which propels itself along the tops of the various mud flats at great speed, and when frightened dives into the mud and disappears [*Kadhama*].

Appendix XI

APPENDIX XI

A HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION

Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities,
British Museum, London, W.C.1.
June 30th, 1936.

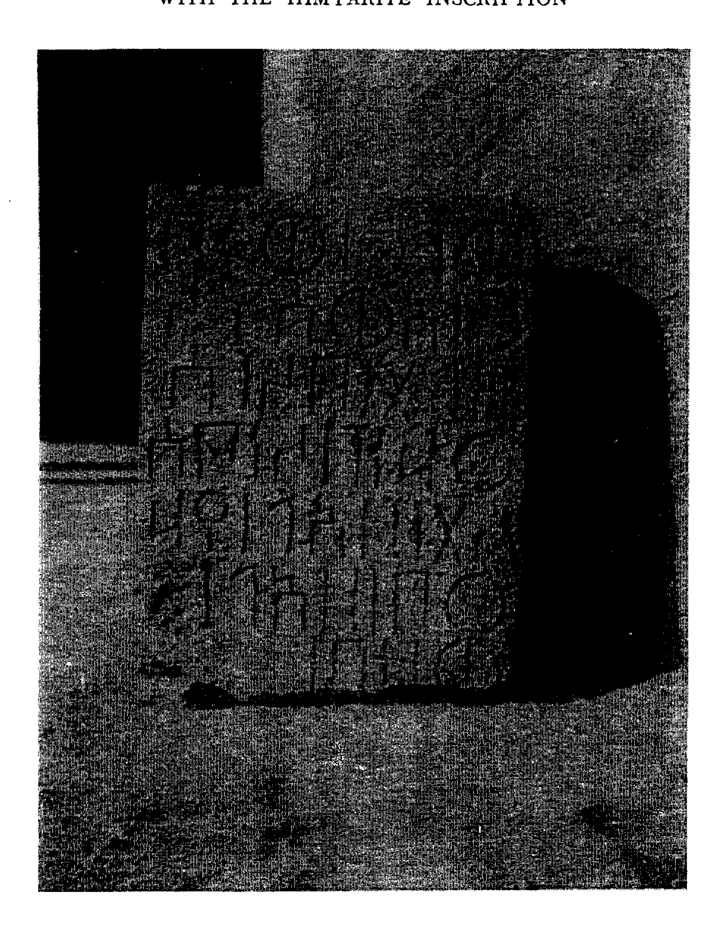
Lt.-Col. H. R. P. Dickson,
Kuwait Oil Company.

Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your interesting letter of 23rd June and the copy of an inscription. It is in the Himyarite, or better, Sabaean characters and in an early South Arabic dialect, and purports to be the grave-memorial of Aus-heu-Allat son of Sa'd son of . . . snt. The doubtful character at the

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE THAJ STONE

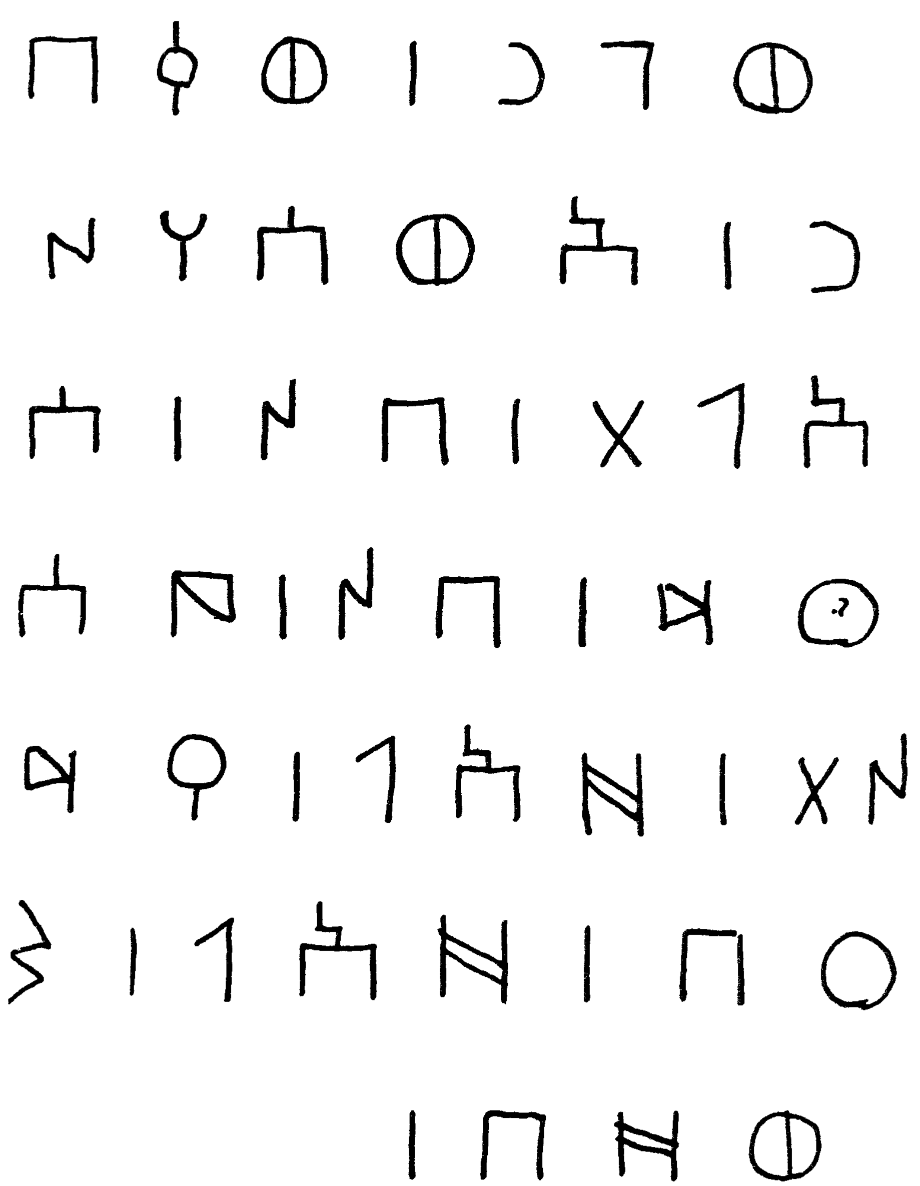
WITH THE HIMYARITE INSCRIPTION



The stone measures 16″ × 22″, each letter approximately 3″ across.
The stone was probably found at Thaj, 10 miles S.E. of Hinnát in Mid-Hasa.

beginning of the last name is that last but one in the fourth line of your copy, ... , which I do not recognise at all. Even if the top line is an accident on the stone, I cannot make much of *nsnt* as a name. I am send-

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE ABOVE INSCRIPTION



ing your letter and copy to Professor Ryckmans, a Belgian scholar, who has very complete information about all this class of inscription, to see what he thinks of it, and will send you the information when I receive it.

If your Badawin is telling the truth you are quite right in believing

that the discovery has some importance. No Himyarite inscriptions have been found so far East before; the statement to be found in some reference books that it occurs on a brick from Erech (Warka) is probably not correct, for the writing on that brick resembles writing on bricks from Ur believed to belong to the early Indus civilisation. There is a *prima facie* case for believing your Badawin, because the inscription is genuine, and it is most unlikely that the object should be carried across Arabia from the Sana's region except by a European. It will therefore be most interesting to know more about Thaj or Fhaj and its remains: whatever you can find out may be worth your publishing in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Your name has been known to me for many years, and I am glad to have this opportunity of meeting you—at a distance.

Yours faithfully,
(signed) SIDNEY SMITH.

Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities,
British Museum, London, W.C.1.
July 9, 1936.

Lt.-Col. H. R. P. Dickson,
Kuwait Oil Company, Ltd.

Dear Sir,

I have received Professor Ryckmans's reply about your copy of an Himyarite inscription. As you will see, he corrects my letter to you in an important particular, viz. the previous knowledge of Thaj and inscriptions from there due to Shakespear. The doubtful character in line 4 he interprets as Y, *'ayin.* If when you have finished with Ryckmans' note you would return it to me I should be much obliged as I should like to have it on record. You will not be surprised to hear that he would very much like a photograph and permission to publish in the scientific journal he edits, *le Museon.*

I have told him that I will put these requests to you, but that you may think it inadvisable to do this owing to the Shaikh's attitude. Perhaps you would be good enough to let me know whether you have any objection.

Yours faithfully,
SIDNEY SMITH.

Inscription copiée par le Lieut.-Col. Dickson.

Deux inscriptions ont déjà été relevées à Thaj par le Capitaine Shakespear. (CIH 984–985, cf. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres . . .*, III, p. 196). Ce sont également deux inscriptions funéraires, et elles commencent aussi par la formule 𐩤𐩨𐩧 | 𐩤𐩰𐩬𐩧. Le mot 𐩤𐩨𐩧 n'est connu comme substantif en

sud-arabe que par les 3 *inscriptions de Thaj*. (Pour le verbe, cf. CIH 581, 7–8) Cette localité devait être un etablissement sabieu (ou Minéeu) Cf. Hommel, *Ethnologie* . . ., p. 1030–31, *id.*, dans Nielsen, *Handbuch*, I, p. 58, note 1. Voir aussi *Carruthers*, *Captain Shakespear's Last Journey*, dans *Geographical Journal*, LIX (1922), pp. 321–34, 401–18.

זגר | וקב	1. Monument et sepultu-
ר | אוסהנ	2. re de 'Aws-han-
אלת | בן | ס	3. i '-lat, fils de Sa-
עד | בן | גס	4. 'id, fils de Gassa-
נת | דאל | יד	5. nat, du clan de Yad-
עב | דאל | ש	6. 'ub, de la tribe de Sa-
ודב |	7. wdab.

L. 1, cf. CIH 984–985.

L. 2, אוסהנאלת, composé de אוס, הנא, אלת: *'Aws-hani'-lât*, "*Aws*, *serviteur* (ou *don*) *de Lât*", cf. אוסלת Ryckmans, *Noms Propres*, II, p. 25 et הנאלת; הנאכהל; הנאמנות, R.N.P., II, p. 50, cf. הנא ar. هنء "esclave" dans des noms composés de 3 éléments en léhyanite: זדהנאכהב; מרתהנאכהב, R.N.P., II, p. 6. Il serait moins vraisemblable de lire 'Awsâhin-'ilat (pour 'Awsân), en voyant dans le ה un ה "graphique" minéen, qui serait inexplicable dans cette formation, ou encore de voir dans הן un élément pronominal, qui ne se rencontre qu'une fois sous cette forme en sud Ar.: Gl. 1083, 8 min. (-RES 2771), cf. Rhodokanakis, *Stud.*, I, p. 35. de plus, le 2e. élément du nom serait alors אלת qui se présente toujours comme dernier élément de noms théophores sous la forme syncopée לת, excepté dans un nom léhyanite: ואלאלת (R.N.P., I, p. 224) et dans un nom minéen: עודאלת (R.N.P.I., p. 240).

L. 4. Lire גסנת ? Le ג se présente sous la forme ג et ג dans CIH 621; OM 281, 16; Berlin VA 5320. Il faut remarquer cependant que tous ces textes sont paléographiquement récents, tandis que le nôtre est paléographiquement ancièn. On connaît גסן, R.N.P., I, p. 176 et 399.

L. 5. דאל, le pronom ד et le relatif אל (cf. Hal. 48, 7, etc.) "qui appartient à ceux de", marque fréquenment en safaïtique l'appartenance à un clan ou à une tribu. La première fois דאל pourrait marquer ici l'appartenance au clan, la seconde fois, l'appartenance à la tribu.

L. 6. ידעב ar. ذعب?, "repousser, éloigner, jouer, folâtrer". Est-ce ידעאב dont le א serait syncopé ou omis par le lapicide?

L. 7. שודב, ar. شَوْذَب (rac. شذب), "grand de corps, bien fait".

A la fin de l'inscription un [symbol] , qui peut être un wasm ou une marque de lapicide.

Nous ne voyons pas de raison de douter de l'authenticité de l'inscription.

Copy of a letter received from Professor Ryckmans (a Belgian scholar), and received by Mr. Sidney Smith of the British Museum. 9.7.36.

Professor Ryckmans' letter to Mr. Sidney Smith, of the British Museum, dated 9.7.36, recalls that Captain Shakespear had reported on two Himyarite inscriptions discovered by him at Thaj. Like this one, they are obituary notices, and commence with the same formula. He deciphers the present inscription thus:

Monument and burial-
place of 'Aws-han-
i'-lat, son of Sa-
'id, son of Gassa-
nat, of the clan of Yad-
'ub, of the tribe of Sa-
wdab

The hieroglyph at the end of the inscription may be a *wasm* or the signature of the stone-carver. Professor Ryckmans sees no reason to doubt the authenticity of the inscription. He refers those interested to CIH 581, 7–8; 984–985, to Ryckmans, *Les noms propres*, to Hommel's *Ethnologie* in Nielsen's *Handbuch*. Also to Carruthers: *Shakespear's Last Journey*, J.R.G.S. LIX (1922).

Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities,
British Museum, London, W.C.1.
March 17, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Dickson,

Very many thanks for your letter of March 3rd. I am very glad you feel able to give Ryckmans permission to publish without causing any difficulties. I have sent him the prints.

It will give me very great pleasure to see you this summer.

Yours sincerely,
(signed) Sidney Smith.

Appendix XII

Institut Orientaliste
de L'Université de Louvain
Secretariat: Mont St. Antoine 7.

Louvain le 18 Mars 1937.

Au Lieut.-Colonel H. R. P. Dickson, C.I.E., et Mrs. Dickson.

Monsieur et Madame,

Je vous remercie vivement de l'aimable envoi des photographies de la pierre avec l'inscription qui est en possession de Cheikh de Kuwait, ainsi que de l'autorisation que vous me donnez de publier ce texte, ce dont Mr. Sidney Smith, qui a bien voulu me transmettre les photos et votre message, a eu l'obligeance de m'informer.

Je vous félicite de l'exactitude avec laquelle vous avez fait la copie de l'inscription: les photographies confirment entièrement la copie. Le texte porte:

"Monument et sépulture de 'Aws-hâni'-lat, fils de Sa'îd, fils de Gassanat, du clan de Yad'(a)b, de la tribu de Sawdab."

Il est probable que cette inscription sera publieé vers la fin de l'année, je ne manquerai pas de vous envoyer un exemplaire de l'article.

Veuillez croire à mes sentiments tres distingués.

(signed) G. RYCKMANS.

APPENDIX XII

FOREIGN EXPEDITIONS AND CAMPAIGNS IN ARABIA SINCE EARLIEST TIMES.

1. Yaman and Hijáz .. .. Aelius Gallus 35 B.C.
2. Najrán (Yaman) .. .. Negus of Abyssinia at the Emperor Justinian's request, A.D. 525.
3. Hijáz .. .. .. Abraha, Abyssinian Viceroy of Yaman, from Yaman, A.D. 577.
4. Hijáz .. .. .. Rainald de Chatillon, A.D. 1183.
5. Hijáz .. .. .. Sultan Nasr bin Qilawun, Mamuluke Ruler of Egypt, A.D. 1325.

6. Hijáz	Tussun Pasha, 1811	of Egypt.
7. Hijáz	Mohomed 'Ali Pasha, 1815	
8. Qasím and Najd	Ibrahim Pasha, 1817	
9. Asír	Ahmad Pasha of Turkey, 1835.	
10. Hasa	Turkish expedition under Maz'aid Pasha as Sa'adun from Iraq, 1871–2.	
11. Qasím	Turkish expedition from Iraq, 1903–5.	
12. Madain Salih and Wadi Sirhan	Lawrence's operations during Great War, 1916–18.	

APPENDIX XIII

MARRIAGE BETWEEN SHARÍF AND NON-SHARÍF ARABS

On 17th January, 1938, Shaikh Mirshid ibn Twála of the Shammar, in discussing whom a pure Arab could marry, told me that an Arab like himself could not possibly marry a Sulubbi girl, or an 'Awazim, Rashaida or Hutaim lass. His people, the Shammar, would kill him if he did.

He added that it was true that the Amir 'Abdul 'Aziz al Rashid, ruler in Hail, had once lost his head and enjoyed for a few hours only a beautiful Sulubbi maiden, as he supposed, *without the knowledge of anyone*. He did not even marry her, but took her sinfully, added Mirshid. What was the result? The news got about, and Ibn Shurraim and all his tribe left him —Ibn Twála and all his followers did likewise and moved north into Iraq. Agáb ibn 'Ijil and his Abda sections did the same, never to come back. In fact all the Saiyah group of Shammar in protest deserted their hereditary lord in a body.

Apart from marriage with a low-born Arab woman, certain trades considered dishonourable for a pure-bred Arab to take up were forbidden him. These included, said Shaikh Mirshid, ironmongering (Sána trade), carrying and making salt, burning *juss* (lime), skinning animals and curing the skins, and burning charcoal.

To quote an example: Shaikh Mubarak found a very poor man of 'Anizah extraction burning *juss* one day. He sent for him and upbraided him, saying that he should not do a low-born Arab's work. The man, a very poor man, replied that he had to make his living, for he had a family to support,

and if he did not do the work he did, they would starve. Shaikh Mubarak rejoined sternly that if he persisted he would have to drive him out of the State or have him killed. Shaikh Mubarak al Subah, like all the Subah, was also of 'Anizah extraction and was adamant.

APPENDIX XIV

THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN SHAKESPEAR, LATE P.A., KUWAIT

I have mentioned that the battle of Jaráb in which the above officer was killed took place in the spring of 1915.

K. B. Mulla Salih of Kuwait, with whom I discussed the question, said that this was correct, making the date ever closer by saying that on 19th November, 1914, and whilst our troops were still at Saihan opposite Mohammerah, Shakespear visited Sir P. Cox and Sir Arthur Barrett, the G.O.C. at Army H.Q., and from there took his orders to go into Najd and visit Bin Sa'ud.

Shakespear started from Kuwait when the Viceroy, Lord Harding, arrived in Iraq (January–February 1915). As Lord Harding was due to visit Kuwait after seeing Basra and the troops there, Shaikh Mubarak tried to dissuade Shakespear from going till the Viceroy had left Kuwait. He failed to do so, and it was when Lord Harding was in Kuwait (February 1915) that news reached the town that Shakespear had fallen at Jaráb whilst helping to man one of Bin Sa'ud's guns.

Shaikh Mubarak, who had been trying previously to get Bin Sa'ud to come in and pay respects to the Viceroy, was later able to say to Bin Sa'ud —"I told you so. You would not take my advice, and not only failed to see the Viceroy, but you lost a battle and made me lose my Political Agent."

The death of Shakespear may therefore be fixed as having taken place in the *latter part of February* 1915.

APPENDIX XV

THE TRIBAL "WAR CRY" (NAKHWA)

The following are a few war cries of the more important Tribes of Arabia.

(*a*) The House or Clan of the Al Sa'ud. "Al Auja", "Ana Akhu Nura", "Ana ibn Mijrin".

(*b*) The House of Al Subah. "Ana ibn Salim", Ana akhu Mirriam".

(*c*) The Shammar Tribe. "Sanayís", (common to the whole tribe).

(*d*) The 'Ajman Tribe. "Mu'assa al Haddán, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Mafras al Hadid, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Sifar safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhala", "Safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhaila".

(*e*) The Mutair ('Ilwa) "Ilwa, Hal Raddat".
(Jiblan) "Khayal al Sabha",* "Al Jibili".
(Muwaha) " 'Awlad al Muwaihi", "Al Batha",† "Ana ibn Madwash".‡
(Wasil) " 'Awlad Wásil", "Ar Rahman wa ana ibn Wásil".
(Bani Abdilla) " 'Awlad 'Abád".
(Al Sa'aran) "Al Ashwa",§ "Ana ibn Ali".
(Al Sahabba) "Khayal Sabhat Mushabi".

(*f*) Awazim. "Atwi", " 'Awlad 'Atta" (elided to "Alladatta").

(*g*) Rashaida. "Al Daaiji", "Murr al Dalála Da'aiji", "Khaiyal Sabhat Da'aiji".

(*h*) Harb. "Ana ibn 'Ali".

(*i*) 'Utaiba. "Ahl al 'Atiyah, wa ana ibn Ruq".

(*j*) Sbei. "Al 'Arfa Sbeiy".

(*k*) Dhafir. "Al Garwa, Suwaiti", "Sabha Tammah".

* Name of a hill in Najd used as a rendezvous.
† Name of Al Duwish's own camel.
‡ The name of a famous ancestor.
§ Pet name of a she-camel.

Note on (d) above.—The "Nakhwa" common to Ajman and Murra, which may be termed a rallying cry or appeal to fight, is "Ayál Marzuk."

APPENDIX XVI

BLOOD OF THE BIRZAN SECTION OF MUTAIR

A FURTHER NOTE

Shaikh Sabah al Nasir, discussing the question on May 11, 1950, made the following statement:

1. Rabies was unknown in the Hasa, Riyadh, and Rub' al Khali part of Arabia, and appeared to be confined to northern border of Sa'udi Arabia, South Iraq desert and Kuwait.

2. Three years previously (1947), a pack of wolves, some forty-seven in number, affected with rabies, attacked the inmates of many Harb tents in Ajibba region south-west of Hafar al Batin. The pack bit ninety-two persons. The King sent out troops in cars who destroyed the wolves. Eighty-seven of the bitten persons were given Birzan blood to drink; five did not drink. The eighty-seven survived and are well to this day. The odd five all developed rabies after fifty days and died. Shaikh Sabah gave other instances proving efficacy of Birzan blood if drunk in time by bitten persons.

3. A Birzani retainer who was called up by Shaikh Sabah made the following statement.

   (*a*) I am pure bred on my father's and mother's side since 1,500 years ago. I am in demand when a case of rabies occurs among the Badu.

   (*b*) When I am called in to give my blood, I cut a small artery in my wrist. The charge for this is 1 Rial. Afterwards the patient who has drunk my blood waits forty days. If all is well then he pays me Rs. 300 or a she-camel costing that amount. For not till then does he know if he has been cured or not.

   (*c*) It is very necessary to drink a Birzani's blood within twenty days of being bitten. After that it may be too late, although in rare cases a longer time has been known to elapse and no harm has come to the bitten person.

   (*d*) To know if a wolf, dog, fox has rabies, the heart should be cut open and if inside are found white maggots, then undoubtedly the animal has got rabies. If there are no maggots then it is not mad.

   (*e*) I have given over three hundred coffee cups of my blood to persons bitten by mad dogs or wolves.

   (*f*) A human developing rabies, hates the sight of water, barks and whines. His brain remains fairly clear. Some of those affected cry out "I'm going to bark" or "I'm going to bite", but not all.

   (*g*) No one ever recovers if he develops rabies. He is put out of his misery by being taken away behind the tents and a handful of ashes are placed on his head. This causes immediate collapse and death. Why is not known.

   (*h*) The Prophet Muhammad who had a great kindness done him by a Birzani, said to him, "I ask God to grant that to you and your descendants be given the power of curing a person bitten by a mad dog, wolf, etc., by drinking your blood". Since that day this power of effecting a cure has been divinely granted. But the blood must be drunk within twenty days, and the donor must be of absolute pure descent on both sides.

The above story proves, among other things, that rabies was known to exist in the Prophet's time.

Appendix XVII

APPENDIX XVII

HUTAIM TRIBE

(DOMICILE BETWEEN HAIL AND TAIMA)

Shaikhs IBN BARAK

Paramount Shaikh	Nasir ibn Samauth ibn Barak*
Cousin and Assistant	Nahis ibn Fadaigham
Cousin and Assistant	Awadh ibn Barak

	Shaikhs	*Name of Section*
1.	Ibn Hádi	Al Hádi
2.	Ibn Shumailán	Galaidán
3.	Ibn Gaabub	Al Gaabib
4.	Ibn Simra	Al Dhiba
5.	Ibn Naumas	Al Nauamsa
6.	Ibn Shuwaila	Al Shuwala
7.	Ibn Marif	Al Khaiarat
8.	Ibn Zabna	Al Zabun
9.	Ibn Adla	Al Awamura
10.	Hadaibán ibn Awad	Al Mahaimizat
11.	Ibn Furaidia	Faradsa
12.	Ibn Rufadán	Namaiyán
13.	Ibn Damúk	Duamik
14.	Ibn Araiir	Araireh
15.	Ibn Hun	Huwainna
16.	Ibn Buwaidi	Al Buwaidi
17.	Ibn Hamúd	Al Hamúd
18.	Ibn Sumair	Al Rafia
19.	Ibn Jaulán	Al Mathabira
20.	Ibn Araiija	Ruwaiithat
21.	Ibn Ajwain	Ajáwina
22.	Ibn Mishaal	Mishailah

Shaikh Nasir said Shararat are of the same stock as Hutaim but run an independent tribe.

To North of Hutaim are Wulud Sulaiman.

To South of Hutaim are Bani Abdulla, Qahtan, Ataiba, etc.

To East of Hutaim are Shammar.

To West of Hutaim are Harb.

* Given by Ibn Barak himself on March 10, 1941.

Appendix XVIII

APPENDIX XVIII

"HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ"

Ref. Chapter XLV, p. 553, line 12.

Mr. C. G. Campbell, an authority on the Muntafiq tribes of the Euphrates, has unearthed valuable and interesting evidence to show that the Muntafiq as allies of the Turks were not defeated and forced to submit to the Persians in 1776 during the three years' occupation of Basra by Shah Kerim Khan Zend (1776–1779), as stated by the author, but on the contrary themselves administered a crushing defeat on the Persian Army near Basra in October 1778 at a place called ARJA. A note to the above effect, furnished by Mr. C. G. Campbell on April 22, 1950 is given below:

The evidence for believing in a Muntafiq victory at ARJA, ARGIA or YARA (near Basra) known to me is:

(*a*) *Arab tribal sources* (which regard the battle as the greatest Muntafiq victory of all times).

(*b*) *Persian History* which admits that Ali Mohomed Khan suffered a severe defeat and his own death at the hands of the *Arab Tribes*. Ali Mohomed Khan was the officer left in command at Basra by SADUQ Khan who was the Persian general who captured Basra. The Persian version says that after Mohomed's defeat and death, Saduq Khan returned to Basra and managed to retain the city by adopting a conciliatory attitude, etc., but abandoned the town immediately on the death of the then Shah, KERIM KHAN ZEND, in 1779 (13th Safar, 1193 A.H.).

(*c*) *Eversfield*, an English traveller and ex-army officer, who visited the battlefield (Arja) five months after the battle, whilst on his way to England by the direct route to Aleppo, via Basra and Baghdad, the Persians being still in occupation of Basra at the time. Quoting from Eversfield's journal, Mr. C. G. Campbell records the following entry.

"March 16th, 1779. . . . In the month of October last (1778) a battle was fought on the field called ARGIA at which place we expected to halt in 3 hours time, and to learn the reason of the slaughter there committed by means of the rashness of Ali Mohomed Khan, the Persian general. . . . At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we reached the plains of ARGIA, which were as extensive as the eye could carry, but an arm of the Euphrates makes a half circle of 3 miles inland, on the upper banks of which, the Muntafiq Arabs and Persians fought, the former consisting entirely of horse to the number of 8,000, the Persians of 6,000 horse and the same number of foot, besides 18 large Gallivats. The attack was begun by a violent onset of the Persians, whose horses once set in a full gallop cannot without

difficulty be turned, the Arabs, on the contrary, have great management of theirs, and who having thrown their long darts (spears) quickly turned the heads of their horses and galloped away, which the Persians mistaking for flight, pursued with great eagerness, until the Arabs had led them into a swampy ground, when they faced about and attacked the pursuers in their turn. This masterly evolution so disconcerted the Persians that they attempted an immediate retreat, which from the nature of the ground and the ungovernable state of their horses, they so illy effected, that 3 men only (and they much wounded) reached Bussora (Basra) to relate the fate of their unfortunate comrades, all of whom, that day on the field of ARGIA, were cut to pieces by the victorious Arabs. The Gallivats when they perceived the destruction of their army, sailed away down river. . . .

. . . ."We walked over the battlefield, and found it entirely strewn with the bones of the slaughtered Persians. What appears surprising is, that the Arabs lost only twenty men in this engagement. We left this dreadful scene at four o'clock and about five o'clock passed a very handsome town, belonging to the Turks, called ARGIA. . . ."

"(A journal kept on the journey from Bussora to Baghdad; over the little desert to Aleppo, Cyprus, etc., etc., in the year 1779. By a gentleman, late an officer in the service of the Honble. East India Coy. Horsham. Printed by Arthur Lee, and sold by J. & C. Rivington, St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCCLXXXIV)".

Author's Note.—There is no sign to-day of any village or town on the banks of the Euphrates bearing a name resembling ARJA or ARGIA.

APPENDIX XIX

Ref.: the community known as "AQAIL" or "AGAIL" (see middle of p. 112, Chapter VI).

The following additional information is given about this interesting class.

"It is not correct to number the AQAIL (or AQAILAT) among the inferior or Non-Sharif tribes of Arabia, for as explained in the note at foot of p. 112, they are not a tribe in any sense of the word. They are a camel-buying community with headquarters in Baghdad, Damascus and Qasim. Any Badawin can become an AQAILI whether he be of an inferior tribe or of a Sharif tribe. Hence among the AQAIL or AGAILAT community as they are called, we find many families of irreproachable Sharif Arab stock, as well

as others of inferior or non-Sharif Arab stock. It all depends where the camel-buyer has originated from before he took to the trade. For example the great house of Al Bassam are not only AQAILIS but are considered among the noblest in the land from the point of view of 'sharaf'."

APPENDIX XX

NOTE ON WORD "DÍYA"

and the various ways it is spelt according to context (see p. 528, Chapter XLII).

1. AL 'IDIYATU al QATIL, means settlement of a killing.
2. DÍATUN, e.g. the court orders that DÍATUN should be taken from the man doing the killing.
3. 'IDIATUN, e.g. "The accused shall pay to the injured party 'IDIATUN of so much" (Qadhis order).
4. The Quran says—"Wa inkan min qaum-in bain-a-kum wa bain-a-hum 'adawatun, fa diatun musallamatun illa ahliha".

APPENDIX XXI

(Ref. to Chapter XLI on Sulubba)

On June 21, 1949, Amsha al Mohomed al Duwish (Mutair) told me that Bander al Duwish and other Shaikhs kept Sulubba hunters who went off on camels regularly to the Dahana sands to hunt gazelle in summer. They drank from the various "Duhul", and would bring back as many as thirty-five to forty sun-dried carcases of gazelle (jalla). Wooden poles and mats are set up to dry the meat on.

APPENDIX XXII

SOME FISH OF KUWAIT

(Caught off Masjan Island in a reed fish trap) (hadhara) April 1941. (See also Appendix X, p. 592.)

*Sheem — Two dorsal fins—on lower lip half inch rough external surface—fork tail.

* Mentioned in Appendix X.

*Nagroor	Iridescent purple and green on back of head, pronounced bump on back, two spined dorsal fins, square tail.
*Biyáh	Red side fin, squarish tail, thin and long (mullet).
*Subúr	Resembling a large herring, V fork tail, one dorsal fin (small), sloping underlip, rather pointed nose, greenish on back.
Farloo	"Ayal al Subur"—the children of the Subur.
Supaity	White fish, long dorsal spiny fin, slightly forked tail, otherwise like Nagroor but not iridescent.
Myzeyzi	"Frukh ha"—her young—name given to young of Supaity.
Cheleb Du	Small fish with one sharp spike on its back and two on its underside, flesh bitter, eaten by pearl fishers.
*Halwa	Resembles Zubaidi in shape, only is black. Ibrahim al Fauderi says "Al Zubaidi bint al hawa wa abdatha al Halwa timshi waraha"—The Zubaidi daughter of the wind, her slave is the Halwa who walks behind her. Sold for 4 annas for 10 lbs. as against Rs. 1/8 for Zubaidi.
Bálool	Dorsal fin spiny with yellow spots all over, white underneath, old and young alike.
*Hámur	Name given to large fish of above variety.
Waharrar	Flat-headed fish, greeny black, one spiny dorsal fin, tail white with black spots with yellow streak in centre.
*Sha'am	Grey colour, dorsal fin spiny, one fin under tail with spike, known in Basra as "Chanag".
Gullah	Young of "Haff", long thin fish with teeth and green tongue, green all along back, forked tail silver sides, size about 12 inches.
*Haff	The mother of "Gullah" and similar, length 3–4 ft.
Hyása	Like a small shark, not eaten.
Gelaigeli	Small silver fish, square tail, exported salted to Hasa.
Séeni	Small fish about 4 ins. long, blue-black back, silver underside, yellow tail and yellow band on body.
Batana	Large scales, forked tail, large head of about 5 ins. long. Not very good eating.
Sowaya	Known as "Um Awaina" by Persians, silver fish, yellow forked tail, one dorsal fin, small pointed mouth.
Khanfa	Small sole fish of rocks with larger mouth than sole (muslug) which is from mud.

* Mentioned in Appendix X.

Appendix XXIII

APPENDIX XXIII

Ref. Chapter XL (bottom of p. 507)

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "SYPHILIS"

On May 26, 1949 Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib of the Mutair (Buraih section) told me that the dried leaves of the three well-known desert plants

(*a*) Geysúm (*Artemisia herba*)
(*b*) 'Ashiyeh (*Artemisia sp.*)
(*c*) Al Harmal (*Razya stricta Dene*)

were used with very good effect by the Badu for syphilis, when smoked in a pipe.

APPENDIX XXIV

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel food, p. 416

In the vicinity of the great wells of Hafar al Bátin, and in the Wadiyán region (Iraq–Sa'udi Arabian frontier) the "Geysúm" bush is only eaten by camels, when they first leave the vicinity of wells in the autumn. It is never eaten in the early spring.

Sheep will, on the contrary, eat the "Geysúm" bush throughout the summer.

Authority Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib. (Mutair Buraih), May 25, 1949.

APPENDIX XXV

Ref. Chapter XXXIII, p. 443

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "MANÍHA"

The term "Maníha" when used alone and not with "Dhabíha", means the loan of a ewe and lamb by one person to another who requires milk in his tent. Such ewe is returned when she has no longer any milk. Such friendly loans are commonly made by men rich in flocks and herds to their poorer tent neighbours or friends.

It is important to know this custom.

Appendix XXVI

APPENDIX XXVI

Ref. Chapter XXXVII, p. 483

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON SAILING BOATS

(*a*) The Kuwait signal of distress at sea and understood by all Kuwaiti mariners, is a black cloth or cloak (bhisht) tied round the mast. It is known as "Al Naufa". In extreme peril three black cloaks are tied round the mast.

(*b*) On the high seas a Kuwaiti sailing craft wanting food or water from an ocean-going steamship will hoist his national flag. Captains know what this means and do the needful. British captains in particular have a great name among Arab sailors for stopping and assisting boats in distress.

APPENDIX XXVII

Connection of the Al Sa'ud, Al Sabah and the Al Khalifa with the 'Anizah.

As mentioned in another place, the Al Sa'ud, the Al Sabah and the Al Khalifa, rulers of Sa'udi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain are of 'Anizah stock.

(*a*) The Al Sa'ud are descended from the Masalikh section of the Ruwalla.

(*b*) Al Sabah are descended from the Bajaida section of the Al Jibal. (Though some say they are of Dahamsha stock).

(*c*) Al Khalifa are descended from the Al Riba' (Al Rabba') section of the Al Jibal (i.e. ibn Hadhal).

When we talk of the Amarat group of the 'Anizah it is understood that both Al Jibal and Dahamsha are jointly referred to.

Shaikh Mijwal al Masrab (husband of Lady Digby), was a powerful chief of the Al Sbaa sixty years ago. To-day the section has come down in the world.

The Bani Attiyah of Hejaz like to claim that they are 'Anizah descended from Wail. Their claim is not accepted by the pure 'Anizah of the north.

Mushari ibn Musaiyis, paramount Shaikh of Al Wasil branch of the Mutair (Bin Sa'ud's nominee), is of Dahamsha tribe of 'Anizah.

APPENDIX XXVIII

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel Wasms

The following additional Wasms should be noted.

1. Under *Mutair Tribe* after (*s*), p. 423, add:
   (*t*) Al Ammásh (Al Ruaichib)
   On left cheek

2. Under *Bani Khalid* after (*b*), p. 425, add:
   (*c*) Ibn Mendíl
   On right thigh

3. Add (13) *Murra Tribe:*
   (*a*) Nigadan (Al Mugasse)
   Low on right thigh
   (*b*) Mohomed ibn Salim
   On left side of neck

APPENDIX XXIX

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAUD

(End of Chapter XLV)

The method of confining ants to their nest by means of Solomon's Magic Circle, was confirmed to me on April 15, 1948 by Salim al Murri and Saleh al Uhaimir, both trackers of the Murra tribe employed by H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait when I visited their camp and was chatting to them and their womenfolk over a cup of coffee.

Both assured me that the circle did work but (*a*) that the circle must be made anti-clockwise, and that the ants could only be released if the motion of making the circle was again gone through, but this time clockwise. That this was always done when about to strike camp, as then the ants had to be released.

(*b*) The circle could only be made effective by the grown-up children (male and female) of first cousins. For other people to draw the circle was useless, and the ants would take no notice. (*c*) Food had to be given to the imprisoned ants at noon and sunset each day.

Appendix XXX

APPENDIX XXX

ZIKAT

NOTE

Camels Zikat

No Zikat is paid on the first five camels.
If there are over five camels Rials 5 are paid up to number nine.
If there are ten camels or over, then Rials 10 are paid.
If there are fourteen camels then Rials 10 are still only paid.
If there are fifteen camels then Rials 15 are paid.
In other words the tax goes up in multiples of 5.

Sheep Zikat

Up to forty nothing is paid.
Over forty then either one sheep or Rials 8 (or 7 rupees) is paid.
E.g. On thirty-nine sheep no Zikat is paid.
On seventy-nine sheep only one sheep or Rials 8 (or 7 rupees) is paid.
On eighty sheep two sheep are paid or Rials 16 (14 rupees).
And so on in multiples of forty. Goats and lambs are counted as sheep.

BADÚR (FAWÁZ SECTION) TRIBAL GIRL (continued)

(see page 170)

Markings of second girl taken in Kuwait desert on 18-3-38.

[Name—THAMAMA mart KHAZĀR].

Subject a married girl as taken from life.

(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)

Eyebrows also tattooed in straight lines.

"AL BAKSHA" Pattern.

Tattooed on left and right wrists on inside. Pattern "AL BAKSHA" 2″ long.

Pattern right round ankle.

This line in centre of instep. Nothing on reverse side.

Tattoo-marks on forearm and upper arm as in previous sketch.

(See page 163 in *Kuwait and Her Neighbours*)

TATTOO MARKINGS

TRIBE BANI MALIK, hab: SUQ esh SHUYUKH, MUNTAFIQ—IRAQ

Taken in KUWAIT DESERT (from life) 1945

Name of girl NAUFA, (married)

Outer edge of left arm between wrist and elbow

Back of left hand and wrist

Palm of hand

Back of right hand and wrist (no marks on arm or inside wrist)

"AL BAKSHA" pattern

Right wrist underside

(See page 344 in *Kuwait and Her Neighbours*)

APPENDIX XXXII

DEATH OF THE FIRST LADY IN THE LAND OF SAUDI ARABIA

THE LADY NURA BINT ABDUL RAHMAN AL FAISAL AL SAUD

On the 27th of the Holy Month of Ramadhan, about July 10, 1950, there passed away quietly and peacefully in Riyadh the beloved sister of H.M. King Abdul Aziz al Saud.

Her husband was her cousin Saud, of the Al Arafa branch of the Al Saud. She leaves a son, Muhammad—who is known all over Arabia as "Shagran" —also a daughter by name Al Johara (meaning The Jewel). The Lady Nura was own sister to the King by the same mother Sarah of the noble Sudairi family, which has supplied the King with so many staunch adherents.

The whole Badawin world, although they take death philosophically and realize that it must come to all of us sometime, to-day sorrowfully mourn the gentle Nuras departure, and indeed the whole Middle East has received the news with sorrow and sadness.

From the early days when Abdul Aziz, not yet King, regained his capital in Central Arabia from Ibn Rashid, the Lady Nura had been his helper and adviser until the day she died. Not a day passed without her brother paying her a visit, and her own visits to the palace were daily and consultations frequent.

Her Palace was open house to all the ladies of Arabia. No one ever left it empty handed, for all received, according to their rank and status dresses of the finest silks and satins heavily embroidered in gold thread, and fashioned in the style of the Court of the King's palace. Indeed the Lady Nura was as remarkable a character as her brother, and knew everything that went on in Arabia and the neighbouring countries of Syria, TransJordan, Yemen, Iraq and Kuwait. She was continually settling small disputes among the women who came to her for help and advice. During the pilgrimage season she would personally care for and entertain any important lady who came from Bahrain, Kuwait or elsewhere, and if she herself was away making the pilgrimage, as she usually did, arrangements were ready for their reception in Riyadh. During the last five years or more, Nura together with the other ladies of the King's household used to make the journey to Jedda by plane from Riyadh. In this way she was still in Riyadh when the pilgrims travelling by camel or car came through, and she would visit with them.

Nura was not as tall as her brother, but had the same wonderful and striking personality and presence. Her voice was sweet and musical, her every movement graceful and her figure slim and she was beautifully groomed on every occasion.

Although terrible indeed was the King's grief, he could only think of the

happiness of others at this moment of his loss. He gave the order at once on her death; "Release all the prisoners here and everywhere else in my Kingdom," and the word went forth, and was flashed by wireless to all his distant Governors and outlying provinces from the limits of Yemen up to the borders of Iraq and Kuwait. The people thanked the Almighty for such a King and friend. He then ordered that every poor person in his Kingdom who up to then had not been able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and who now wished to do so, should be taken at the King's expense on the forthcoming pilgrimage to Mecca (i.e., September, 1950) and brought back to his home again.

Lastly he sent for Al Johara, and told her that everything of her mother's was hers, and that she should continue to live in her mother's house and take the place of her mother with himself and the ladies of Arabia. She is a lovely woman and I am sure will fulfil this great task that her uncle has given her. But the memory of Nura will go down to history as the confidant of the Great King, and remain evergreen as the friend and protector of the Badu.

Later, (*a*) Al Johara was recently married to her first cousin in Riyadh the son of Mohammed al Arafa. Her own father being Saud al Arafa al Saud, known popularly as Saud al Kebir.

(*b*) In addition to releasing all prisoners in S. Arabia and sending those who wanted to go to Mecca to the Haj pilgrimage in 1950. The King ordered 20 camels and 150 sheep to be killed at every summer Badawin encampment throughout Arabia to provide a square meal for the hungry. This at his expense.

APPENDIX XXXIII

SICKNESS AND DISEASE

The following note has been sent me under a letter dated June 20, 1950, by the great medical pioneer of the American Arabian Mission, Dr. C. S. G. Mylrea, O.B.E., who for 32 years was in charge of the Mission Hospital in Kuwait.

Dr. Mylrea suggests that the following additions and corrections to Chapter XL "Sickness and Disease" be incorporated as an Appendix, as helping to improve an all too important chapter. This I do with pleasure.

"*Causes of consumption.*"—Spitting is not mentioned by you, but it is probably the most important of all. The custom among the poorer townsfolk is universal, on the walls, under the carpets, anywhere, everywhere, all the time. When it is realized that there are millions of tubercle bacilli in every blob of sputum, the point does not need to be laboured. If only the poorer classes could be taught to spit into a piece of paper, and then burn the paper, this important source of infection could be eliminated.

Another factor in the life of the people of Kuwait is that their rooms are dark and the sunlight never gets into them. Add to this that these rooms are practically never turned out, and that the walls and floors are contaminated with sputum, and it does not need a very great deal of imagination to be able to foresee trouble. The Badawin, living in tents, and much of the time in what must be almost sterile ground, are to a large extent free from the peril of the townsmen. Moreover the Badawin custom of putting their things on the roof of the tent in the sun and air, must be of great value prophylactically as is also the fact that every time they move there is a clean floor under them. My guess is that the incidence of pulmonary tuberculosis is incomparably greater amongst the townsmen than amongst the Badawin, who seem to suffer more from the glandular type (Khanazir), or the bone type. It is an interesting fact that the Badawin with all their open-air life suffer as much as they do from tuberculosis. The problem is full of puzzles, but the main cause is probably as you write—"Malnutrition."

"*Small pox.*"—It is worth noting that this is the one disease for which the townspeople of Kuwait and Bahrain never call a doctor. In all my years in Kuwait, I was only once asked to see a case, and he was a baker. You probably know the bakery which is close to your house and behind it. The case was far advanced, and I did not succeed in saving the man. The bakery, however, never stopped distributing bread to the public whilst one of the bakers was lying ill, or after he was dead. The bakers lived together taking care of their colleague and serving the public almost certainly without even changing their clothes.

In Bahrain I saw five or six cases in my five years there and all of them recovered. So far as I can make out, small pox is to the Arab, and in fact to the entire population irrespective of race and religion, "From God." You either recover or you don't and there is nothing to be done about it.

"*Cataract.*"—It is not correct to say that cataract may largely be put down to the fine particles of dust which strike the *Retina.* This latter is inside the eye and is completely shut off from the outside world. No particles of dust or sand could possibly strike the *Retina.*

On page 511 *where smells are discussed.*—It might be mentioned that these "plugs" are often saturated with "Asafetida," a very foul-smelling gum resin from a plant of the carrot family *Ferula sumbul.* The Arabs call it "Haltit." I suppose the idea is that the fetid stink of this drug will neutralize any nice smell with which it comes in contact.

Incidentally you may recognize the word "Sumbul" as being the Arabic word for "stalk of wheat." In astronomy, it is the Arabic name for the star in the constellation of the Virgin which we call Spica—The Virgin is supposed to be holding a stalk of wheat in her hand.

"*Curing sore eyes*" (page 513).—It might be worth while to record the practice of wiping the sore eyes, especially when they are purulent, with a "yellow rag." This is supposed to be a good colour against the disease, and children with sore eyes often have a yellow rag pinned to their gown on the shoulder. The whole question of disease and colour is a most interesting one. "Kirmiz" (crimson) for running ears and so on.

GLOSSARY OF COMMON BADAWIN WORDS

A'aqul or *'Agul*—camel thorn bush of Iraq (Alhagi maurorum D.C.).
A'ardhiyah—common long-haired and long-eared goat.
'A'arab—advance lines of irregular Badawin troops leading an attack.
A'asin—obstinate.
'A'atifa—expression used for mare wanting a horse.
Aba'ir—unladen camels on the march.
Abár, plu. of *bír*, q.v.
'Abba or *'Abbah*, plu. *'abbi*—cloak universally worn by Arabs. See *bisht*.
'Abd, plu. *'abíd*—slave (negro).
'Abd mamlúk—slave (bought).
'Abd mu'allid, plu. *mu'alid*—domestic slave born in captivity.
'Abda—woman slave.
'Abid—servant of God, a pious man.
'Abraq (prounounced *abrag*), plu. *'abariq*—high stony ground, with sand at base, usually overlooking a valley; e.g. *'abrag al habari*, *'abrag khaitan*, *'abrag khalija*, all in Kuwait or environs.
Abu—father.
Abu Haggab—black and white hawk, buzzard, or crow.
Abu Hajaiyir—a sheep disease.
Abu Hamaiyir—whooping cough.
Abu Ja'al or *Abu Jalla*—roller- or scarab-beetle.
Abu Rumah—a goat disease.
Abu Saiyaha—white blaze on horse.
Abu Shulumbo—kind of mud-fish found in Kuwait waters.
'Ada—custom.
'Adán, plu. *adanat*—light shifting sand, *'Adan* district of Kuwait situate on coast south of town.
'Adháfir. plu. *'adhafír*—finger or toe nails.
'Adhán—call to prayer.
'Adúl—large woollen saddle-bags for carrying rice.
'Afri—a type of Arabian gazelle, the smallest. See also *dhabi*, *'idmi*.
'Agáb—eagle. See *'Aqáb*.
'Agál—head cord (*aggal* is term used for hobbling a camel).
'Agla, *'aqla* or *'uqla*—a sweet-water shallow well in the bed, or vicinity of, a dry water-course, which has to be dug out after each rains; like *thamílah*, e.g. *'Uglat ibn Siqai* (north-west corner of Kuwait) and *Um 'agla* in Dahana sands.

'Agra—scabies of head.
'Agrab or *aqrab*—scorpion.
Ahl, *ál*—family, people, inhabitants.
Ahl al bait—mistress of the tent.
Ahl al ghanam—sheep-herding tribes. See *Shawíyah*.
Ahl al khibrah—expert exponents of camel-law and other precedents.
'Aib—dishonour, disgrace; dishonourable, disgraceful.
'Aibah, plu. *'aiyáb*—leather saddle-bags for carrying dates.
'Ain, plu. *'ayún*—spring of water; also eye, and so Evil Eye.
'Aiyál—children, family in general, household.
'Ajáj—sand storm, dust (*sha'if*).
'Ajman—a large and well-known Arab tribe of *Sharíf* descent.
'Ajrum—a bush tasting of salt; there are six of them, all known under common name of *hamdh* (Chenopodiaceae). Camels must eat these once in fifteen days to keep them fit.
Ajúzah—old woman; a 5-day wind usually blowing between 26th February and 8th March.
Akhdar—(fem. *khadra* or *khudra*)—green.
'Akka—sheepskin bag for storing clarified butter.
Al—the (article).
Ál or *Al*—tribe, house of, e.g. *ál Sa'ud*, *ál Murra*.
Aladatta (*Auládd Atta*)—war cry of the 'Awazim.
'Alaikum as salám—on you be peace.
Alám, dual *alamain*, plu. *alamát*—sign, boundary-mark, flag (like *rijim*).
'Alán—written proclamation.
Al fihr—long stone instrument for hammering in tent pegs.
Al hamdu l'Illah—praise be to God.
'Ali—high, lofty, sublime.
'Alim, plu. *'ulema*—priest.
Allag (*allaq*)—a truce, leach.
Allah haihum—God give you life! (an intimate welcome).
Allah-i-adham ajarkum—death condolence made to men when a grown-up male relative has died.
Allah-i-adham ajarich—death condolence said to a woman on the death of a relation or child.
Allah-i-salmu—God save him, often used when referring to a big man, e.g. "Shaikh Ahmad, *Allah-i-salmu*".
Allah-i-salmak—God save you.
Allah yahsin ajarkum—death condolence made to a man for his child's death.
Al rimál—'Ajman name and Murra name for the *Rub 'al khali*, the Great Empty Quarter in South Arabia.
Al shuruf—the sacred black camel herd of the Mutair.
'Am—father's brother, paternal uncle. See *Ibn'am*, *bint 'am*.
'Amám—relationship, or relations on father's side.

Ambar bu—rice from Iraq or Iran.
'Amdán—see *'Amúd.*
'Ammati—name given by slave-woman to her mistress. Literally "my aunt".
'Ammi—name given by slave to his master. Literally "my uncle".
Amír, plu. *umara*—leader, prince.
Amir al Muminin—Commander of the Faithful, e.g. *min al amir al muminin illa ahl al Kufa, salám 'alaikum.*
'Amúd, plu. *'amdán*—tent pole.
Amwah—see *má.*
Anbiyá—plu. of *nabi*, q.v.
'Angar—ship's anchor with four or six prongs.
'Anizah—a large Arab tribe of *Sharíf* descent.
'Ans—female goat.
'Aqáb (pronounced *'agab*)—eagle.
Aqail—a tribe of non-aristocrat, town-dwelling camel-dealers.
'A'qil, fem. *áqila*, (or *ágila*)—wise, sensible.
'Aqla—see *'Agla.*
'Aqrab—see *Agrab.*
'Arab al 'áriba—Arabs of the Arabs, or descendants of *Yarab*, the Father of Arabs.
'Arab al masta'áriba—Arabs who became Arabs (i.e. descendants of Ishmael).
Arabána—horse-drawn carriage.
'Arabdáwi, plu. *'Arabdar*—Arab who is half Badawin, half townsman.
'Arád—a bush tasting of salt; there are six of them all known under the common name of *hamdh* (Chenopodiaceae).
'Aráfa—desert law connected with recovery of stolen or lost camels.
Arb'ayin—40-day wind from north-west See *bárih.*
'Arbiyah—name given to Hasa and Kuwait sheep (black).
Ardh—ground, land, earth.
'Ardh—honour, when used in connection with women.
'Ardha—war dance, a showing off, parade.
'Arf—money compensation for manslaughter or bodily injury. (See *Islahat.*)
'Arfaj—shrub growing in the desert (common to north-east Arabia) (Rhanterium epapposum Oliv.).
'Arísh—hut, roof, shelter made of mats.
'Arq—low hill, knoll.
Artáb—see *Ritbah.*
Arthiyah—famous breed of camel.
As Sulaimaniyah—variety of *al khaswi* lizard.
'Asar—see *'Assar.*
Asfúr—yellow wagtail among Badawin, elsewhere sparrow.
'Asha—time of final evening prayer, about an hour and a half after sunset.

'Ashib—grass or grazing.

Ashira or *'Ashírah*, plu. *'ashaiyir*—family, tribe, kin; settled tribes of Iraq.

Ashráf, plural of *sharíf*—descendants of the Prophet through daughter Fátima; Sharifial clans of Hijaz.

'Asil, plu. *Asilin*—thoroughbred, noble, of pure descent.

'Assa—camel stick made of cane.

Assaba—head-cloth for dead woman.

'Assar or *'asar*—afternoon, *salat al assar* afternoon prayer.

'Assás—the person who marches ahead to find best grazing ground.

Aswad—black.

'Atf—name given by 'Awazim to the *maksar*, or woman's camel litter.

Atháfir—finger-nails.

'Atiba—threshold.

Atnáb—sing. *tanb*, tent ropes.

Attiyah—famous breed of camel.

Auládd—see *walad.*

'Aum—A small edible fish, like a sardine, chiefly used as food for cattle.

'Ausaj—a thorny bush, believed by the Badawin to be under the special protection of spirits (*jinns*) (Lycium arabicum, Schweinf.).

'Awáfi—said to a person who has had a good dinner and is satisfied.

'Awairijan—a pattern in the *qáta* (tent divide).

'Awazim—a large, important, non-aristocratic tribe.

'Aysh or *'Aish*—rice, also *ruz*, *timmin.*

'Aysh ambar bu—special quality rice from North Iran and Middle Euphrates.

'Aysh ballam—Patna rice.

'Aysh pasháwari—Peshawar rice, very high quality.

Ayyám—plu. of *yaum*, day.

Ayyám al tashríq—days of drying flesh. The three days' rite at Muna during the *Haj* season. It is one of the five *wajibát* or requisites of pilgrimage.

Azbak—line of hair on horse's belly.

'Azmi—a member of the 'Awazim tribe.

'Aziz—dear one, one who is in favour.

Báb, plu. *abwáb*—gate, door.

Báb al 'Ali—Sublime Porte.

Bad al Mathal—fee payable on reclaimed silt-land.

Badán—type of small boat with one mast.

Badawiyah—Badawin woman.

Bádia—generic term for nomads who live in the desert, i.e. Badawin.

Badla—the fifth-quality pearl.

Badu—plural of Badawi (pronounced Baduwi), i.e. Arab of the desert.

Baghala—frigate type of dhow with stern windows.

Baham (*al*)—name given to flock of lambs and kids.

Bahara, plu. *bahar*—dry sandy water-course.

Bahr—sea.
Bahra—before a vowel *bahrat*, land, district, low place with water or marsh.
Ba'ij—pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Bait (*beit*), plu. *buyút*—house, building, tent, e.g. *buyút sha'ar*—hair tents.
Bait Allah—House of God, common name for Mecca.
Bait al mal—house of revenue, Treasury.
Bait al sha'ar—plu. *biyût sha'ar*, Badawin tent.
Baitan-jan—egg-plant.
Bakhíl—stingy.
Bakkarah—young female camel, generic term.
Bakúra—camel-stick made of cane.
Balad, plu. *bilád* or *buldán*—town, district, country.
Balam Ashári—river boat in use in Basra.
Balam nasári—type of small dhow used on lower reaches of Shatt al 'Arab.
Balash—Badawin name for syphilis. See *fringi*.
Bámia—vegetable known as "ladies' fingers".
Banát—see *Bint*.
Bandar—port, harbour, protection.
Bani, plu. of *ibn*—sons of; frequently occurs in tribal names.
Bani 'ám—members of a tribe with one male ancestry.
Bani Hájir, *Bani Khálid*, *Bani Yám*, *Bani Yás*—aristocratic Arab tribes.
Buqarah—type of dhow.
Baragh—rice and meat cooked in vine-leaves; also known as *dolma*.
Baras—leprosy.
Barga (*barqa*)—lumbago.
Bargah—isolated part of Nufudh desert.
Bárih (or *Búrah*) *al Thuraiya*—the forty days' north-west wind of the Persian Gulf. Also known as *bárih al Saráyát*. Usually blows between 15th April and 27th May. *Bárih al Jauza* or *bárih al kabír*, a 40-day wind from north-west usually blows during July: also called *al arb'ayin*.
Barr—the desert (as opposed to sea), land; *tala'ana lal barr*, we went into the desert.
Bashír—bringer of good tidings, see *bishára*, good tidings.
Bat—goose. See *Wazz*.
Batha, plu. *bathat*, *abathah*—ground broken with sandy nullahs. Broad shallow river bed like *bahara*.
Batíl—fast sailing dhow of peculiar design (now almost extinct).
Bátin—depression, shallow valley, e.g. *al Bátin*, famous depression west of Kuwait.
Bátiniyah—famous breed of riding camels from Batinah coast, Oman.
Batn—belly, depression, river-bed.
Battan—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Batúla—a type of woman's mask.

Baul (or *Bûl*)—urine. Female-camel urine is used as a hair-wash and often as a purgative by Badawin men and women. (Camel urine known as *baul baiyir.*)

Bawara—common heavy anchor used in Kuwait (European shape).

Bazar—assemblage of shopping booths; shopping centre.

Bayir or *Bayír*, plu. *abáyir* or *ba'arin*—ordinary male pack-camel; also used as generic name for camel. *Ahl al bayir*, people of the camel, i.e. true nomadic Badawin.

Berberiyah—breed of small goats with short hair and long ears, said to come from Somaliland in first place, very good milk givers.

Bil (or *Ibil*)—generic term for camels generally, like *dibbash*. Both terms are used to denote the herd of camels.

Bilása—payment to a spy to trace a stolen camel.

Bin—variant form of *ibn*, e.g. Bin Sa'ud.

Bint, plu. *banát*—girl.

Bint al bahr or *Bint al naukhuda*—lit. "girl of the sea" or "captain's daughter."
A pretty pink and silver fish found off Kuwait.

Bint al harám, or *bint al háwa* (see *qahba*)—prostitute.

Bint al muttar—"Daughter of rain", a small, fat, scarlet spider.

Bint 'ám—first cousin female on father's side.

Bint al Naukhuda—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Bír, plu. *abár* or *biyár*—well.

Biriq or *Bríq* (pronounced *brích*)—water jug, companion of *maghassal*, basin.

Birkah, before a vowel *birkat*—pool, cistern, tank.

Birmil—part of stern-piece of *bûm*, q.v.

Bís—another part of stern-piece of *búm*, q.v.

Bishára—good tidings.

Bisht—see *'abba.*

B'ism 'Illah—in the name of God, said before eating, etc.

Biyáh—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Bukhnug—small girl's head-covering.

Bukhúr—incense.

Búm—largest type of dhow built in Persian Gulf, has good cargo space.

Burqa or *burga*—face mask worn by Badawin women in Arabia (south of Kuwait), also hood for falcon.

Burwa'g—a kind of wild flower used in making *igt.*

Butain—wind north-west and west, usually blows between 2nd January and 7th February.

Butaira—type of small dhow (sea-going).

Chabla—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.
Chaf or *Keff*—distance between extended thumb and forefinger.
Chaduf—fisherman's oar.
Chaftan—part of stern-piece of *bûm*, q.v.
Chan'ad—see *Kan'ad.*
Chau—measure of weight in selling pearls.
Chelb—part of *jalibút*, q.v.
Chessib—loot obtained as a result of a raid (see *Kessib*).
Chifan—(*Kifan*) shroud.
Chim—see *Kímh.*
Chitab—(*Kitab*) small *dhalla*-type woman's camel litter.

Dáb, plu. *díbban*—snake (plural form also used by Badawin for worms in stomach).
Dabbaru al bait—change the face of the tent round.
Dagal—part of a *jalibút.*
Dahal, plu. *duhúl*—a natural well with subterranean caverns opening out from the bottom in various directions.
Dahanah, *Dahana*, *Al Dahna*—comparatively hard pebbly ground covered at intervals with parallel sand dunes of varying width. The name, commonly given to the great sandy belt protecting inner Najd, which extends in unbroken line from the Rub' al Khali in the south, up the west side of Hasa province, along the southern reaches of the Summán region and turning north-west finally sweeps towards Jabal Shammar and Hail, leaving these two regions to the south of it. In its north-west course it is known as the Nufudh.
Daid—breast of woman (plu. *diúd*, dual *daidain*, often given as names of hills, etc. See *nuhaid*).
Dairum—bark of tree used for cleaning teeth. It dyes the lips saffron red.
Dakhála—protection, sanctuary. The Arab law which ensures protection for a suppliant; *dakhílak hafadhni ya fulan* (I am your suppliant, protect me, So-and-So).
Dakhíl—person seeking sanctuary.
Dalag—bracelets (tribal), consisting of mixed coloured beads.
Dalla, plu. *dallal*—brass coffee-pot.
Dallál—broker, pearl-broker.
Dallu—small leather bucket.
Dámir—sort of Zouave jacket for men.
Dangiyah—Indian-built dhow closely resembling *búm.*
Dár, plu. *diyár*—house, habitation, courtyard of a house: more commonly known as *haush* in Kuwait.
Daráya—cream-coloured courser (bird). See *darjalan.*

Darb, plu. *durúb*—road.

Darjalan—cream-coloured courser. See *daráya.*

Dasma al tair—hawker's glove.

Dauha—before a vowel *dauhat*, land-locked bay or large house, e.g. *Dauhat Qadhma* on north side of bay of Kuwait.

Dehen—clarified butter (see *semen*). Used also as hair-oil.

Dera'ah—woman's frock.

Dhaba or *dhaba'a*—hyena.

Dhabi—gazelle, e.g. *Khashm al dhabi*, gazelle's nose, a prominent landmark in Kuwait. See *'afri* and *'idmi.*

Dhabíhah—a sheep set apart for killing, often used with *maníhah*, a sheep set apart for milking, e.g. *dhabíhah wa maníhah*, an expression used for good-will tax voluntarily paid by strangers on arrival in foreign tribal country.

Dhafaiyir—a woman's plait.

Dhafar—to plait.

Dhafir—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Dhahar—lit. back, *al Dhahar* is a well-known ridge lying 10 miles south of Kuwait and extending parallel to the coast for 30 miles. The same ridge is also known as "the girl's eyebrows", *Laik al bint* by mariners.

Dhaiqah—before vowel *dhaiqat*, narrow pass.

Dhala'a or *Dhila'a*, plu. *dhila'an*—a small prominent hill, e.g. *Dhala'at al dhaba*, the hyena's mounds, a well-known landmark in Kuwait.

Dhalla—very large, woman's camel litter with wings (see *taiyára*), common to 'Aniza, Dhafir, etc.

Dhalúl, plu. *dhulúl*—riding camel, as opposed to milch or pack camel.

Dhara—Mutairi name for *qáta*, or tent-divide.

Dhiáfa—hospitality.

Dhíb—wolf.

Dhil'ah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Dhilai'ah—diminutive of *dhalúl.*

Dhimma—safe keeping. Guardianship.

Dhina—unborn child.

Dhiná'at—mother who has just borne a child.

Dhrambúl—badger.

Dhub—spine-tailed edible monitor lizard.

Dhuhur—noon, sometimes pronounced *dhuhar.*

Dhul Hijjah—the month of pilgrimage (*Haj*).

Dhura—maize, Indian corn.

Dibba—locusts in hopper stage before wings have appeared.

Díbban—worms (literally "snakes") in human body.

Dibbash—see *bil.*

Dibdibba—type of country covered with scrub jungle or *sijar* or *siyar* as the Badawin calls small trees, bushes, etc. The exact opposite to *qara'a* country, which is dead flat and devoid of any brushwood of any sort. *Al Dibdibba* is the well-known stretch of country extending for about 30 miles in depth on either side of the great *Bátin* depression (100 miles west of Kuwait) and roughly speaking lying between Riq'ai in the south and Al Shiqaq in the north. The *Dibdibba* region contains various forms of *hamdh* bush in profusion, notably the *rimdh* variety, which all contain salt and are good for camels.

Diq—phthisis, consumption. See also *sil.*

Dírah—the Badawin name for a tribal range, e.g. *dírat al Mutair*, the Mutair tribal country.

Dishdásha—cotton smock.

Díwán—royal court, hall, reception room, court of justice, sofa. See *majlis.*

Díwániyah—portion of tent or house where male guests are received.

Díya or *'Idiya*—blood money. See *fasl.*

Dólma, *dólmat*—dish of rice and meat wrapped up in vine leaves (probably Turkish word). Also stuffed onions similarly cooked.

Dugs—porpoise.

Dukhn—the Indian *bajri*, millet.

Dukk, plu. *dikaka*—before a vowel *dikakat*, a low hill or hillock, or rolling plain.

Dushak (*Daushak*), plu. *dawáshak*—mattress.

Dushan—ruling class of the Mutair tribe.

Duwailimah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Fagah—truffles.

Fahad or *Nimr*—panther.

Fahada—cheetah.

Fahal—male camel, male, young ram, ram.

Fáhasha, plu. *fawáhish*—bad woman, prostitute. See *qahba.*

Faina, plu. *fainnát*—prostitute.

Fajar (*fajir*)—dawn.

Fakh—a type of bird trap.

Fala'ij—see *Filján.*

Fálej—paralysis.

Fallah—cultivator; peasant, as opposed to nomad.

Faqah—see *Fagah.*

Fariála—inedible, stinging fish found in Kuwait waters.

Faríq (pronounced always *faríj*), plu. *firaq*, *afráq*, *afariq*—division of a tribe, party, sect, quarter of a town inhabited by a special class.

Farkh al chitab—lit. "child of the *chitab*", or small *chitab* (woman's litter).

Farkh al hanni—diminutive travelling litter. See *Farkh al chitab.*
Farwah or *Furwah*—long-sleeved coat with sheep- or lamb-skin lining.
Fasl—Iraq tribal word for *'idiya*, blood money.
Fathiha—official period of family mourning.
Fátir—female camel over 20 years of age.
Fatrah—"electric fish". The broth is used as a cure for fever.
Fattálah—line of hair behind horse's ear.
Fatwa—document containing a religious sanction.
Fauláni—see *fuláni.*
Fidáwi—name given to Ruler's paid retainers, plu. *fidawiyah.*
Fihr—see *al fihr.*
Filján, plu. *fala'ij*—strip of brown or black coarse cloth woven of sheep's wool or goats' hair for roof of Badawin tent.
Fillu—horse in its first year.
Finjál or *finján*, plu. *finajíl* or *finajín*—coffee cup.
Firsh—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Fraida—woman's nose ring, large size, as opposed to small size, *khazáma*, q.v.
Frásh—that which is sat on, i.e. carpets or bedding.
Fringi or *ferinqi*—syphilis or Frank's disease. See *balash.*
Ftur or *iftur*—mushroom.
Fulan—so and so.
Fuláni or *fauláni*—a type of camel riding-saddle favoured in Southern Arabia.
Funtas—wooden water-tank fitted in pearling boats.
Furwah—see *Farwah.*

Gá'—see *qá'*, earth, tract of land.
Ga'ah—part of hand-loom.
Gabr (*Qabr*)—grave.
Gaghraf—one of variety of salty plants known as *hamdh* (Salsola verrucosa, M.B.).
Gahwa—see *Qahwa.*
Gaidh—see *Qaidh.*
Galáda—name given to any necklace.
Galb—see *qalb.*
Gáma (*Qáma*), plu. *giyám*—wooden supports erected over a well between which wooden wheel is fixed to take rope.
Garab, sing. *jirba* (*qirba*)—goat water-skins.
Garah—horse in its eighth year or older; aged horse.
Garese—petal-less daisy used in making *igt.*
Garrat 'ainak—congratulatory greeting made on the return of a dear one.
Gash (*Qash*)—baggage.
Gasír—see *qasir.*

Gát—fourth-quality pearl.

Gatba—strips of wood sewn into the tent roofing exactly where poles support same.

Gatta—sand-grouse.

Ga'ud—young male camel.

Gaum—see *qaum*, following, army, fighting force.

Gaurti or *Gauti*—a species of jerboa with short, round ears. See *Jarbu'*.

Gaus—bow of *rabábah.*

Gawwád—see *qawwád.*

Ghabith—'Ajman name for woman's litter.

Ghadír—pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).

Ghaduf—fisherman's oar.

Ghadír, plu. *ghudrán*, *ghadrán*—tarn, depression in which water lies for a considerable period like *khabra*, a temporary rain-water pool.

Ghaghraf—see *gaghraf.*

Ghais, plu. *ghawáwis*—pearl diver.

Ghanam (al)—the flocks (sheep). *Ahl ghanam*—sheep-owning tribes.

Ghár, plu. *aghwar*, *ghiran*—cave, lair, steep place, can be used for troop of raiders.

Gharb—west, e.g. *hawa gharbi*, a westerly wind.

Gharmuk—flamingo.

Gharráb—raven.

Ghassál—professional washer of the dead.

Ghaus—pearl-diving season.

Ghawwás, plu. *ghawáwis*—pearl diver.

Ghazal, plu. *ghizlan*—gazelle or deer. The shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq call their small donkeys *ghizlan.* See *Dhabi.*

Ghazál al shadád—pommels of riding saddle.

Ghazzu—a raid, or party of raiders, e.g. *ghazzaina*, we raided.

Ghish—camel disease caused by surra fly.

Ghubbiya—kind of grub used for baiting bird-trap.

Ghussal al ras—washing of a woman's hair.

Ginn—woman's litter, square type.

Girmiz—a pink solution for sore eyes (much used in towns).

Gúba—crested lark.

Gub-gub—crab; woman's wooden sandals; golden cap worn by brides and little girls in Kuwait on festive days.

Guffa—*guffa al bait*, the back of the tent.

Guffál—official name for the termination of pearl-fishing period.

Gulbán—plural of *jalíb* or *qalíb*, well.

Gulwár—third-quality pearl.

Gumásha—woman's bracelets.

Gurjiyah (*Quriiyah*)—name given to Georgian girls (usually bought ones).

Gurun—plaits of hair.

Guwa—strength; see *quwah.*

Habába—child's hammock erected inside the tent.
Habal—rope.
Habásiyah—name given to sheep bred by Qahtan tribe.
Habl or *Habil*, plu. *hibal*—sand hills, sand dune country, can also mean rope or cable, e.g. *al Habl*, a well-known tract north of Hufuf in Hasa.
Habla—pregnant. See also *Hámila.*
Háchim—Badawin widow's mourning. See *Háddad.*
Had-had, see *Hud-hud.*
Háddad—widow's mourning.
Hadh—luck, in good sense.
Hadhar or *Hadhr*, sing. *hadhari*—town-dwellers, term used by Badawin.
Hadhara or *Hadharah*—fish traps made of reeds (Kuwait).
Hadhíra—wall made of *'arfaj* bushes to keep cold wind out of tent (see *'inna*), the term used by Badawin for town-dwellers.
Hadíd—iron; horse hobbles; horse-shoe.
Hadith—sacred tradition of Muslims.
Hadz walad khalfah—three-year-old female camel.
Hafir, plu. *hafayir*—pit or cavity.
Hafírah—little pit.
Hail—cardamum seed, usually placed in Arab coffee.
Haiya—Badawin name for viper (horned or otherwise). Kuwait Arab's term for any kind of snake.
Haiyak Allah—God grant you life (a welcome).
Haiyir 'alaiha—expression used when a man forces a girl to remain single i.e. keeping her for himself, *hajjir.*
Háj or *Hájah*—anything necessary, want, need. e.g. *illi hájah bi derdhim alyum*, I want money to-day; *khabrat háj*, the wanted lake.
Haj—pilgrimage to Mecca.
Hajár, plu. *ahjar*—stone.
Háji, plu. *hujjáj*—pilgrim, especially pilgrim to Mecca.
Hajil—horse with certain markings of good omen.
Hajirah—town or settlement.
Hajjir—a man who keeps his female first cousin from marriage with another.
Hákim—ruler, governor, government official.
Hál—condition, state, e.g. *kaif hálak*, how are you? how is your condition?
Halga—a circular mark or *wasm*, used by the Al Sa'adun Shaikhs of the Muntafiq.
Hallál—lawful, permitted.
Halwa—sweetmeat, dim. *halaiwa* or *ya halaila*—a term of endearment used with children.

Halwah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Hám—black snake, said to be poisonous.

Háma—gold cap for covering head, worn by brides. A chain hangs down from it on each side of the face. See *Tallal.*

Hamád—dry barren region, also name of the Syrian desert.

Hamáh—shaikhs' reserved grazing grounds.

Hamam—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour; also called *Qarfah.*

Hamaqi—hot-tempered person.

Hamátiyah, plu. *hamátiyat*—wide, shallow and dry water-course leading from high ground gradually to lower ground, e.g. *Hamatiyat al shimali, al wasti wa al janubi*, three dry water-courses leading from Qara's region into *Shaqq* depression 50 miles south-west of Kuwait.

Hamdh—desert shrubs salt to taste, there are six of them, all known under common name of *hamdh* (*thamran*, *'arád*, *gaghraf*, *rimdh*, *ajrum*, *shubaram*).

Hámila—pregnant (of a woman). See *habla.*

Hamisah—turtle.

Hammál—porter.

Hammám, plu. *hamamat*—pigeon, dove; *hammám al barr*—spotted or Persian dove.

Hammám, plu. *hammámát*—bath.

Hammámi—shrike.

Hamrah—a red, edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Hamúla—subsection of a tribe (family).

Hamúr—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Hangresse—alternative name for *nifl*, q.v.

Hanísh—cobra—poisonous.

Hanni—see *Farkh al hanni.*

Hanni wa 'afia—said by host to guest who has thanked him for his meal.

Hanníyan—said to a person who has had a deep drink of water.

Haq—right, due.

Haquli—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Harám—forbidden, evil, sinful; evil, sin.

Háram—a sacred thing or place, e.g. *al muharram*, the women's quarter of the tent, also the city of Mecca, the Great Mosque of Jerusalem.

Harb—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Harbiyah—Iraqi term for attacking force.

Haris—a dish of corn and meat pounded together and made into a kind of porridge (eaten during *Ramadhan*).

Harm—salty plant of the *hamdh* family, q.v.

Harra—before vowel *harrat*, plu. *hirar*, a surface of corrugated and fissured lava or scoria, overlying either plain or mountain surface, e.g. *al Harra.*

Hasad—envy.
Hasbah—measles.
Hashm—honour money, or you give honour to a person; fine.
Hasni (or *Husni*)—fox.
Hassu—pebbles or pebbly ground, e.g. *hassu al dhabi*.
Hathíra—wall of *'arfaj* outside tent. See *'Inna*.
Hattáb—woodcutter, plu. *hawátib*.
Haudh, plu. *hiyadh*—reservoir or cistern, also leather watering trough for camels and sheep.
Haufa—bridal tent or mat hut, honeymoon tent.
Hauli—horse in its second year.
Haumah—flat desert place (see north-west corner of Kuwait state).
Haútah—garden, enclosure or small house, yard.
Hauz, plu. *hizan*—strip of garden ground.
Háwa—wind.
Hawailah—a Badawin game.
Hawaitat—an aristocratic Arab tribe.
Háwan—mortar for crushing coffee-beans.
Hazaim or *Huzaim*—dim. of *hazm*, plu. *huzum*, rough elevated ground, a district in Kuwait neutral zone.
Hazzám—gold waist-band used by Kuwait women worn over *dera'ah*.
Hidna—cessation of war or hostilities.
Hiff—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Hijjil, plu. *hijjá*—massive anklet, gold or silver, worn by women.
Hijrah—flight; more particularly the flight (Hegira) of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in A.D. 622 from which year the Muslims reckon their calendar.
Hijrah, plu. *hijrat* or *hijjar*—house, room, building, e.g. *hijjar al 'Ikhwan*, the townships of the 'Ikhwan.
Hilál—new moon, pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Hindi—Kuwait name for the circumcisor.
Hinna—henna, herb used for staining finger nails, palms of hands and feet, orange-colour.
Hirán—a camel calf.
Hirish—male camel over twenty years.
Hirr—wild cat.
Hirshán—name given to shepherd community, semi-serfs of the Mutair tribe.
Hizan—see *Hauz*.
Huárdhi—minature dagger carried by Badawin.
Hubara, plu. *habari*—lesser bustard.
Hud-hud—hoopoe.
Hufaira—dim. of *hafírah*, small cavity.

Hufrah—before vowel *hufrat*, plu. *hafaiyir*, ditch or hole in the ground.
Hujjah—justification.
Hukara—*hikra* or *hukra*. Badawin name for shepherd tribes of Iraq. See *shawáwi*.
Hukriyah—name given to Iraq sheep, brown or white.
Hukúmah—government.
Humra—brown camel.
Húri—lady of Paradise, plu. *huriyah* (the reward of the elect); small dug-out boat carried by larger vessels.
Hurr—species of falcon.
Hurra—famous breed of camel.
Hurrum—species of desert salty bush (Zygophyllum coccineum L.).
Husni—see *hasni*.
Hutaim—a large and very powerful group of non-aristocrat Arab tribes.
Huwár—young first-born camel (from birth to one year old).
Huwairiyah—prehistoric boat built of palm fronds.

-i—my (suffixed to noun).
'Iblásah—spy employed to trace strayed or stolen camels.
Iblís—the Devil.
Ibn—son of . . ., *ibn ám*, first cousin. The obligatory mate for an Arab girl is the son of her father's brother, her *ibn 'ám*.
Ibra—small needle.
'Id—festival, e.g. *'Id al fitr*; *'Id al 'adha* or *dhahíyah*.
'Id kum mubarak—a happy *'Id* (reply *iyamkum sa'ida*, may your days be happy).
'Idaira—before a vowel *'idairat*, prominent hillocks, or hillocks rising out of low range of hills, e.g. *'Idairat al hussin*, a district of *al Liyah* near Kuwait.
'Idiyah—blood-price of man slain.
'Idmi—small gazelle, colour whitish as compared with *dhabi*, which is fawn-coloured.
Igt—milk cakes, look like lumps of chalk.
Ihrám—primitive dress, consisting of two white shawls or towel-like garments assumed by pilgrims on entering the *háram* area at Mecca, and worn during the whole performance of sacred rites.
'Ikhwan—name given to fanatical brotherhood in Najd.
Illa—until.
'Ilm—learning.
Imám—religious leader. Name given to Bin Sa'ud by the 'Ikhwan.
Iman—piety, e.g. *al nadháfa min al iman*, cleanliness comes from piety.
'Inna—wall made of *'arfaj* bushes to keep cold wind out of tent (see *hadhíra*).

Insha'llah—if God will; please God.
Islahat—money compensation for manslaughter or bodily injury. See *'Arf.*
Ism—name, e.g. *Taiyib ism*, a township in Najd.
'Iswah—war-cry. See also *Nakhwa.*
'Itfah—lynx or catalan.
Ithil or *Ithyl*, plu. *uthúl*—tamarisk tree (Tamarix articulata).
'Itiqad—conviction, sympathetic magic.
Ittifaq—a coming together.
Izar—loin cloth used by sailors.

Ja'ad—white or black sheepskin covering for riding saddle.
Ja'ada (al)—a herb with fever-curing properties (Teucrium polium L). Also used as a purgative.
Ja'ama—double line of hair on horse's chest.
Jabal, plu. *jibál* or *ajbal*—mountain.
Jabali—wind blowing from the mountains; wind north-east by east (also known *na'ashi*).
Jáddah—causeway or high road.
Jadíd, fem. *jadídah*—new, modern.
Jahámah—strayed camels; desert law connected with recovery of lost or stolen camels.
Jaish—camels with fighting men mounted on them.
Jál—stony ridge, not very high cliff, e.g. *Jál-al-liyah*, a ridge in Kuwait.
Jalíb—see *qalíb*, an unlined well, plu. *gulbán.*
Jalibút or *Jali*—square-sterned boat with upright bow.
Jalla—camel manure, dried and used as fuel.
Jáma—masthead pulley-block of *búm*, q.v.
Jama'a—before a vowel *jama'at*, community or following, e.g. *ya jama'a*, oh my following.
Jamal, plu. *jimál*—ordinary pack-camel (male), or male camel for breeding.
Jámi, plu. *jawámi*—mosque.
Janúb—south.
Jauza—period of summer. See *Saif.*
Jár—neighbour, like *qasír.*
Jarád—common locust, yellow brown.
Jarah—a large wound. See *suwáb.*
Jarbu'—jerboa, kangaroo desert rat.
Járiah—woman slave (term used among Badawin).
Jarjur—shark.
Jarra—track or trail, e.g. *jarrat saiyára*, the tracks of a car.
Jarrab—camel mange.
Jarrah—a goat disease, virulent mange.

Jau—a basin in which water collects, a hollow, wide valley, pasture ground.
Jauf, plu. *ajwáf*—vast plain, depression, hollow.
Jauza—first and second *jauza* are the second and third recognised periods of the Arabian summer. See *saif.*
Jazírah (before vowel *jazírat*), plu. *jazaiyir* or *juzr*—island.
Jebelli—see *jabali.*
Jedá'ár—five-year-old camel.
Jeddi (al)—the North Star.
Jeháma—see *Jahámah.*
Jeház—the bridal gifts of money, clothing, etc., given by prospective husband to bride before marriage.
Jeráb—small gazelle-skin bag for carrying coffee on march.
Jezz—coarse silk.
Jibla—direction of Mecca. See *qibla.*
Jibli—South-west wind.
Jida'—the one with the cut ear ('Ajman word).
Jidd (jadd), plu. *ajdád* or *judúd*—grandfather, ancestor.
Jidda—town of Jedda.
Jiddá—large wooden cup or bowl (made from tamarisk wood).
Jidda—horse (fit for riding) in its third year.
Jidri—smallpox; also a sheep disease.
Jiffar—case for holding weapon; scabbard.
Jiffar al tufaq—rifle-bag or carrier.
Jihád—holy war.
Jillál—horse cloth, blanket, rug.
Jináza—corpse, wooden bed for carrying dead.
Jiniyah—6-year-old camel.
Jinn, plu. *jinún*—a spirit who usually resides in the ground; evil spirit (genie).
Jirba (Qirba), plu. *garab*, or *qarab*—goat-skin for carrying water.
Jisr, plu. *jusúr*—bridge.
Jíwan—a perfect pearl.
Juss—lime, gypsum.
Juwazir—attachment used in fixing rope to side of tent.

Kabá—liver.
Kabáb—dish consisting of rissoles made of meat, rice, raisins, etc. (town).
Ká'bah—the *Bait Allah*, or House of God, situate in the great court of the Mosque at Mecca. The famous *hajar al aswad*, or black stone, is built into the wall.
Kabír, fem. *kabírah*, plu. *kibár*—great.
Kadhéri—wild duck.
Kaffiyah—headcloth.
Kahal or *Kuhl*—antimony for putting on eyes (men and women), kohl.
Kaif?—how? *Kaif hálak?* how are you?

Kalb, plu. *kulab*—dog.
Kan'ád (pronounced *chan'ád*)—"seer-fish" or "Indian salmon".
Kanár—fruit of the *sidr* tree.
Karwán—stone curlew.
Kashm—nose.
Kashta (or *Kashti*)—picnic.
Kátib—scribe or secretary.
Kauliyah—gipsies.
Kaus—damp south-east wind.
Kerím—merciful.
Kessib (pronounced *chessib*)—loot obtained as a result of a raid.
Khabat—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Khabra (before a vowel *khabrat*), plu. *khabári*—lakelet formed by rainwater in hollow ground, e.g. *Khabrat jilhim* in Kuwait.
Khad—pasture land, practically same meaning as *al khalla*, empty places and *al barr*, the outside reaches, i.e. the desert. A Badawin will say to another *khadkum taiyib?* meaning "is the ground good on which you are grazing your flocks?"
Khaddám—falcon-bearers, servant.
Khaddár—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.
Khadra—see *Akhdar*.
Khafs—a natural rocky hollow place, more often than not containing water; *al Khafs*, north of Riyadh, is a favourite camping place for the Ál Sa'ud.
Khalfah—milch camel.
Kháli—empty, uninhabited.
Khalifah—caliph; name of the ruling family of Bahrain Islands.
Khalla—the desert regions, or empty places, e.g. *rah lal khalla*, he has gone into the desert regions.
Khamás—horse in its sixth year.
Khamsah—five. *Al Khamsah*, the five main strains of Arab thoroughbreds.
Khamzar—ring for fourth finger.
Khanchiyah—three or four weeks of the pre-pearling season.
Khanyar—dagger (Iraqi pattern).
Kharíf—autumn.
Kharij or *Kharj*—men's saddle bag, also district in Najd.
Kharúf (or *Fahal*)—young ram, ram for breeding.
Kharza ma al nigat—a round, yellow pebble.
Khashil—necklace made of gold coins. See *sankh*.
Khashm—prominent headland, spur, peak, lit. nose, e.g. *Khashm al 'Afri* in Kuwait, "the gazelle's nose".
Khasír, plu. *Khusur*—bracelets of large amber beads.
Khaswi—small spotted lizard, common in North East Arabia.

Khaur—bay, inlet of the sea.

Kháwah—insurance tax paid by strangers who enter tribal territory not their own.

Khawál—relations of a person on his or her mother's side.

Khawi—companion on road, protector. See *rafiq*.

Khazáma—woman's nose ring, small size with pearl and turquoise mountings.

Khaznah—treasure.

Khibrah—knowledge, experience. *Ahl al khibrah*, wise men, experts, counsellors.

Khidmah—service; fee for service rendered.

Khillal—bodkins used to attach the *ruag* to the tent roof, toothpick. Also used for branding.

Khitab Sulaiman bin Da'úd—Solomon's circle, used to keep ants under control.

Khúsa—Badawin dagger.

Khusúr—pair of amber bead bracelets, sing. *khasír*.

Khuwaisat—thick gold bracelets studded with turquoise.

Kifan—see *chifan*.

Kímh (pronounced *Chím*), plu. *Kumuh*—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Kiswah (or *chiswa*)—gift of clothing.

Kitbát—gold ornaments woven into plaits of hair or hung on end of plait.

Kitf (pronounced *chitf*)—shoulder, mountain slope.

Kra'a—series of small ridges on undulating ground, e.g. *Kra'a al Maru* in Kuwait.

Krush—famous breed of horses, belonging to the Mutair.

Kuhl—see *kahal*.

Kulaibain (pronounced *chulaibain*)—lit. two dogs, the fifth and hottest period of summer in Kuwait. See *Saif*.

Kunj—alternative name for *Kutíyah*, q.v.

Kút—fort or keep.

Kutíyah—Indian-built dhow closely resembling *baghala*.

Kuwait—diminutive of *kút*, i.e. small fort.

Labbé—'Ajman woman's expression "at your service".

Labbeika—meaning, "here I am at your service", the opening word of the *talbiyat* cry which is meritorious for the pilgrims to Mecca to raise during the performance of the sacred rites.

Lagger—species of falcon (not Arabic).

Lahad—cavity in side-wall of grave in which corpse is laid.

Laháf—quilt, blanket.

Lahm mashwi—meat roasted in oven.

Laik al bint—"the girl's eyebrow", a name given by mariners to the *Dháhar*, well-known ridge south of Kuwait.

Lail—night.

Lattamat—white socks on horse's forelegs.

Leben—buttermilk, as opposed to *rauba*, curdled milk.

Legaha—term used of mare in foal, also used for fertilised date palms.

Lidji—four-year-old camel.

Lífa—piece of coir rope placed in the spout of the coffee-pot to act as a filter.

Lijám—horse's bit.

Luban—incense.

Lúgi—half-breed *salúqi*.

Lukhmah—coarse fish caught in Kuwait Bay, rarely eaten. The Stinging Ray.

Má, *ma*, *mai* (often pronounced *moi*), plu. *miyah*, *amwah*—water, plural often used in sense of sources, springs.

Ma'adán—name given to marsh tribes of Iraq.

Ma'aiyna—collar of small coloured beads worn by some tribal women.

Ma'aliana—full, overflowing, used in referring to lakes or pools.

Ma'araga—cloth saddle without stirrups.

Ma'arifat al dalála—science of guiding.

Ma'arifat al jarra—science of tracking.

Ma'atúq—freed slave.

Ma'aza—herd of full-grown goats (females).

Ma'azib—host; courteous way of referring to the master of a slave.

Mabkhar—burner for frankincense.

Mabrah—spindle for spinning wool. See *maghzal*.

Mabrúk—fortunate, lucky, possessing good qualities.

Madfún—buried; (of legal claims) time-barred.

Madhara—a lamb skin for storing *dehen* or *semen* (as opposed to *'akka*, sheepskin).

Madínah (before vowel *madínat*), plu. *mudiun*, *mudu*, *madaiyin*—town, important centre.

Madrajah or *madraj*, plu. *madaríj*—road, path; in plural, steps.

Madrasah—before vowal *madrasat*, school, university.

Mafraq, plu. *mafariq*—bifurcation, crossing of roads.

Mafrash—carpets spread over the ground.

Mafrúd—young weaned camel from second year.

Maga'ad—sitting place; *maga'ad al zilim*—men's portion of the tent.

Maghassal—basin; place for pilgrims to perform purificatory ablutions before entering sacred precincts of Mecca for the *Haj*.

Maghathír—herd of white camels.

Maghrab (*mughrib*)—sunset.

Maghzal—spindle for spinning wool. See *Mubbrah.*
Mahal—abode, quarter.
Mahála—wooden wheel over which rope passes when drawing water from well (see *gáma*); also see *makhtar.*
Mahallah—before vowel *mahallat*, quarter of a town, station, inn.
Mahallibi—a dish of ground rice and milk (among town folk).
Mahatt, *Mahattah*—before vowel *mahattat*, place of alighting or unloading, station or aerodrome.
Mahfudh—protector.
Mahjan (or *mahqan*)—funnel for filling water-skins, etc.
Mahjar—stony ground.
Mahmása—coffee roaster.
Mahshi—*Shaikh Mahshi*, stuffed pumpkins or cucumbers.
Maid—kind of small, edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Maidán—open space, vast plain.
Majadím—tent-front support-poles.
Majlis, *Mijlis*—council (see *Díwán*); reception room; reception.
Makhait—sail-maker's bodkin.
Makhmar—goatskin for making *rauba.*
Makhtar—pin which fastens wooden wheel of well to supports.
Makhúr—name given to baggage camels on march.
Maksar—woman's camel litter (rounded top).
Maktúb—written; "it is written", i.e. fore-ordained.
Malgat—pincers or tongs.
Malha—black camel.
Málik, plu. *malúk*—king.
Ma'mal, plu. *ma'amil*—workshop, factory.
Mambar—pulpit.
Mamlúk, plu. *mamlúkin*—purchased slave, owned by master.
Ma'múr—official.
Manasír—an aristocratic Arab tribe.
Manhús—lung disease of camels.
Maníhah—a sheep set apart for milking.
Mankhah—skin bag for making *leben.*
Mansiyah—line of hair on horse's back under saddle, considered unlucky.
Maqbara or *Maqbarah*—burial-ground, graveyard.
Marakib—circular wooden supports of rod holding up threads of the loom.
Marámi—group of three rings worn on second finger by Badawin women.
Maraq or *Marag*—a tasty stew.
Maraudh al khabith—phthisis (see also *diq* and *sil*).
Marba'aniyah—variable wind blowing last week of November and during December.
Margad al harim—women's quarters in tent.

Margad al rijál—men's quarters in tent.
Marhaba—a word used in greeting a person (probably Turkish).
Markab—tripod on which the coffee-pot is boiled, also Ark of Ishmael of Ruwala tribe.
Markaz—place where flag is planted on ground, headquarters, chief town of province.
Marsa—plu. *mirási*, anchorage, harbour.
Masaicha—desert plant, application of which eases scorpion stings (Haplophyllum tuberculatum Forssk A. Juss).
Mashai—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.
Mashúwah—small craft.
Masjid—plu. *masajid*, place of prayer, small mosque.
Masmár—cloves, sometimes put in coffee.
Masnad, plu. *masanad*—cushion.
Masrab—'Awazim word for *mukrash*, q.v.
Matbakh—kitchen.
Matháyid—plain straight gold bangles. Wavy gold bangles, *matháyid al haíya.*
Matlúb—in debt; in arrears with the fasting enjoined for Ramadhán.
Mattárih—another name for a hand loom (see *nattu*).
Mattrah, plu. *mattarah*—mattress for guest to sit on.
Ma yargud wiaha—does not sleep with her.
Mazab—see *mizbah.*
Meshash—see *mishash.*
Mezuda or *Mizuda*—large bag for carrying tent treasures.
Midáf—handle of pinnace oar of ocean-going *búm.*
Middrah—gazelle's horn for pulling down threads when weaving.
Midkhal—husband's entry into his bride's presence.
Midhqâl—measure of weight, used in weighing pearls.
Mihlal—place of assembly.
Mijaihím—herd of black camels.
Mijbah—hole in the ground for cooking.
Mijdím—one front pole of tent, plural see *majadim.*
Mijlis—see *Majlis.*
Mikhyal—staff on which shepherd hangs his *'abba* to keep sheep together.
Mil—part of stern-piece of *búm*, q.v.
Milah—salt.
Miláha—salty patch.
Milfa—face or head veil, as opposed to *burqa* face mask.
Milh, plu. *milah*, *milhah*, *amlah*—salt, salt water, salty (adj.).
Mimbar—see *mambar.*
Min—from.
Minakha—inner courtyard.
Minsab—tent peg.

Minún—large camel-skin water container.
Minyar—piece of wood lifting threads on loom.
Míraka—leathern apron which hangs in front of a camel saddle, finely woven with fancy colouring.
Mirjahah—wooden tripod to which is hung skin for making *leben*.
Mirján—coral, name given to coral bracelets of Dhafir tribal women.
Miruwihah—wind.
Mirzim—fourth period of summer. See *Saif*; south-east wind of second half of July.
Misáma—pack saddle (camel).
Misha—shuttle.
Mishá'ab—Badawin camel stick, cut with small angular headpiece from the *sidr* tree.
Mishash or *Mushash*—shallow wells in clay area into which rain water percolates, e.g. *Mishash Khalifa*, on road to *Qusur*, Kuwait.
Mishizza—gadget for tightening up threads of woven fabric on loom. See *natha*.
Misht—wooden comb, pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Mismár—horse-shoe nail, also cloves.
Miyah—see *má*.
Mizáda—'Ajman word for *ráwi*, q.v.
Mizáwal—saddle-bags which hang on woman's litter.
Mizba—infant's hammock (Hasa tribes).
Mizra, *Mazra'a*—sown field, arable land.
Mizúda—small bag for carrying money, *hail*, etc., on the march.
Mu'âidín inshallah—may God give you happy *'Id*.
Mu'allid, plu. *mu'alíd*—domestic slave born of slave parents.
Muáshi—name given to camels on move or grazing.
Mubárak—blessed, happy.
Mubarrad—wooden slipper for cooling coffee-beans after roasting.
Mubbrah—spindle for spinning wool or cotton. See *maghzal*.
Mudarraj—constructed in steps.
Mudhaumina—'Ajman name for *dhalla* (litter).
Mudír—director, governor, superintendent.
Mufrud—second year's camel when it no longer drinks from its mother.
Mughbát, plu. *mughabat*—diminutive type of litter used by 'Ajman women.
Mugwár—club-headed stick.
Mugas—pair of scissors, pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Mughassil—professional washer of dead.
Muhailah—distinctive large river craft, Shatt al 'Arab dhow.
Muharram—lit. forbidden, name given to women's end of tent, also Arabic month.
Mujtahid—Shiah religious authority or *'álim*.
Mukhabbal—mad, a senseless person.

Mukhaddah—pillow, from *khad*, cheek.
Mukhbát—wooden peg for stirring boiling coffee, 'Ajman name for *farkh al chitab*.
Mukrash—bladder, used for storing butter.
Mulk—property.
Mulla—teacher.
Munákh—place where camel kneels down, resting place.
Muntafiq—powerful tribal confederacy in Iraq.
Muqta' or *Maqta'*—ford, or path through marshy ground.
Murauwar—'Ajman name for *chitab* (litter).
Murrái—quail.
Murtachi—attitude of a man leaning on guest saddle.
Musábilah—movement of members of tribes to towns for marketing.
Musainad—small leather cushion which hangs in front of camel saddle to rest leg on.
Mushaiyikh—holy priests of Najd.
Musulmán—plu. *Muslimín*, a believer in Islám, a follower of the Prophet Muhammad, a Muslim (Moslem).
Muta'awah or *Mutawa'a*—Badawin name for a holy man, priest, or anyone who leads prayers.
Muta'ba—pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Mutadaiyanin—the supporting troops of "those with religion" following up an attack led by Badawin irregulars.
Mutair—a large, aristocratic Arab tribe.
Muthaumina—'Ajman name for *al halla* (litter).
Muthíf—semicircular hut of mats and reeds, guest house.
Mutla'i—east wind, also known as *sharqi*.
Mutasannad—attitude of a man leaning against a cushion.
Mutawwif, plu. *mutawwifin*—guide for the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina.
Muttar—rain; *bint al muttar*, small scarlet spider.
Muwaih—a little water.
Muwaihah (before vowel *muwaihat*)—a little water.
Muzliqan—small, edible, flat fish (sole).

Na'aja—ewe.
Na'al—horse-shoe.
Na'am—ostrich.
Na'amiyah—name given to 'Anizah sheep.
Na'ashi—wind north-east by east.
Nabí, plu. *anbiyá*—prophet.
Nabuk—another name for *sidr* tree, q.v.
Nabwa—hillock.
Nadh or *Nadhah*, plu. *andhah*—vast open tract.
Nadhíd—place in tent for piling bedding, etc. See *Qash*.

Nafúdh or *Nufudh*—sandy desert waste where dunes are blown into horse-shoe shaped hillocks. The Great Nufúdh lies between Hail and Jauf al 'Amr.

Nágá—female camel that has had calf; eight-year-old camel, when she is allowed to breed.

Nága-tin-bichir—female camel which has its first calf.

Nagis—see *Najis.*

Nahr, plu. *anhur*, *anhar*, *nuhúr*—river, stream or canal.

Najdiyah—name given to Najd breed of sheep (black with white marking on head and smaller tails).

Najis, *nagis* or *naqis*—unclean.

Najran—Province of Yemen.

Nakhíl—palm trees, palm grove.

Nakhl—palm tree.

Nakhwa—war-cry, *'iswah* has like meaning.

Naqíb, plu. *nuqaba*—head of community, e.g. Naqíbs of Basra and Baghdad, Naqib al Ashraf, the head representative of Sharifial clans.

Naqis or *Nagis*—see *najis*, unclean.

Naqrur—kind of flat fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Náshi—see *Na'ashi.*

Nashuk—term used for snuffing of a camel.

Nasr or *Nisr*—vulture.

Nassi or *Nussi*—a grass which grows in the desert (Aristida plumosa L.).

Natara—the watching of newly wed bride and groom by spoil-sport relatives.

Natha—flat piece of wood for tightening threads when weaving. See *Mishizza.*

Nattah—circular leather mat for baby to rest on.

Nattu or *Natu*—hand-loom (tent).

Naukhada—captain of a sailing boat.

Nauwakh al dhalúl—to make the camel kneel.

Nejd or *Najd*—plateau or elevated ground.

Nifl—herb (Trigonella stellata), used in women's hairdressing.

Niga or *Niqa*—Badawin term for declaration of war, e.g. *mardud al niga 'alaikum*, war is declared on you.

Nimr—panther. See *Fahad.*

Niqa', plu. *niqá'*—flat country where water stagnates, e.g. *Um Niqa* in Kuwait.

Niqrah or *Nuqrah*—before a vowel *nuqrat*, cavity, pit, depression, e.g. *Niqrat as S'aiyid*, ten miles south of Kuwait.

Nís—porcupine.

Nisá, plu. *niswán*—woman.

Nufuan—see *nafúdh.*

Nuhaid—dual *nuhaidain*, lit. "breast of maiden", name given to prominent hills resembling a maiden's breasts, e.g. *Nuhaidain* hills south of Sirra fort in Kuwait.

Nuqtah—plu. *nuqat*, spot, point, military post.

Núra—lime, also a woman's name.

Nuwaibi—kind of flat fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Pariála—see *Fariála.*

Qá'—(normally pronounced Ga'), ground, tract of land.

Qabílah—plu. *qabá'il* or *qabáiyil*, Badawin name for a tribe.

Qabr—plu. *qubur*, tomb.

Qádhi, plu. *qudhat*—judge, magistrate who interprets the religious law of Islam.

Qáfilah (before a vowel *qáfilat*), plu. *qawáfil* (pronounced *jáfila* as a rule) —caravan.

Qafr—desert without water or vegetation (probably word *cafard* or desert madness used in French Foreign Legion, derived from this word).

Qahba (*Gahba*), plu. *qaháb*—prostitute. See *fáhasda*, *bint al háwa*, *bint al harám.*

Qahtan—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Qahwa—coffee, or place selected to make coffee in tent (see *wujár*).

Qaidh (pronounced *gaidh*)—late summer, the hottest period of Arabian summer just preceding rains. See *Saif.*

Qal'ah—before a vowel *qal'at*, fort, citadel.

Qalb—heart, centre.

Qalíb, plu. *qulbán*—desert well, always pronounced *jalíb.*

Qalím—Persian rug.

Qa'ma—see *Ga'ma.*

Qantárah, plu. *qanátír*—bridge.

Qara'a—bare wide plain entirely devoid of trees or brushwood.

Qara'a—bareness.

Qarah—(pronounced *ga'rah*), depression, low ground, pit or hollow in sand bed.

Qárah, plu. *qárát*—isolated hill, e.g. *al Qárah*, hill near Hufuf.

Qarfah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour; also called *Hamam.*

Qaríb—(pronounced *jaríb*), close at hand, dim. *qaraiyib* or *garaiyib.*

Qarn, plu. *qurún*—horn, projecting hill.

Qaryah or *Quryah*, plu. *qaryat*, *qiryat*, *quryat*—village, hamlet.

Qash or *Gash*—baggage.

Qasír—plu. *qusara*—tent-neighbour (see *gasír*), like *jár.*

Qasr, plu. *qusúr*—fort, palace, castle.

Qáta or *Gáta*—tent partition, divide.

Qatta or *Gatta*—sandgrouse.

Qaum—fighting-force, following, *qaum al Duwish*, the following of Al Duwish.

Qauz—high round sandhill, plu. *qizan*.

Qawasim—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Qawwád (*gawwád*)—procureur, pimp.

Qázi—Persian form of the Arabic *Qádhi* (q.v.) frequently preferred by English speakers.

Qibla (*jibla*)—towards Mecca. The direction in which the Muslim turns to pray.

Qirba—(see *jirba*), water-skin, plu. *garab* or *qarab*.

Qissah, plu. *qisás*—story, tale.

Qubaisa—owl.

Qubbah, plu. *qubáb*—dome, cupola.

Qumfidh—hedgehog.

Qur'an—the Muslims' sacred book (Koran).

Qurun—side-plaits of hair.

Qusair—dim. of *qasr*.

Qusara—body of laws and customs relating to mutual obligations of tent-neighbours.

Quwah—strength.

Ra'aiyah—flock of sheep.

Rab', plu. *riba'*, *rabu'*, *arbu'*, *arbá'*—home, dwelling. Portion of tent set apart for the men of the following; See *Jama'a*.

Rába—six-year-old camel.

Raba'a—men's portion of the tent where male guests are received.

Rabábah, plu. *rabáb*—Badawin violin with one string, frowned on by Wahhabis.

Rabat—stud.

Rabi' (pronounced *rabia*)—spring (season).

Raddah—three or four weeks of the post-pearling season.

Rafíq—lit. friend, comrade, a man taken from the tribe through whose territory a traveller intends to pass. He insures him against all molestation on part of any member of tribe. See *khawi*.

Ráhah—before a vowel *ráhat*, rest, repose.

Rahat—mill stone.

Rahla—camels carrying loads to market.

Rahmah—blessing.

Rai al bait—householder; master of the tent; head of the family.

Ra'is, plu. *ra'asa*—chief, leader.

Ráiyah—a camel herd. Each herd consists of 70 camels.

Raiyat—woman's dress put up like a flag on a pole to welcome return of a relative or the arrival of an important guest.

Raiyat al bait—mistress of the tent.

Rajul, plu. *rijál*, *arjal*—man.

Ramád—sore eyes.

Ramadhán—the lunar month during which Muslims fast daily from before sunrise till after sunset.

Raml, plu. *rimál*—sand.

Ramlah, plu. *rimál*—sandy reach, sandy area.

Ramrám—a herb which has anti-snake bite properties according to Badawin (Heliotropium undulatum, Vahl., or H. cignosum). Also used as a mouth-wash.

Ras, plu. *ru'us*—head, promontory.

Rashaida—non-aristocratic Arab tribe famous for its huntsmen and desert guides, originally serfs of the Mutair.

Rashúsh—herb used as hair-wash.

Rasúl—prophet.

Ratab—fresh dates.

Rauba, *roba*—curdled milk.

Raudha, plu. *raudh*, *raudhat*, *riyádh*—a wide open vale or depression containing good grazing, owing to rain water having formed a lake during winter and kept ground moist, e.g. *Raudhatain*, the two *raudhas* on the Kuwait–Zubair road near Safwan.

Rawagu al bait—attach the *ruag* (back and side curtains) of the tent.

Ráwi, plu. *ruwi*—camel water-skin, generic term. See *minún* and *thilaithi*.

Rayál—Badawin way of emphasizing the word *rajul*, a man; a man indeed.

Rhím—largest of the Arabian gazelle.

Ribyan—prawns.

Rigaiyah or *Riqá'i*—swallow (bird).

Rih—name given by Badawin to all aches and pains such as rheumatism, etc., wind.

Ríha—smell, usually of harmful kind, bad for wounds.

Rijim, plu. *rijúm*—cairn, heap of stones, a prominent feature or peak, e.g. *Um rijim* in Kuwait.

Rimdh—salty plant, included under term *hamdh*.

Riqá'i—see *rigaiyah*.

Risan—headstall for camel or horse.

Ritbah, plu. *artab*—semicircular wood fasteners on which the ropes are fastened to the edge of the tent.

Riyadh—see *raudha*, capital of Sa'udi Arabia.

Riyál or *rial*—the Maria Theresa dollar, the most common medium of exchange in Arabia. All bear date 1788, though coins are still minted.

Roba—see *Rauba*.

Ruag, plu. *rawwag*—long strip of curtain which closes the back and side of the tent, usually four strips sewn together.

Rubá—abode.

Ruba—horse in its fifth year.
Rufga—safe conduct.
Ruh—soul, spirit.
Ruwala—section of the 'Anizah tribe.
Ruz—rice (see *aysh* or *aish*), word *ruz* mostly used in Syria and Palestine.

Sa'ad—circular spot of hair on horse's forehead.
Sa'af—stalks or fronds of date palm.
Sabkhah, *Sabakhah* (before a vowel *sabkhat* and *sabakhat*), plu. *sibákh*—saline depression, salt ground, salt marsh, always slippery and moist especially if south wind blows. After rain such ground is impossible for camels. Salty areas seem particularly prone to mirage effects in summer and winter.
Sabúr—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Sádah—plu. of *saiyid*, descendant of Prophet.
Sadda—barrage or dam.
Sadu—hand-loom. See *Nattu* and *Mattárih.*
Safari (pronounced *sfiri*)—period in early autumn just before the rains.
Safát—market place, open space for Badawin to buy necessaries.
Safi—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Safífa—hangings to decorate camel saddle.
Safína—river craft in Iraq with rounded bottom, a large craft.
Safrah—light-fawn camel.
Saggár—falconer; trainer of hunting hawks.
Sagwa—see *Saqwa.*
Sahar—witchcraft, spell (*sahára* is a woman caster of spells).
Sahara—lungs.
Sahara—wide waterless desert, like *qara'a*, only with less vegetation.
Sahára—box in which lady of tent keeps her treasures; witch, spell-binder.
Sahil or *Sahl*—easy, smooth.
Sahm—share, used when tribe divides booty after a raid.
Sahuh—an Arab tribe.
Saib—hauler of rope bringing pearl diver to surface, plu. *siyáb.*
Sa'ida—happy.
Saif—summer. Subdivided into 13-day periods, thus—*saif*, early summer, first *jauza*, second *jauza*, *mirzim*, *kulaibain*, *suhail.* The period *mirzim* to *suhail* is known as *qaidh*, late summer.
Saif, plu. *suyúf*—sword.
Saif—a pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Saih—running water.
Saihad—hillock.
Sail—torrent after rain, running water, *sail al ma*, a rain-rivulet; to pour down in a torrent.

Saiyid, plu. *sádah*, *sádát*—master, lord, title of one descended from the Prophet through Fatima his daughter.

Sakan—habitation.

Sakar—kind of hunting falcon.

Sakbah—current.

Sakhal wahshi—wild goat or *thar* of Oman.

Sakhla—goat.

Sakhul—kids, lit. plu. of *sakhla*.

Sákin, plu. *sukkán*—inhabitant.

Salaf—loan, advance given to pearl divers for support of their families at home. See *tisqám*.

Saláh—arms, weapons.

Saláhi—grey wagtail.

Salám 'alaikum—peace be upon you. (Reply is *'alaikum as salám*: on you be peace.)

Sália—a type of bird trap.

Salíb—the Christian cross.

Salláf—the leader of a tribe or family when on the march.

Salúqi or *Salúgi*, plu. *salag*—Arab greyhound used for hunting hares and gazelle.

Sambúq—pearling boat.

Samíl, plu. *samlan*—special sheepskin for making *leben* or buttermilk.

Sammu or *Sam*—expression used by host to guest when meal is ready for eating; "pray fall to".

Sána, plu. *Sanna*—servant class among tribes, whose trade is metal-working, etc.

Sanad—deed, deed of purchase.

Sanah or *Sanat*—year.

Sanat al Hamra—the red year (1932), the red sand-storm visitation.

Sanat al Jahrah—the year of Jahrah (1921), Battle of Jahrah victory.

Sanat al Rahma—the year of mercy (1918), the great influenza visitation.

Sanat al Sibila—the year of the Battle of Sibila (1929).

Saniya—round copper tray for serving meals; *saniya abu kursi*, "tray father of the chair", i.e. tray with pedestal base.

Sankh—necklace of gold coins. Kuwait term for *khashil*.

Saqwa—poison, love potion. See *sim*.

Sarár or *Sarrár*—pair of small sticks eight inches long, used for tying up camel's udders.

Sardáb—cellar, underground room for protection against heat in summer.

Sarífah, plu. *sará'íf*—booth made of poles (*chandals*), covered with mats (*bu'ári*).

Saríya—armed party.

Sarkál—junior shaikh of a tribe of cultivators (Iraq).

Sarrár—see *Sarár*.

Saru—line of hair on horse's neck.
Satúr—bow of *búm*, q.v.
Sauda—black camel.
Saujar—short knickers worn by some townswomen.
Saumar—a black stain or dye used on women's feet in towns.
Sauq wa Qaud (*Gaud*)—desert law connected with recovery of stolen or lost camels by friendly agreement.
Sawab—a small wound. See *jarah*.
Sawai—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Sawíb—wounded man.
Sba'a—subsection of the 'Anizah tribe.
Sbei—an aristocratic Najd tribe.
Sbúr—scouts.
Semen or *semn*—clarified butter made from sheep's milk, universally used among Arabs for cooking purposes. See *dehen*.
Sha'ák—Kuwait negress addicted to unnatural vices.
Sha'al—herd of brown camels.
Sha'alah—brown camel.
Sha'b—following, tribe, party.
Shabbuth—kestrel hawk.
Shadád—camel riding-saddle covered with sheepskin.
Sháhid—witness; silver or gold ring worn on forefinger with large turquoise setting.
Sháhín—shahin falcon.
Sha'ib, plu. *shu'ab*, *shi'ab*, *sha'aban*—water-course, ravine, mountain cleft.
Shaikh (or *Sheikh*)—head of a tribe or house, an old man or religious leader.
Shaikh (or *Sheikh*) *mahshi*—stuffed pumpkins or cucumbers.
Shaikhah—chief wife of a shaikh.
Shalhah (*shalhat*)—strip of land formed by silt along river bank reclaimed for cultivation. See *Shuwati*.
Sha'm—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Shamál—cool, dry north-west wind.
Shámi—north-west by west wind.
Shammar—an aristocratic Arab tribe.
Shanada—ammonia.
Shanaitir—chicken-pox.
Shaq ẓij—line of hair of bad omen on horse's throat.
Shaqiq—split or torn.
Shaqq—split, fissure, valley, e.g. well-known depression in Kuwait *al Shaqq*.
Sharaf—pride or honour.
Sharáthi—long-eared jerboa.
Sharbat—coffee stock or old brew, also sweet lemonade in towns.
Shargi (*sharqi*)—east wind (also known in Kuwait as *mutla'i*).

Sha'ri—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Shari'a or *Shari'ah*—religious law of Islam.

Sharif, plu. *Shurafa*—honourable, noble; member of Sharifian family of Hijaz.

Sharín—second-quality pearl.

Sharqi—eastern; east wind.

Shat finajíl or *finajín*—brass case for holding coffee-cups.

Shatra—short-eared goats.

Shawáwi—shepherd tribes of North-East Arabia and Iraq, sing. *sháwi* (see *hukara* or *hukra*).

Sháwi, plu. *shawáwi*—shepherd, goatherd. Term used by townsfolk.

Shawíyah—Iraqi name for shepherd tribes as a whole.

Sheikh—see *Shaikh*.

Shenúf—pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).

Shi'ah—sect of Islam, as opposed to Sunni, etc. Adherent of this sect.

Shibbr—span.

Shím—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Shíma—honour.

Shimál—north-west wind common to Najd, Persian Gulf and Iraq.

Shinaitir—chicken pox.

Shinan—salty bush, one of the six varieties of *hamdh* (Amabasis setifera, Moq.).

Shinkar—hooks on either side of woman's litter, to hang saddle-bags on.

Shita—winter.

Shu'ai—small pearling or fishing boat.

Shubaram—see *Hamdh*.

Shukaili—ill-omened horse with two white legs (near hind and off fore).

Shumahi—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Shuqqa, plu. *shiqáq*—depression in surrounding country.

Shurafa—see *Sharíf*.

Shuruf (*al*)—the sacred black camel herd of the Mutair.

Shuwati—strip of land formed by silt along river bank reclaimed for cultivation. See *Shalhah*.

Sidis—seven-year-old camel.

Sidr—a tree whose leaves are used for washing women's hair, also for washing the dead (Zizyphus Spina-Christa L. Willd.).

Síf—sea front, beach, landing stage.

Sifari (pronounced *sfiri*)—early autumn; September.

Siflah—lower part, e.g. *Jariya siflah*, name of 'Ikhwan village in Summán, North-East Arabia.

Sifra—circular leather mat, serving as "table-cloth".

Sikkah (before a vowel *sikkat*), plu. *sikák*—*sikkat* (*al*) *hadíd*, the iron road, railway.

Sil—phthisis, consumption (see *diq*); also known as *maraudh al khabith*.

Silsilah (before vowel *silsilat*), plu. *saldsíl*—chain, unbroken succession.

Sim—poison. See *saqwa.*

Sim al simach—fish-poison. Also used for killing head-lice.

Simanab—redstart.

Simsim—sesame seed.

Sinn—anchor consisting of flat stone with spike at top and underneath, for use on rocky bottom.

Sirhán—lion.

Sirra—navel.

Sirwál—trousers, men's or women's.

Siyáb—see *Saib.*

Siyahud—wind-swept mounds.

Subá—horse in its seventh year.

Subáha—husband's morning gift of money to wife after marriage consummated.

Súf—ball of wool.

Suff—oar of pearling boat; blade of pinnace-oar of ocean-going *búm*, q.v.

Suhail—Canopus. Final period of summer, see *Saif*; September wind.

Suhaili—South wind, common in Kuwait. Usually blows between 13th March and 10th April.

Sulába—a type of bird trap.

Sulaimaníyah—cat's-eye stone, said to extract scorpion poison if applied to part affected. The Shammar Badawin's name for small lizard otherwise known as *Khaswi.*

Sulubba (sing. *sulubbi*, plu. *sulaib*)—generic term for depressed community in Arabia, said to be descended from followers of Crusaders.

Summán—term used to denote a ridge, high land or raised gravelly area covered with rocks, stones or pebbles, as opposed to sandy tracts in the vicinity. There are many Summan areas in Arabia, but the one most commonly spoken of is the country of the Mutair ('Ilwa) tribe. This roughly extends from Thamami (southern end of Batin valley near Kuwait) to Nta' village in mid Hasa (exclusive of latter). In other words, it extends along the north side of the *dahana* belt of sand which protects inner Najd.

The above region is covered with red sandstone rocks and sandy hollows. It contains very good grazing after rains and the *sidr* or *nabuk* tree grows luxuriantly there. These trees are prized and guarded by the mutair shaikhs as a tribal article of value. From the *sidr* tree is cut the universally used camel stick *mishá'ab.*

Sunna—custom, usage, divine law, tradition, meritorious.

Sunni—lawful, *Sunni* Muhammadan as opposed to *Shi'ah.* See *shi'ah.*

Suq, plu. *aswáq*—bazaar, market place.

Surra—disease-carrying fly dangerous to camels (non-Arab word).

Suwáb—small wound.

Suyúf, sing. *saif*—swords; two hair lines on horse's belly.

Ta'am—food supplies.
Ta'as, plu. *ta'ús*—high sand-dune.
Tabbar—woodcutter's chopper.
Tafadhalu or *Thafadhalu*—(host to guest) welcome!; "pray fall to".
Taffah (before vowel *taffat*)—tract of rough, low, hummocky ground near seashore, e.g. *Taffat al Athami* in Kuwait Neutral Zone.
Tahal—a sheep disease.
Taifa—section of a tribe.
Tair, plu. *tuyúr*—bird; more especially, hawk.
Tais or *Téz*—he-goat.
Taiyára—aeroplane, name given to *dhalla* to-day (large, woman's camel litter).
Taiyib, fem. *taiyibba*—good, excellent, pleasant.
Tal, plu. *tulúl*—mound, small hill.
Tallah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Tallal—side chain hanging down from *háma* (gold cap).
Talqín—the ceremony of singing the praises of the dead person by the washer.
Tama —cupidity.
Tamar—dates.
Tamáta—tomatoes.
Tammam—perfect, pure, intact.
Tanb, plu. *atnáb*—rope of tent.
Tarachi—woman's earrings.
Tarfah—dwarf tamarisk.
Taríq, plu. *turúq*—road, path.
Tarríja, plu. *tara'ij*—strip of webbing fixed on inside of tent to take the strain of the ropes.
Ta'ús, sing. *ta'as*—high sand dunes in dune country, usually horseshoe-shaped.
Tawaf—ceremonial circumambulation of the Ka'abah when performing the Haj pilgrimage.
Tawásha—business of going out to pearl banks and buying pearls on spot.
Tawáwish—see *Tawwásh*.
Tawíl, plu. *tuwál*—long; also name of a copper bar coin current in Hasa.
Tawwásh, plu. *tawáwish*—merchant going out to banks to buy pearls direct from boats. See *tawásha*.
Téz—see *Tais*.
Thafadhalu—see *Tafadhalu*.
Thaif—guest.

Thamílah—before vowel *thamílat*, plu. *thimáiyil*, shallow water-hole in bed of a dry water-course or *bahara*. Usually from two to six feet deep, e.g. *Thamílat 'Atul*, *Thamílal Turki*, both in Kuwait.

Thammam—a kind of coarse grass (Panicum turgidum, Forssk.).

Thamran—salty plant included under term *hamdh*.

Thar—wild goat of Oman.

Thaub—article of women's dress. Also woman's shroud.

Thaub shillahát—white smock with long wide sleeves, as opposed to *dishdásha*. Worn by men.

Theluth—a salty *hamdh* bush.

Thena—horse in its fourth year.

Thilaithi—water container made from half a camel skin.

Thob—see *thaub*.

Thuraiya—Pleiades, pattern in the *qáta* (tent-divide), gold coins on a woman's *thaub* or overdress.

Tíb—sweet-smelling wood, e.g. *hát tíb*, bring incense; *tataiyabu*, be pleased to take incense.

Timmin—rice.

Tín—clay, loam, fig.

Tiráhah—fee paid to man who voluntarily restores straying camels to owner.

Tisqám—loan given when diver returns from pearl banks.

Tisyar—Iraqi tribal word for a safe-conduct man who accompanies another through enemy country, like Badawin *rafiq*. Also used in Iraq as the equivalent of *wejh*, q.v.

Tufaq—rifle.

Tulli—male lamb, e.g. *al tullian*, the herd of male lambs for eating.

Turri—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.

Tuwál, plu. of *tawíl*—the long places, is commonly used to denote certain areas owned by the Dhafir and Mutair tribes, e.g. *Tuwál al Dhafir*, *Tuwál al Mutair*, the long places of the Dhafir and ditto of the Mutair.

'Udh—sweet-smelling wood burnt as incense.

'Udhkul—to enter.

'Ugla—see *'Agla*.

'Uhaimir—south-east wind during November.

'Ulema, plu. of *'álim*—religious leader, priest.

Um, *umm*, plu. *ummahát*—mother, e.g. *umm 'irmum* or mother of bones. (locality in Kuwait).

Ummahá—"O Mother", exclamation of surprise.

Um, al 'Aiyál—"mother of the children", lady of the house or tent. See *raiyat al bait*.

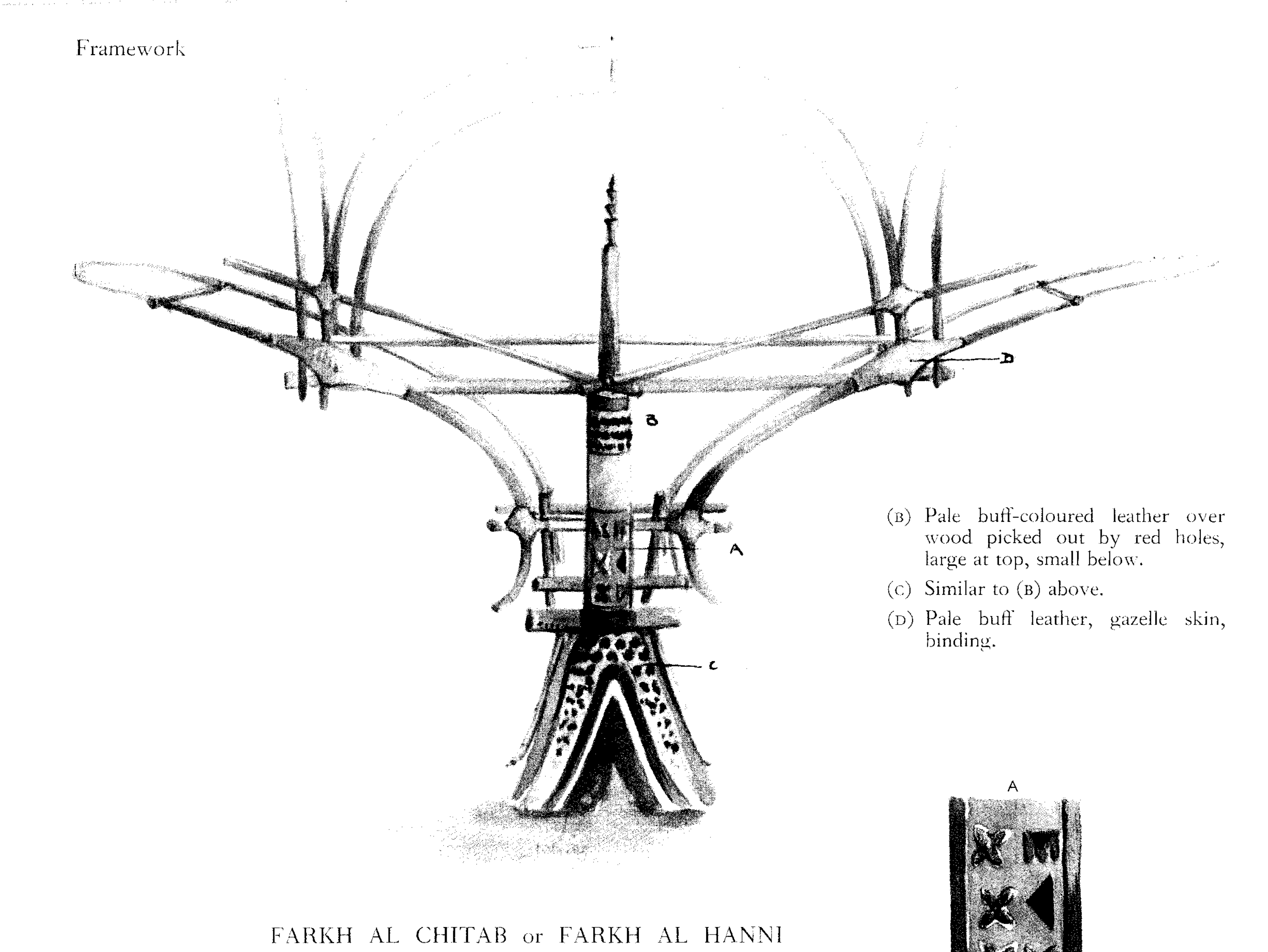
'Umaniyah—famous breed of riding camel from Oman.
Umm al Judairah—a game, similar to *hawailah*.
Umm Raugella—article of women's dress.
Urdua—a pattern in the *qáta* (tent-divide).
'Ushr, plu. *'ushúr*—tithes, or one-in-ten tax.
'Utaiba—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Wa—and.
Wa'al—wild goat, Arabian ibex.
Wa 'alaikum as salám—and upon you be peace.
Wadha—white camel, also name given to women.
Wádi, plu. *widyán*—water-course, valley, bed of stream.
Waggiyah—measure of weight, approximately 5 lbs.
Wahar—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Wahbiyah—deed of gift.
Wakar al Tair—stand for falcon to perch on.
Wakíl, plu. *wukala*—agent, deputy, steward.
Walad, *Weled*, *wald*, *wuld*, plu. *auládd*, *awalad*—boy, son of, descendant, e.g. *walad 'ám*, first cousin male on father's side.
Waládat (or *Thiná'at*)—term used for woman who has just borne a child.
Wáli, plu. *wulát*—regent, or governor of a province.
Wálid—father.
Wallah!—by God!
Waqf, plu. *auqáf*, *wuqúf*—land held in trust for religious purposes.
Waraqa—document, writing.
Wasáqah—restitution of lost or stolen camels.
Wasat—ring for third finger of a woman.
Wásil—section of Mutair tribe.
Wasm—tribal camel brand marks, also rainy season of late October and November.
Wáwi—jackal.
Wazír—minister.
Wazz or *Bat*—goose.
Wejh—security, lit. face.
Wejh al bait—the face of the tent (front).
Wejh nabi'ak—lit. the face of your Prophet (the reply to *garrat 'ainak*).
Wird—watering of camels at wells.
Wizz—sea-horse.
Wudhaihi—oryx.
Wufah—loyal.
Wujar—shallow circular hole in ground used as a fireplace for making coffee.
Wurral—poisonous snake-headed monitor.

ya—O! (used before noun or proper name).
Yad, *yed*—*yad al mahmása*, metal rod for stirring coffee berries; *yad wal háwan*, pestle and mortar.
Yáhi—cold north wind, common in Kuwait.
Yakhakh—carmine-coloured locust.
Yakhur—stables.
Yám—ancestor of 'Ajman and Murra tribes.
Yamín—right hand.
Yamyam—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Yanam—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Yárab—said to be son of Qahtan, ancestor of Arabs.
Ya'sub—bee.
Yaum, plu. *ayyám*—day.
Ybbah!—"O Father", exclamation of surprise.
Yellah—salt venison, sun-dried.
Yemma—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.
Yimkin—perhaps.
Yisár—left hand.
Yumma—"O mother", exclamation of surprise.

Za'alan—angry.
Zababit—kind of shell-fish.
Záfáran—saffron, made into tea, sometimes put into coffee for flavour.
Zakát or *Zikát*—taxes having religious sanction behind them.
Zam Zam—the holy well in the Great Mosque at Mecca, supposed to be the water which saved the life of Hagar in the wilderness.
Zarág—sandy-coloured thin snake with dark lines down its body, non-poisonous.
Zarár—gold medallion with turquoise setting worn in middle of neck especially by Muntafiq women.
Zarúqah—small *baqarah* with one mast.
Zarzúr—sparrow or blue jay.
Zaur or *Zor*—long cliff-like range of hills having gentle slope on one side and steep escarpment on the other, e.g. *al Zaur* hills on the north side of bay of Kuwait.
Zebút—plu. *zababit*, sea-shell used in fortune telling.
Zerník—arsenic.
Zib—penis.
Zibún—an article of men's clothing, also worn by women under the *thaub*.
Zubaidi—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour; the Indian pomfret.

Framework



(B) Pale buff-coloured leather over wood picked out by red holes, large at top, small below.

(C) Similar to (B) above.

(D) Pale buff leather, gazelle skin, binding.

A

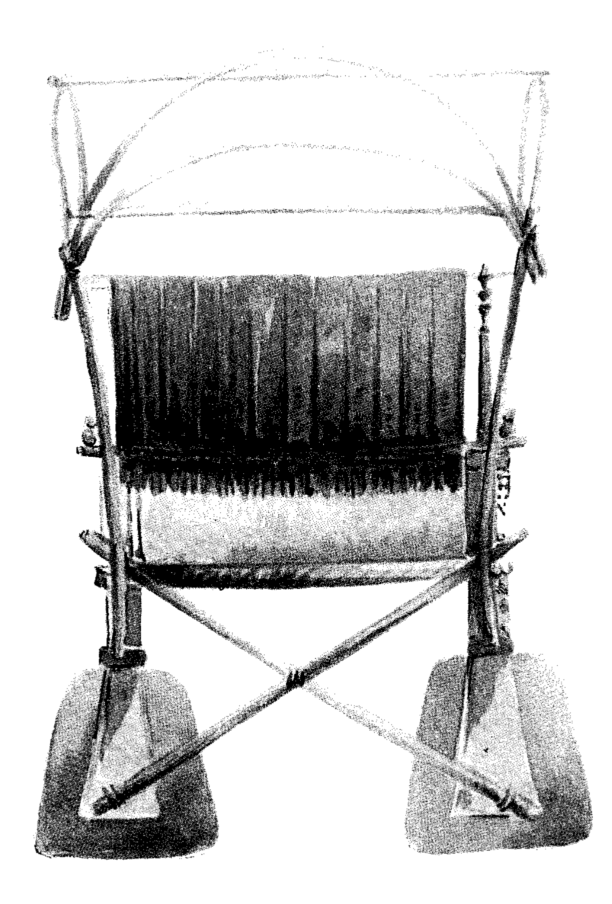
FARKH AL CHITAB or FARKH AL HANNI

(Back view)

A small type of ladies' litter known also as Dhalla

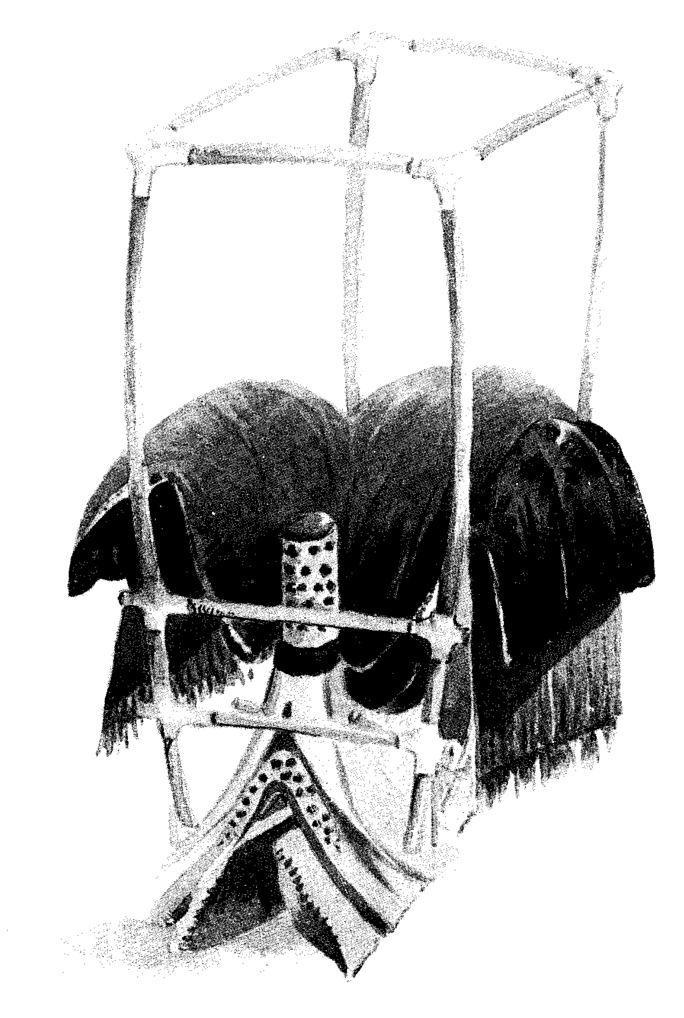
See page 99

FARKH AL CHITAB
(Framework)
Side view, with Curtain



See sketch of Farkh al Chitab or Farkh al Hanni (back view)

AL GINN



Square type of ladies' litter, more commonly used and found among Shammar, 'Anizah and Dhafír tribes—smaller than the average Maksar.

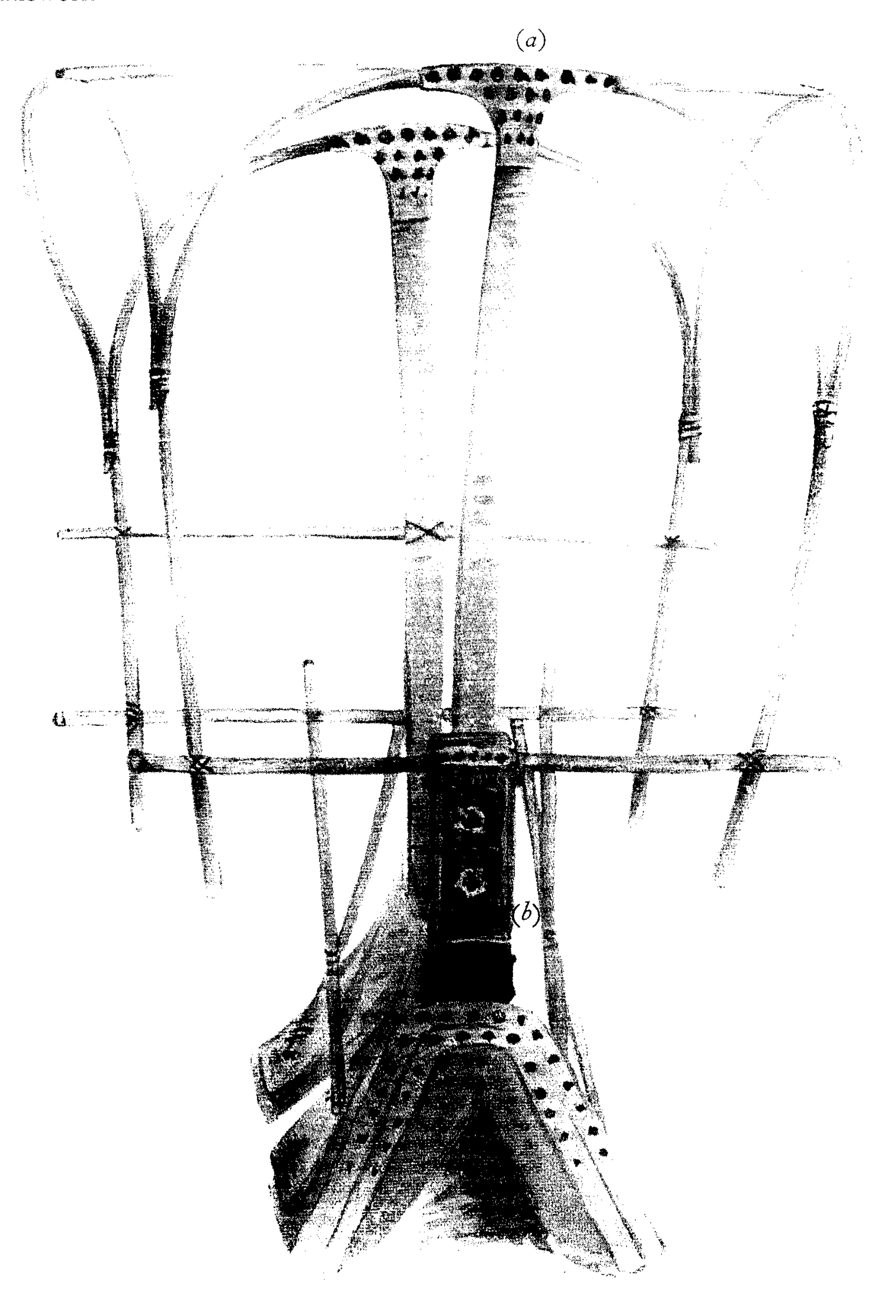
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MAKSAR

Most common form of ladies' litter among Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait tribes

(Front View)

Framework

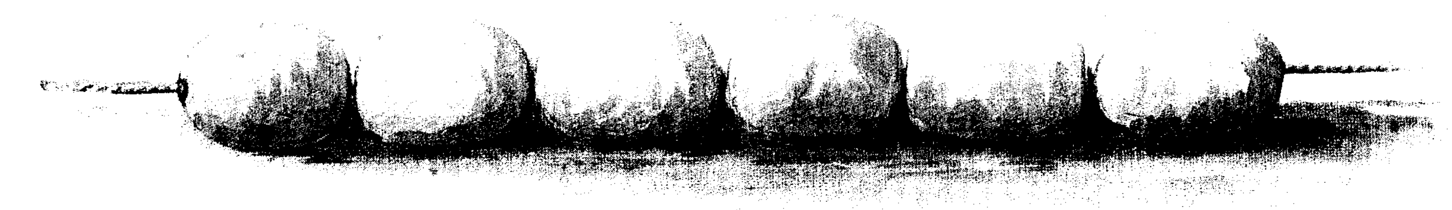


(*a*) Pale buff gazelle skin over wood, picked out with holes through which scarlet cloth shows.

(*b*) Scarlet and orange cloth ground picked out with blue beads and cowrie shells set in various patterns, on top is a fringe of *hubára* feathers.

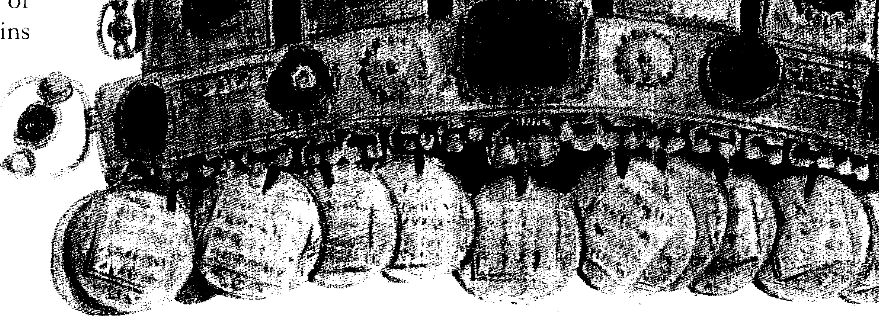
(*See page* 101)

BADAWIN BRACELETS



KHUSÚR (AMBER)
(Sing: Khasír)
½ nat. size

Very commonly worn by Mutair Rashaida and 'Awazim women of the 'Arabdar or semi-nomad type. One is worn on each wrist and shows up well alongside their black garments.



GUB-GUB
(Gold head ornament)
½ nat. size

Worn on top of head as shown in plate, i.e. loops are attached to locks of hair at back of head, and gold coins hang over forehead above eyebrows.

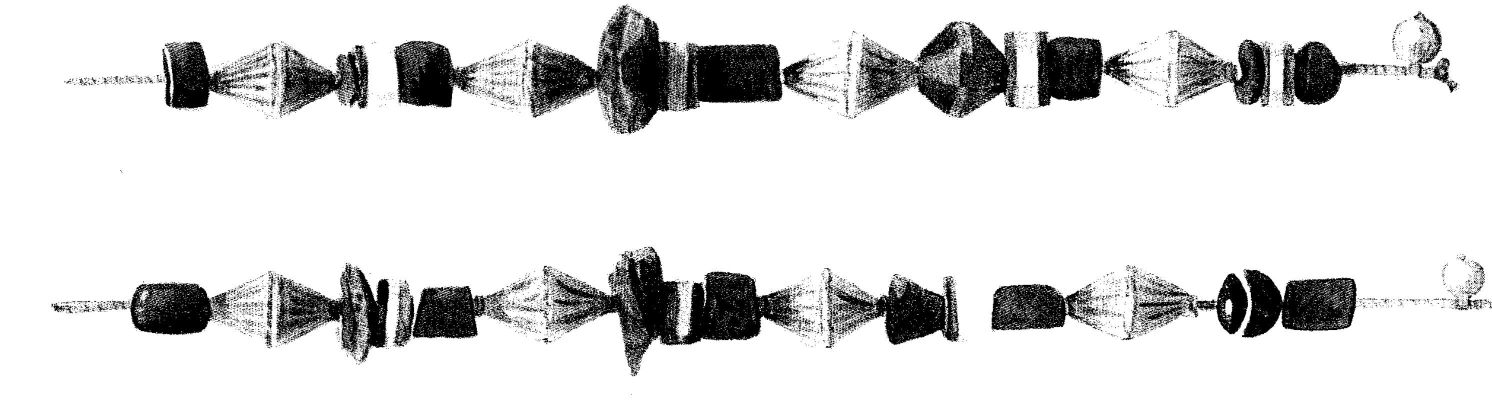
See pages 156–7

(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

Coins shown here consist of:
(*a*) Gulden or Ducats of the Netherlands, 1770, when an Austrian Dependency under Maria Theresa.
(*b*) Gulden or Ducats, 1849, when Netherlands were independent.

Austrian coinage flooded the Arab world between 1800 and 1850, and Maria Theresa silver dollars (Rials) are still specially manufactured for that market.

Authority: Sidney Smith, British Museum, Dp. 8, March 1940.

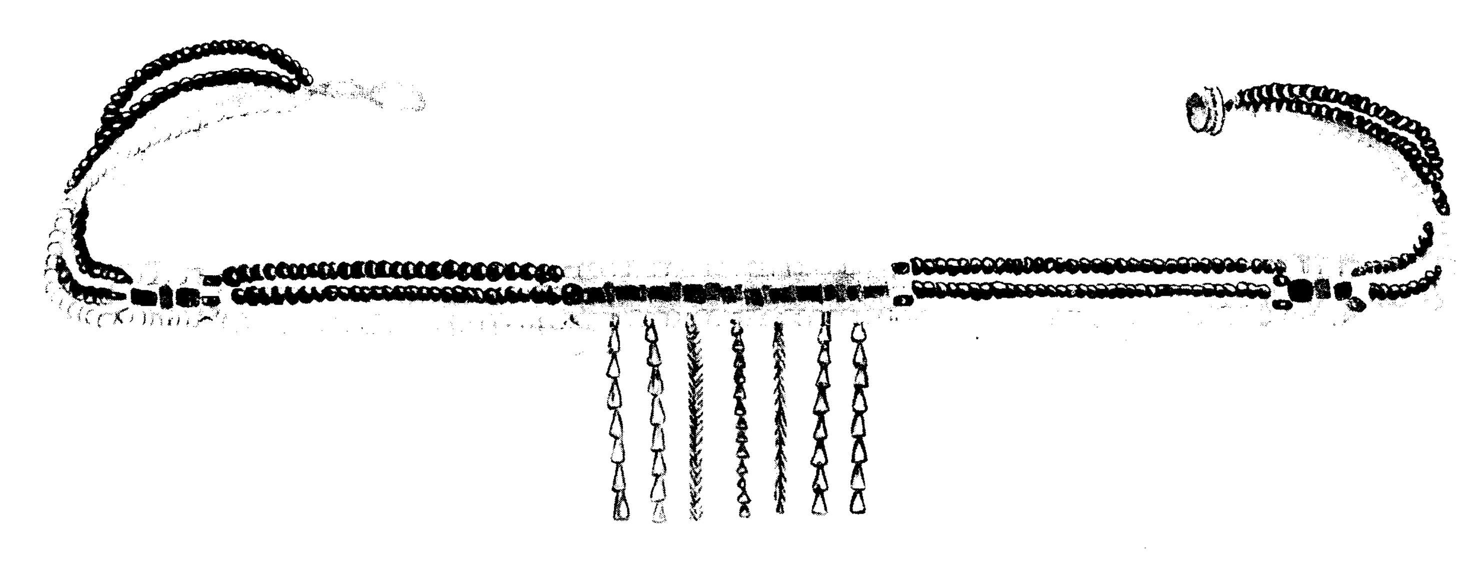


DALAG

BADAWIN WOMEN'S BRACELETS

Red stones indicate coral.
Blue stones indicate turquoise.
Green stones indicate glass.
Metal portions indicate silver, gilt or gold.

See pages 156–7



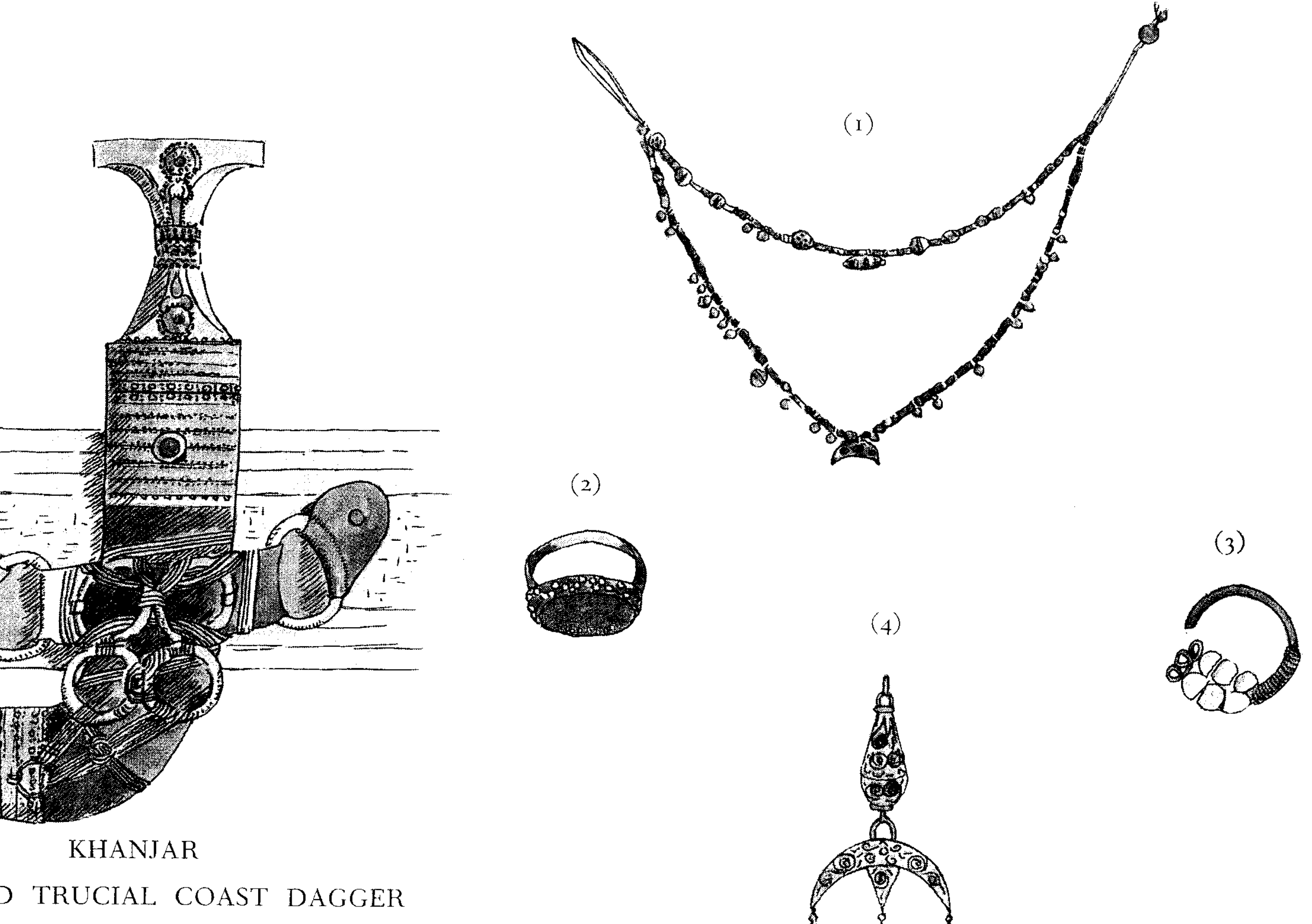
MA'AIYANA

BADAWIN WOMEN'S NECKLACE

(Consisting of black and white beads with silver drop chains)

Very common

See pages 156–7



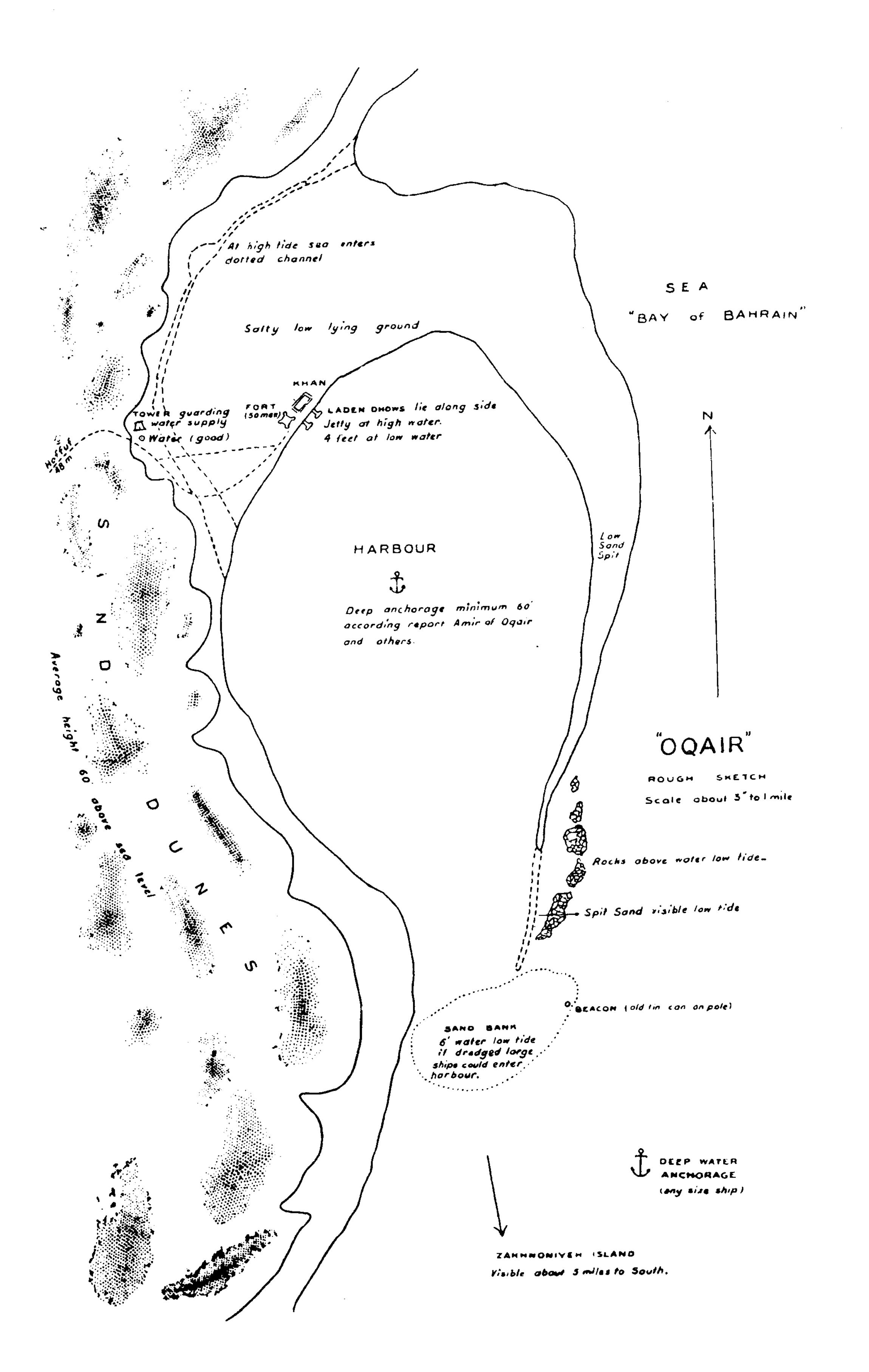
KHANJAR

HASA AND TRUCIAL COAST DAGGER

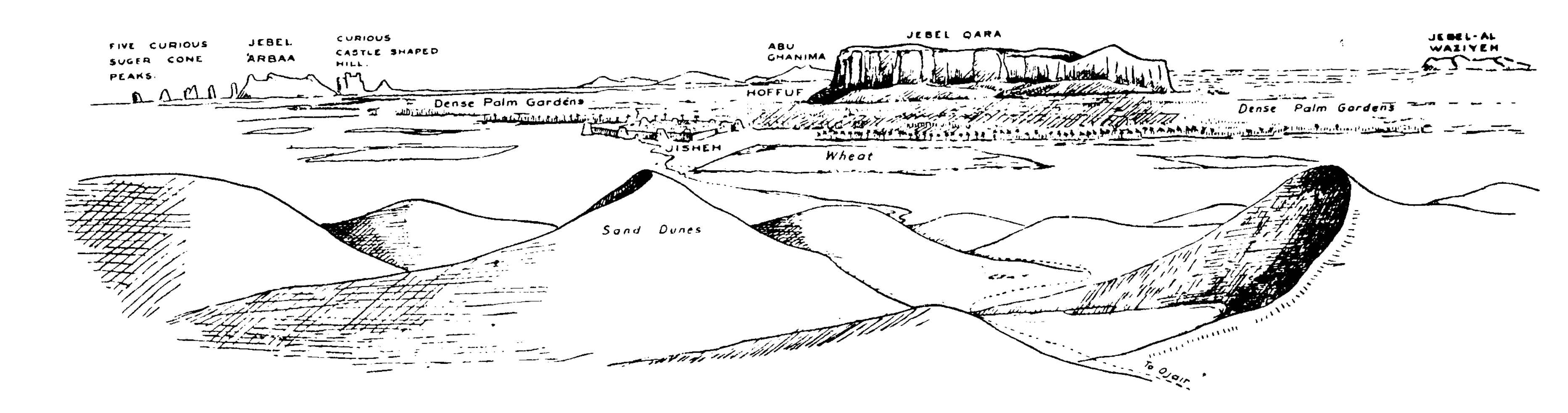
Presented to the writer by H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz as Sa'ud

(1) Mutair Badawin necklace (Galāda).
(2) Badawin woman's ring (silver and turquoise) (Al Shāhid).
(3) Pearl and gold nose ring (Khazāma), centre stones often turquoise.
(4) Gold plait pendant (Kitbāt).

SKETCH MAP OF KUWAIT AND ITS SURROUNDINGS
(a sketch by my small daughter)

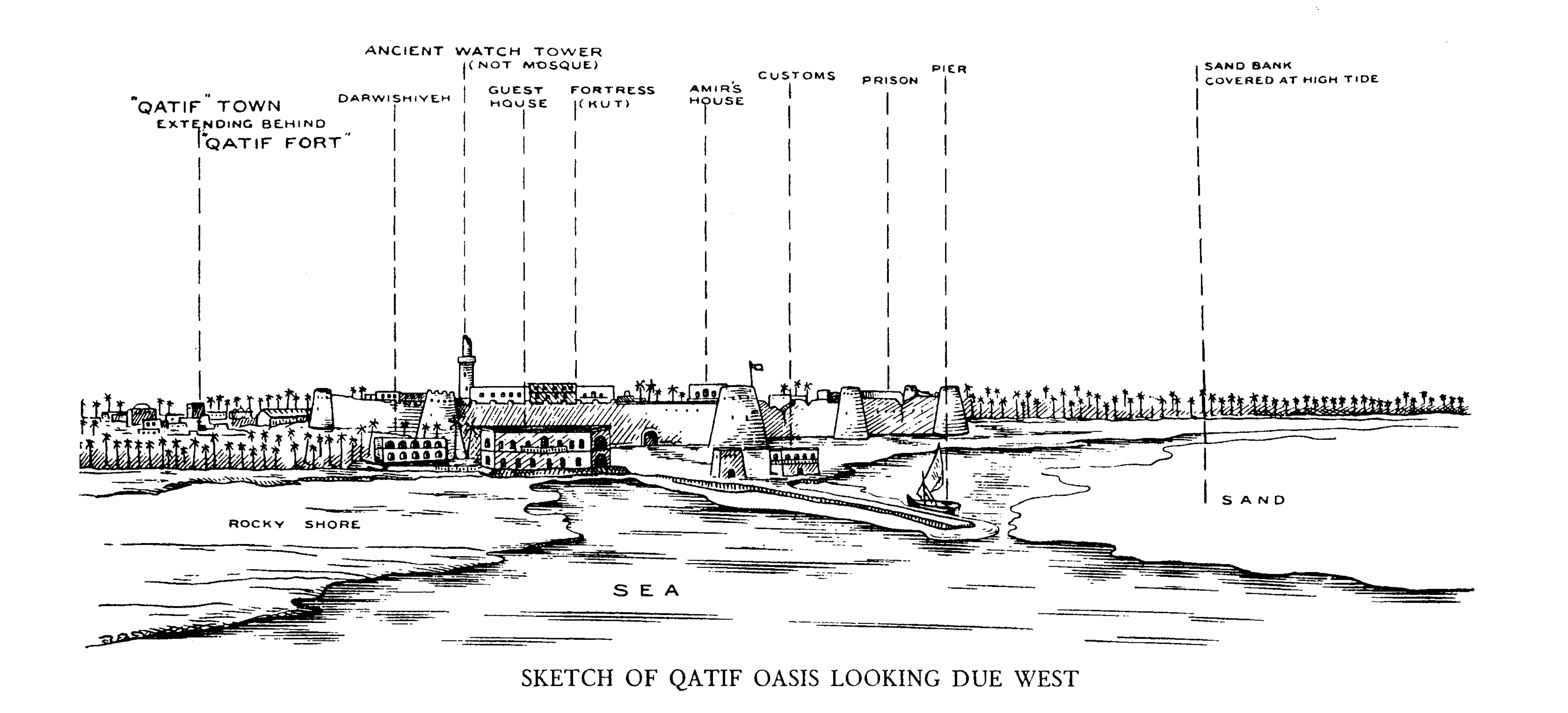


At high tide sea enters dotted channel
SEA
"BAY of BAHRAIN"
Salty low lying ground
KHAN
FORT (50 men)
TOWER guarding water supply
Water (good)
LADEN DHOWS lie along side Jetty at high water. 4 feet at low water
Hoffuf 48 m
N
HARBOUR
Deep anchorage minimum 60' according report Amir of Oqair and others.
Low Sand Spit
SAND DUNES
Average height 60' above sea level
"OQAIR"
ROUGH SKETCH
Scale about 3" to 1 mile
Rocks above water low tide.
Spit Sand visible low tide
BEACON (old tin can on pole)
SAND BANK
6' water low tide if dredged large ships could enter harbour.
DEEP WATER ANCHORAGE (any size ship)
ZAKHNONIYEH ISLAND
Visible about 5 miles to South.

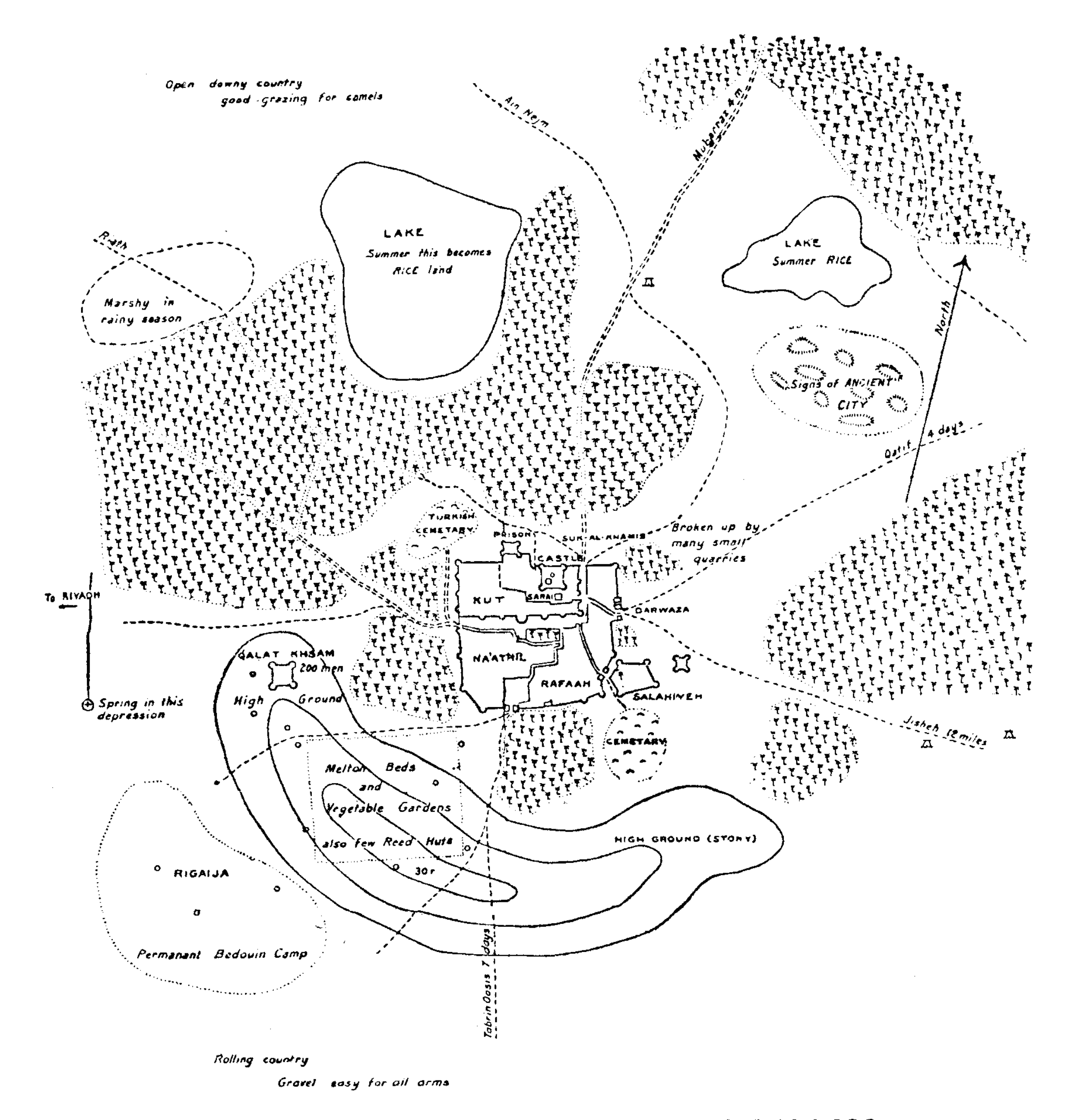


SKETCH OF HASA OASIS LOOKING WEST

Looking West: Hoffuf lies due West of Jisheh



SKETCH OF QATIF OASIS LOOKING DUE WEST



"HOFFUF" AND IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS

Rough Scale 2 in. = 1 mile

(1) Above sketch done by eye only on 12–2–20.
(2) Population Hoffuf about 30,000.
(3) Fairly good wall round town, massive stone and mud wall round Kut, Prison, Castle. Height about 60 feet. Must have been very fine wall in its days. Walls of Kut and Castle command whole town.
(4) Garrison of 300 men maintained in Castle.
Garrison of 200 men maintained in Mubaeraz.
Garrison of 200 men maintained in Qalaf Khsam.
(5) All gardens contain innumerable springs (flowing).
(6) Every house in town has its well.
(7) Good camping grounds S. to S.W. of town.
(8) High ground stretching in semi-circle from Qalat Khsam to point $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.E. of city commands town.
(9) Supplies meat, dates; lucerne grass very plentiful.

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